GUIDE TO THE AF13 NORTHWEST CHINA FILE

[The AF13 Northwest China file contains data on the regional culture of the northwestern Chinese provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai. The materials presented contain great historical depth; however, the major emphasis is the modern period, ca. 1920 to 1950. There are three sources in the file, all of them in English. The basic source is 1: Washington. This is a general survey of the region prepared by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington and gives a good coverage of the major social, economic and political aspects of the region. 2: Teichman, by a British consular officer, is an account of travels in Shensi and Kansu in 1919, and contains a good deal of information on travel routes and geography. 3: Cable and French, by two missionaries, is an account of a trip through Shansi, Kansu and Shensi, and also contains a good deal of information on travel and geography, with some brief sketches of the various ethnic groups encountered. The file as a whole is probably adequate for general cross-cultural purposes, but except perhaps for historical materials does not really contain enough information for detailed analyses. However, it does present a good survey of the region. The file was processed between 1956 and 1974.]

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105 nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan
175 and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and
648 pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations
182 were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

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1. Chou Dynasty

*175 In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For
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[101] a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

*175 dynasty, they invaded China. At one time they even surrounded a Chinese army and besieged the first Han emperor. The Han court was constrained to buy them off by paying tribute and by sending Chinese princesses to become the wives of Hunnish chieftains. The constant menace and the sporadic inroads of the Huns finally induced the Han Emperor Wu to attempt, by diplomacy combined with the force of arms, to strike a determined blow at his enemy.

*175 101 During the Ch'in period, there was a people known as the Yüeh-chih who lived in the present-day province of Kansu until they were driven west by the more powerful Huns. These people had moved to Bactria, where they were known to the Greeks as Assi and Tochari. Later when they established themselves in northern India they were called Kushans. In the hope of enlisting the support of the Yüeh-chih, Emperor Wu sent an officer, Chang Ch'ien, with a small party to locate the Yüeh-chih and to form an alliance with them against their common foe, the Huns.

*175 Chang Ch'ien left China in 138 B.C. and the account of his travels and exploits in Central Asia has since been ranked as one of the great stories of courage and adventure of all times. First he was taken prisoner by the Huns and spent ten years in captivity. Escaping with one companion, he reached the Ili Valley to find that the Yüeh-chih had been driven farther west by another warlike people, the Wu-sun. Chang went on to Ferghana, in the present region of Khokand, and learned that the Yüeh-chih were in a land southwest of Ta-hsia (Bactria), between the Amu Darya (the Oxus) and the Syr Daria (Jaxartes). When he finally found them, the Yüeh-chih refused to enter into an alliance. Chang made his way back to China. He finally reached it in 126 B.C. after another short captivity by the Huns. He set out again in 115 B.C. and again failed to win over the Yüeh-chih. Although he failed in securing an alliance for a two-front attack on the Huns, Chang was able to return to China with a lore of geographic knowledge of Central Asia that broadened the international outlook of the Chinese people and fired their imagination with ideas of the conquest of the west. The victory of Han troops over the Huns in 121 B.C. opened the Kansu Corridor to Chinese colonization. Other Han armies under Li Kuang-li conquered the Tarim Basin in 104 and 102 B.C. and garrisoned the distant outposts of the Han empire. Both the northern and southern routes around Tienshan came under Chinese domination and the presence of Chinese troops safeguarded the flow of trade between China and the West.

After a temporary eclipse of Chinese power in Turkestan during the inter-regnum of Wang Mang in the first decade of the Christian era, the Chinese reestablished themselves in the Western Regions (Hsi-yü), a name given at this time to the

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:

(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 *101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours *175 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir- [167] teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) 175 was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the [167] experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

N *563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

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S N 563 101 B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [197] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

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/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

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6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

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G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. S N 795 The Chinese Moslems are much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character hui signifying "to return".

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

101 The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

*175 487 [439] Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tun-hwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of YÜ-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

5: Tafel--421 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Tu ren

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I eat -	wu tschilarä
bread -	borzordeno
Buddha -	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha -	Yerech'tuch' te
tea -	dya
teacup -	aira
sky -	tingere
temple -	larang
horse -	more
mule -	lossa
plough -	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house -	ger
tent -	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents).
ride horseback -	moru h'anä
walk -	so wade
I came -	tschüre wu
I went -	tschisch tschewu

563 101 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese [186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: 'Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

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2. Wieger, S.J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

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Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

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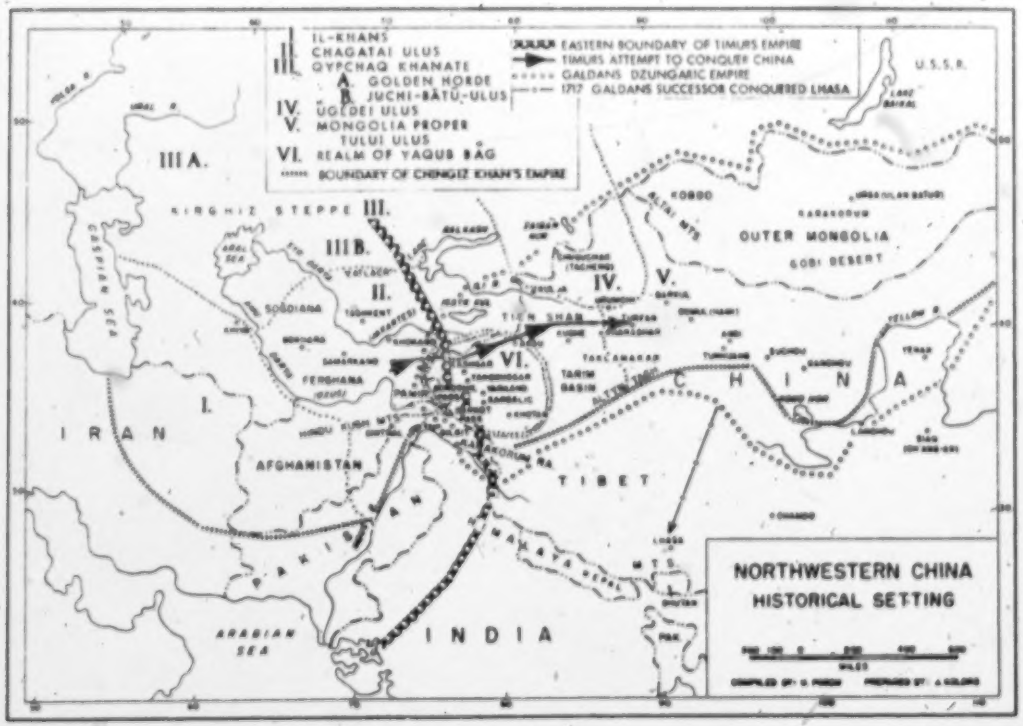

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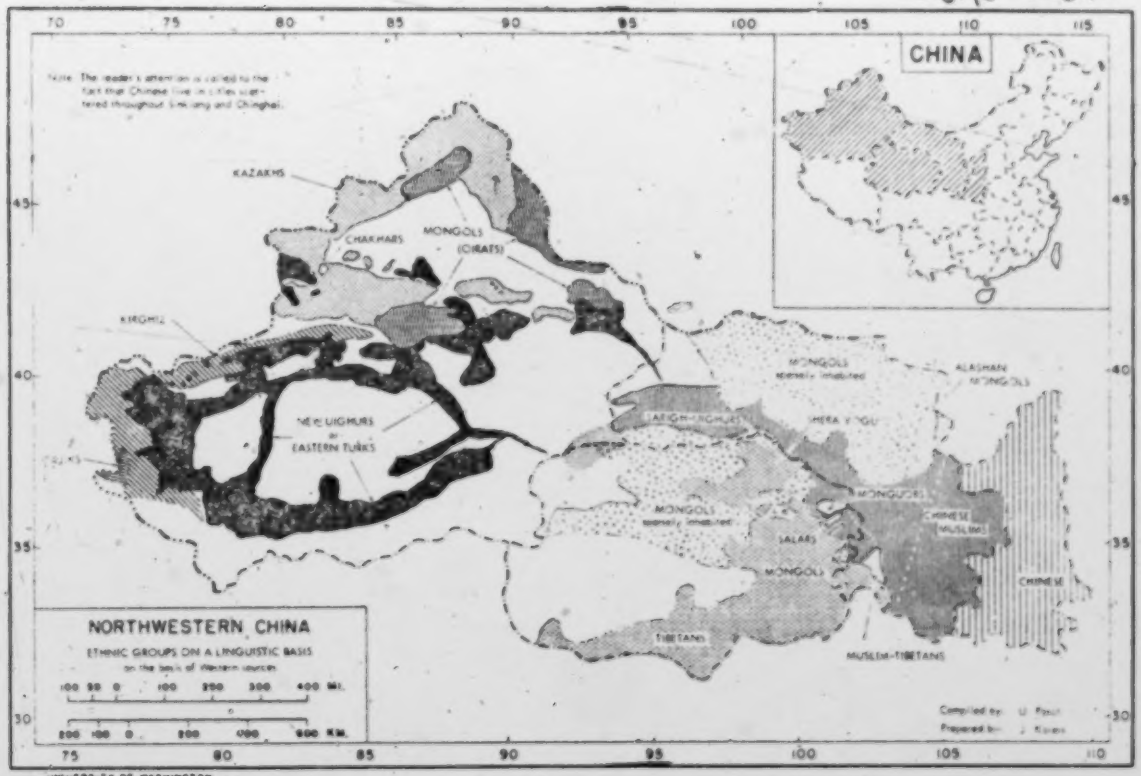

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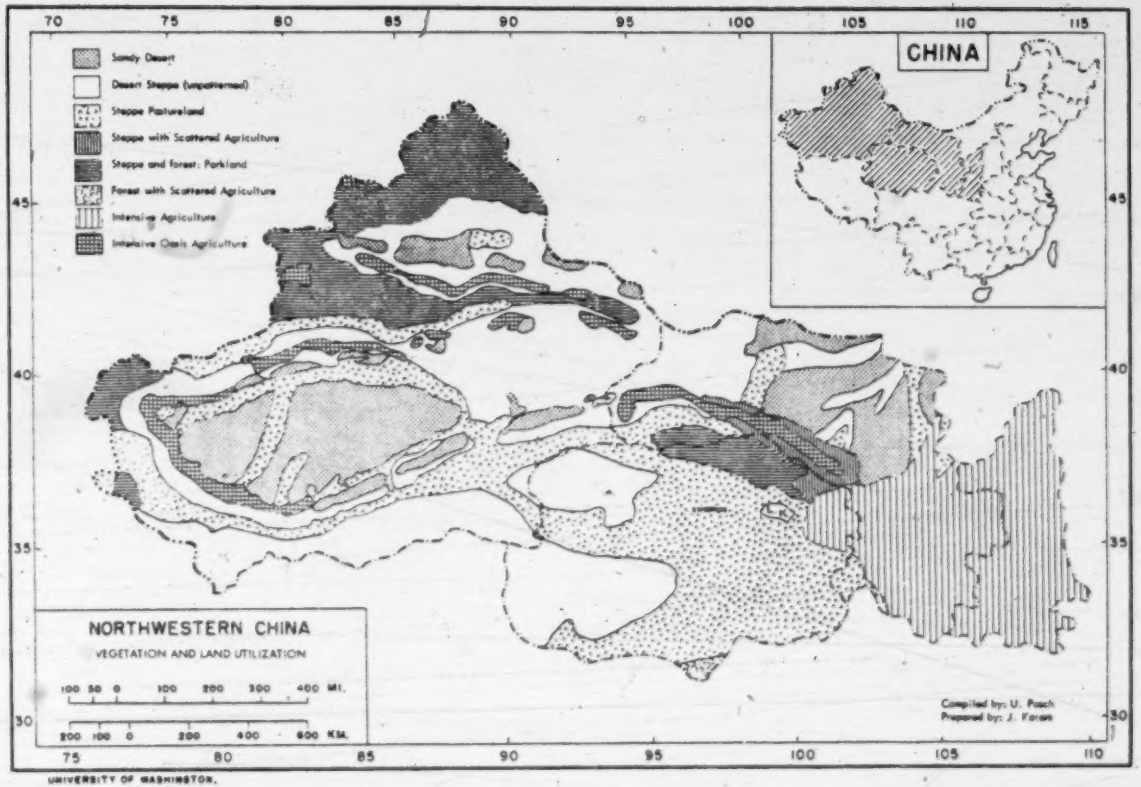

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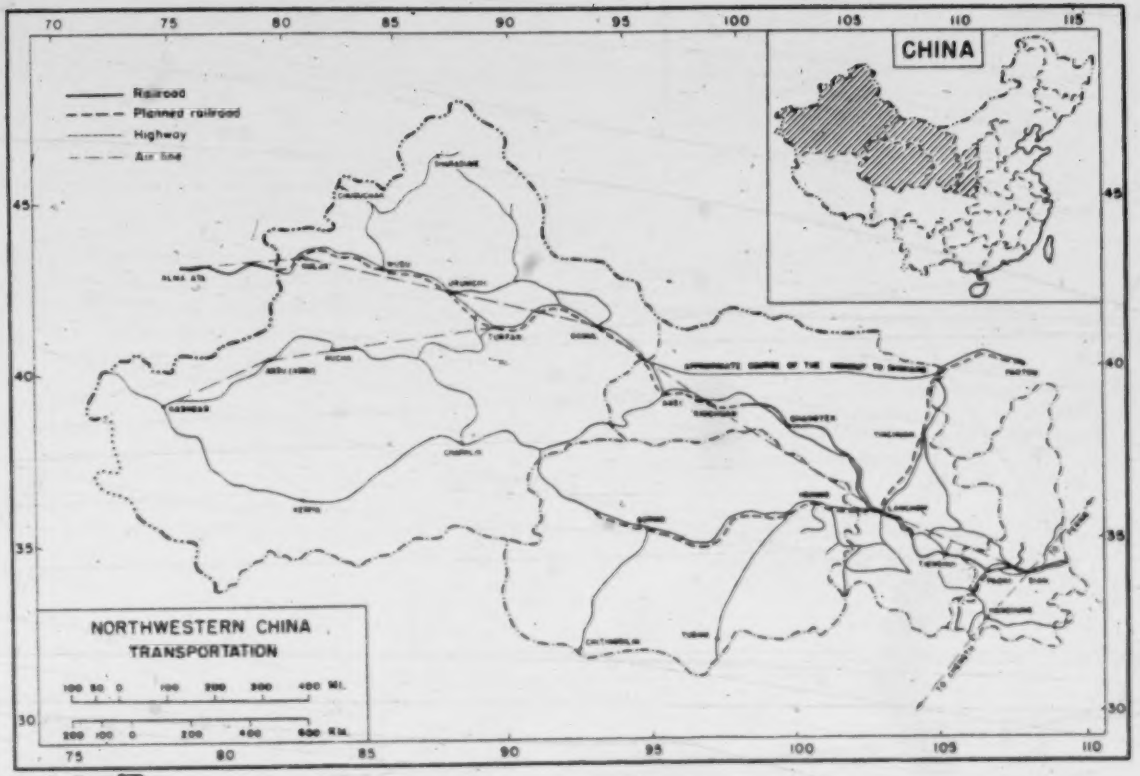

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I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 mountains, notably the Chin-ling and Mei-chang, forming the boundaries of southern Shensi and northern Szechwan. Water separates the low lands between the mountains, and there are several notable basins such as Han-chung Basin. Except in the Chin-ling section, the mountain range is rather bare and has little vegetation. The slopes along the Chi-lien-shan are strewn with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the gravels. Valleys form vast corridors several miles wide between the mountain ranges. In the central area, where the topography is more level, pebbles, sand dunes, pastures, and swamps appear. The Chi-lien-shan region is suitable primarily for a grazing economy. However, most of the flat [241] land in the valleys has been opened for agricultural use. Spring wheat, millet, linseed, and colze are grown nearly everywhere in the region and form the major foodstuffs of the people.

The Chi-lien-shan is the major mountain range in this section [103] of Northwest China. It has received various names. The eastern end of the range is called the Liu-pan-shan or the "six coil mountain." The upper Yellow River cuts a gap through the links of the mountain range so that the Liu-pan-shan is an isolated mountain from which the Yellow River runs north and northeastward. The Wei River, one of the major tributaries of the Yellow River, runs along the south edge of the Liu-pan-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan. North of the Wu-sha-ling, or Dark Sand Peak, 120 miles northwest of Lanchou, a narrow strip of land extends along the northern foot of the Ch'i-lien-shan. From here westward, the land is relatively flat and plain. This area is called the Kansu Corridor. It is the important passageway to the Northwest of China.

All streams, as well as meltwater, come down from the Ch'i-lien-shan and run toward the north or northeast. Some streams disappear into the desert after a short distance. This is the case almost everywhere in Northwest China. This is one of the main reasons why agricultural products cannot be evenly distributed and dependably developed in the area.

Geologically speaking, the Tertiary formation appears in a number of basins in Kansu Province. The beds are generally composed of red clays, conglomerates, red sandstones, and gypsum. The geological structures remain the same to the mountain ranges of both the north and the south, the Ch'i-lien-shan and the Ho-li-shan, which is submerged into the Mongolian Gobi and the semi-steppes. They are mainly composed of Silurian and Devonian structures resting unconformably on older

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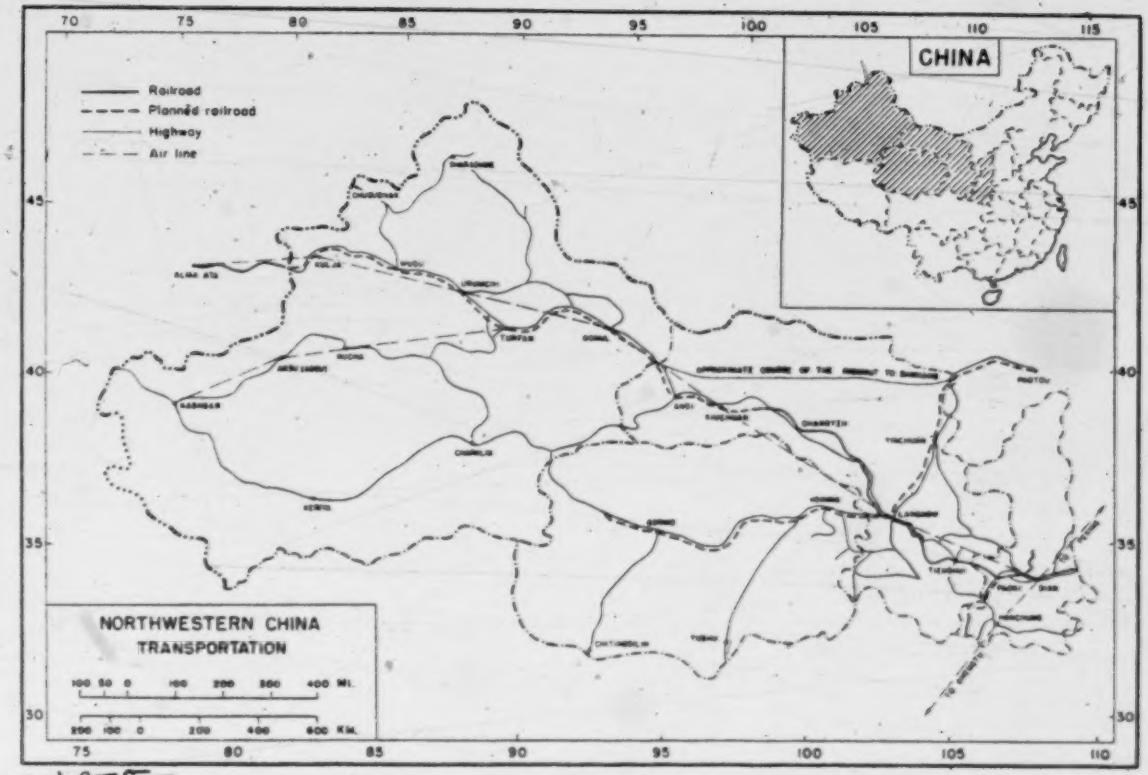

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien.

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China.

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized

487 the Wei River and the upper Yellow River. North of it the loess is still more compact, and on the way to the largest loess dune there was almost no better way of getting through. It is only when one again gets outside the Great Wall - as we have seen - that there is a larger trade route, from Tai yüan fu through Sui de tschou and to Ning tiao leang, but it permits wagon traffic only along certain stretches and leads across the Hwang Ho between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, but in not a very comfortable fashion. The next larger traffic artery which conveniently connects the west with the east is the Kweihwa - Bau tu - Ninghsia road which avoids the Yellow River but leads through nomad country and thus its safety is entirely dependent on the more or less peaceful behavior of these nomads, and thus also for political reasons it has for centuries not been regarded as a large traffic artery.

631 But Lanchow fu is not merely the Hwang Ho bridgehead of the "silk road"; it is also the juncture of the roads leading up from South Kansu and Szechwan, as well as for the Tibetan roads that come from Hsining fu and Ho tschou. For this reason the city has also been made the seat of the tsung tu or tschi t'ai of Schen kan, that is, the residence of a vice-regent. Under the Manchu dynasty, under Emperor Kien lung around the middle of the 18th century, when Chinese power headed by Manchu had completely overcome the Kalmuk and the large territories of the West had to be newly conquered, the old, large province of Shensi was divided up into a smaller Shensi and a Kansu. (1) At that time the position of tsung

[103]

1. The name Kansu (pronounced: Gan su) was formed from the characters of what were once the two most important cities in the western part of the province: Kanchow and Suchow. Shensi means "west of the pass"; it is the country that lay west of the strait of Tung kwan ting which we learned about in the second chapter. Shenkan, therefore, means the vice-kingdom of Shen (si) and Kan (su).

As a result of the last revolution the title of Tsung tu has now been abandoned and replaced by Tu tu.

tu, of the viceroy or governor-general was created, who first of all acted as civil governor of Kansu, but who, besides, /150/ had the general supervision of the civil- and military administration of Shansi and the vast Central Asiatic territories, which are called Sin kiang (pronounced: Hsin Tschiang) by the Chinese, i. e., "new

inside the sleeves of one's jacket. That is what the long Chinese 437
sleeves are for. Whether I wanted to buy a pony or butter or a supply of flour, the dealer always held out his greasy and torn sleeve to me and I had to put my narrow and short European sleeve into his. Inside you pull and squeeze each other's fingers, and the people standing around cannot see what is going on. /174/ At first not a word is spoken. If it is a question of a larger article, a pony or some such thing, not only the two parties involved in the deal but soon all their companions and acquaintances, even the gapers in the streets slip their arms into each others' sleeves. Nothing delights a Chinese more than a little deal of this kind. They curse each other or laugh at each other. "Too much!" - "You're crazy!" - "I don't intend to give my nag away!" - thus the voices shout in confusion; but no one says anything about price. The one who wishes to name a price always so and so many fingers into the sleeves of the other. The index finger alone means one, index and middle finger together mean two, and so on up to five. Six is thumb and little finger; seven, thumb, index finger and middle finger. In order to express eight one spreads out one's thumb and index finger. Nine is the index finger bent in the shape of a hook. After ten the procedure is repeated, for everyone knows enough about business to know whether a thing is worth one, ten, or a hundred taels. Sixteen, for instance, is expressed by first holding out the index finger and then gathering together the thumb and little finger with it. While this procedure is going on many an importunate little deserter looks for better hunting grounds; for what inland Chinese does not have lice in the sleeves of his jacket?

My plan was now in winter, as long as it was coldest and the ice 000
was thickest, to go to the "blue lake," the "Koko Nor" (1) in order

1. The "blue lake" of Northeast Tibet is today most com- 103
monly known through the Russian travelers by its Mongolian name of Kuku nor. Kuku, or Küke, as it is written, means "blue." The Chinese call the lake Hsi hai or "west sea" or also Tsch'ing hai, meaning "blue sea." The Tibetans call it Ts'o sngon bo or, slurred, Ts'o ngombo which also means "blue lake."

to explore it very thoroughly and above all to plumb its depth. The 000
lake is already beyond the region in which it is possible in an emergency to get along with the Chinese language; it lies above

361 and the Mongols because through them the land was united with the kingdom and has remained thus ever since.

continues to be broad and rises evenly. It continues to be monotonous. After a little more than 20 kilometers, one comes to the town of Tschen hai pu, opposite which on the north side of the river lies the town of To ba (pronounced: Do ba) which is also surrounded by high and strong walls. According to the old chronicles, To ba was on several occasions superior commercially to the city of Hsining. In 1895 it was the chief headquarters of the Mohammedan insurrection. And when at that time the Chinese again gained the upper hand, this was the place that continued to be defended for a long time with great tenacity and with the courage of despair. Now To ba lies in ruins. Only a few farmers and small merchants cling to their native soil. The old mosque which Rockhill once visited and which was supposed to have been erected by Emperor Kang hi, has been leveled to the ground.

133 Above these two towns one leaves the rolling hilly country of the Hsining basin. From the treeless, loess-covered clay and sandstone mountains one suddenly comes into a high, stern and wild rocky mountain range consisting of granite and of slate which shows marked folds.

485 I did not reach Dankar (1) until twelve midnight and had the

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1. On maps one often sees the name "Tan kar." The name is pronounced Dankar. This is the Sinicized form of the Mongolian word Dunkur. This latter name applies to the whole district and there is also a small Buddhistic monastery by that name, a day's journey south of the city (see p. 280 ff.).

greatest difficulty finding lodgings even outside the gates in the open suburb. (2) All the inns were crowded with fish dealers who

2. The once flourishing suburb occupied by Mohammedans was treacherously attacked and devastated by the Chinese inhabitants of the city during the great rebellion. Many thousands of Mohammedans were killed.

come up from Lanchow fu in winter time. There was nowhere a

5: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few 241
small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

and narrow ridges. (2)

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2. Ts'aring Nor (written skya rengs according to Ch. Das) is the Mongolian name for the western one of the two large lakes of the Hwang Ho which were discovered in 1884 by Prschevalski. In 1904 I stood on the shore of the eastern lake, Noring Nor (Mongolian). There the character of the landscape is still quite the same. There, too, are found low, rounded hills between swampy hollows. The Tibetan names of these lakes: "Ts'o schdyara," "Ts'o ngora," are more common than the Mongolian ones. (The Meng gu yu mu dyi calls the lakes Tsha ring and O ring, in which ring means "long," o (Tibetan ngo means "blue," and tscha means "white.")

133 On a ride with Tschang over the eastern part of the Sea of Stars I made good time. There were countless dunes on which some grass was just sprouting, and three broad branches of the Soloma that were always more than one meter deep, as well as accumulations of loess-like dust hard by impassable swamps and between flat lakes. For a long time these formations seemed to comprise an inexplicable mixture. Even in the days that followed when I traveled along the northern edge of the Sea of Stars, I often asked myself how it was possible that desert and swamp could be so close together here. Even though the month of August had been much drier here than June was in the Wahong Mountains, nevertheless the picture of desert and swamp did not seem to fit the climate (see p.106).

000 On August 12 I gave the order to set up camp on a pretty, sandy pasture in the plains. During the day we were only once enveloped for a few minutes /16/ by a cloud of hail. The snow-fields on the Kuenlun Mountains (1) to the south were greatly reduced as a result

1. It is not surprising that the Chinese call this relatively unimportant mountain by this name which for us means one of the largest Asiatic mountain ranges. As we have said before, for a Chinese acquainted with the locality, the name of a mountain range means only the name of a particular peak or pass. In this case, I suspect, the reverse is the case: a Chinese name that is used in some distant place was afterwards applied by officers to a certain place.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads: or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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● 105 nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan
175 and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and
648 pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations
182 were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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*175 In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the
N province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For
[101] a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

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175 14. The Sinkiang ji[illegible]-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
669 that
668 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

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[674] The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturbances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

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• 105 The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
*668 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
625 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speaking, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

1: Washington. University. Far Eastern and Russian Institute. A regional handbook of Northwest China. 2 vols. Human Relations Area Files, Subcontractor's Monograph, HRAF-59; Wash-5. New Haven, Printed by the Human Relations Area Files, 1956.

2, 6, 704, 2p.; bibliography; charts; maps; tables.

HRAF Copy.

[This source, one of a series of handbooks produced by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington, under contract to the Human Relations Area Files, is designed as a supplement to the General Handbook on China previously prepared by the Institute. The area delineated for study under the general rubric of Northwest China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang. Data pertinent to the latter province, however, has been subheaded for SI 1 Sinkiang and will be found in the HRAF file of that name. The entire source consists of a series of ethnographic articles prepared by area specialists using essentially secondary sources of information. The data coverage ranges from early historic times through the pre-communist/Nationalist period to the post-communist era prior to 1956. The two volumes comprising this source are divided into three major divisions, the first dealing with the sociological aspects of the society, the second with the political and the third, the economic. (See Table of Contents, pp. v-vi for a more complete breakdown of these divisions].

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Social Scientists-4
Processed in 1974

111 AF13 Northwest China

2: Teichman, Eric. Travels of A Consular Officer in Northwest China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Pp. xiv, 219: 58 Illustrations

Yale: Eeb 916T

[This source describes the travels of the author through Shensi and Kansu while he was making investigations in connection with the Angle-Chinese Opium Treaty. It contains much detailed information on the travel routes and geography of these provinces. --Analyst]

Field date: 1919
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1956

3: Cable, Mildred and Francesca French. Through Jade Gate and Central Asia: An Account of Journeys in Kansu, Turkestan and the Gobi Desert. London: Constable and Company, Ltd. 1927.

Pp. xvi, 304: Thirteen illustrations; Glossary of Chinese names; Folded map.

Yale: Eeb 923C.

Omitted from Files: Part Four; pp. 270-299.

[This source is an account of the journey of three missionaries through the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, and through Sinkiang and Siberia. It contains useful information on the routes, road conditions, oases, and towns on the way, as well as scattered descriptions of the Chinese and other ethnic groups encountered. Chapters 44 through 48, on Siberia, have been omitted from the Files. Chapters 33 through 43 have been filed under Sinkiang AI1. For locations of places referred to in the text see the Folded Map at the end of the text in Category 116. -Analyst]

Field date: 1926 Evaluation: Missionary--5

Analyst: Ada Farber Processed in 1956

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[For information concerning the Buddhist monastery at Labrang or Hsiaho, see 21: Li, AJ1 Tibet, category 116]

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

K S 563 181

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the
N S disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

175 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
121 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in
N S the realm of assumptions.

175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
• 114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads: or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

873 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agri-
874 cultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular
*668 college.
177

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among
*668 the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have in-
177 creased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. [114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. [875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
*563 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
751 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
753 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
772 turbed, disease follows.
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
S lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
N In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
[184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.

S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
165

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. André Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Mosiem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week
485 a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour
[434] at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of
[654] which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is

S N 485 795 114 798 somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he

S N 795 554 485 114 heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [105] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PREFACE

000 THE following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

114 We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

000 This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

175 721 Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

INTRODUCTION

THE three ladies of whose hazardous journey across the largely untracked spaces of North-Western China and Central Asia this book tells, are distinguished members of the China Inland Mission. After having built up a splendidly successful school-work in the province of Shansi during a period of twenty-one years' strenuous service, to their own surprise and that of their friends they realised a fresh missionary call under circumstances in which most people, even those so devoted as missionaries characteristically are, neither expect new orders nor are ordinarily capable of responding to their challenge. 114

The sense of 'something lost beyond the ranges,' in the vast territories of the far North-West practically unoccupied by the Christian Church, impelled them to pull up stakes and fare forth. And it will be recognised by those who read this simply told and thrillingly interesting narrative that their journey takes high rank in the stories of pioneer heroism and endurance. It would not be true to say that 'they went out not knowing whither,' for they had long studied the available maps and pondered the known problems of the course they must traverse. Nor were they unaware of the certain difficulties which, as women, they would have to meet in any attempt at itinerant evangelism amongst tribes for the most part custom-bound and prejudiced. Long residence in China takes all the sentimental glamour out of travel prospects, and they knew fully

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ooo SUBCONTRACTOR'S MONOGRAPH

HRAF-59 Wash-5

A REGIONAL HANDBOOK

ON

NORTHWEST CHINA

Volume I

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PREFACE

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C. T. Hu
HRAF Research Associate
For Far East

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/introductory p. ii/

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

A REGIONAL HANDBOOK

ON

NORTHWEST CHINA

000

compiled by

The Far Eastern and Russian Institute

University of Washington, Seattle

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Seattle, Washington

1956

[Title Page]

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PREFACE

121 The present handbook is one in a series of regional handbooks which the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington compiled under a contract with the Human Relations Area Files. It is designed as a supplement to the General Handbook on China, compiled by the Institute under the same contract; it describes and analyzes regional peculiarities and developments in China's great Northwest. Reference is therefore made to this General Handbook for all topics discussed in the present volume; the coverage of the General Handbook is not duplicated here, and the presentation of problems and events of the Northwest presumes familiarity with the overall setting, discussed in the General Handbook. Reference is also made to the preface of the General Handbook, in which the circumstances of this compilation and the working methods of the team of contributors are set forth. The outline of the regional handbooks follows the prescribed format. Sections, however, have been treated more briefly or left out altogether, when little or no regional deviation from the general pattern was discernible.

Research conducted at the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington has for some years been guided by the concept of regionalism. A regional approach to the problems of Chinese economy, social structure, and political power has permitted the use of a much wider range of material and has added a new dimension to its analysis. The work on the Human Relations Area Files Handbooks provided the opportunity to expand this research experience into an attempt to cover the regions of China as rounded and to a degree self-contained units. It has to be stressed, though, that this attempt should be regarded as an experiment rather than a solution, since much more work and thought is needed to establish the essence and the functions of any one region of China. To begin with, the question of what constitutes a region is far from being satisfactorily answered. The Human Relations Area Files handbooks took, mainly for fortuitous reasons, the administrative areas established in early Communist times as regional units. As far as the regions go that were dealt with at Seattle, that is to say the Northeast, the Northwest, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, this choice turned out to be at least a workable assumption.

In the case of China's Northwest, the delimitation of the region and the circumference of its characteristic features can almost be called traditional. Ever since the "Movement to Develop the Northwest" (k'ai-fa Hsi-pei) was launched in

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121 the early thirties (see particularly: Tai Chi-t'ao, Hsi-pei. Nanking 1931), this part of China attracted growing attention as one of the greatest hopes for her future. To be sure, the provinces covered by the concept have not always been the same in the series of surveys engendered by this movement; particularly, the province of Suiyuan, now part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, has been frequently included. (For a discussion of the question of geographical extent see: Wang Chin-fu, Hsi-pei chih ti-wen yü jen-wen. Shanghai 1935, and Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, Hsi-pei ch'ü-yü ti-li, Chungking 1945) A more sober approach has however already then identified the Northwest geographically in the manner of the present handbook: it was meant to include what were then the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang. (see Hsü Hsü, Hsi-pei chien-she lun. Shanghai 1944)

This more or less generally accepted definition of the geographical area has set a challenging but highly difficult task for the compilers of the present handbook. The degree of diversity within the region, which includes the cradle of Chinese civilization as well as the most remote outpost of the Chinese colonial empire, called for a breadth of coverage which at times tended to strain the unity of presentation to the bursting point. The fact, on the other hand, that the region has been considered a unit by observers as well as inhabitants, necessitated analyzing interrelationships of the different segments of Northwestern society. Every possible type of relation in every field of human life presented itself here as if in a test-tube. What could be done within the framework of this handbook is again only a beginning. If pursued, this analysis could lead to a typology of group relations.

128 The present compilation owes much to the spirit of teamwork which prevailed in our handbook project. This team included the contributors to the other handbooks. All the names mentioned on the title-pages and in the prefaces of the General Handbook and the other Regional Handbooks deserved to be repeated here. Editorial work on most of the sociological and political sections was done by Beatrice Miller, and on all the economic sections by Dorothy Schroeter. Charts and tables were designed by Florence Cochran.

October 1956 Hellmut Wilhelm

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Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

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The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an

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area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin.

N 563

Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

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While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

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The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture

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and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chingnai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only 563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or S N governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking 175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu- 642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner- 177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," 631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had S existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners S N ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Büks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bük, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bük, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bük, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bük, "superintend- 649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Büks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese 175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, 631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. 647 Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organisation of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

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d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 659 563

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bük even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 631 619

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bük's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
K 563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
199 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

S
563 Wives of members of these extended families are also
621 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
593 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
562 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/
621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
621 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] N 563 794 177 184 To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
177 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[292] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[293] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
563 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
794 caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[798] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be
[346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
563 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
794 division over religious questions makes their unification a
795 difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is [592] the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yügur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [792] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, [422] for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as N 563 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 233 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the N 563 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally 596 oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain N 563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N 563 M 614 622 178 177 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Beks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bek), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made N 563 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi- 175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan N 175 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u- 177 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with 622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
[651] selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
798 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
182 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society [182] in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

SN 563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- SN ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 563 668 177

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 771 [769]

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
991 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghis,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

SN 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

SN [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

SN [621] [614] [426] [476]

SN 563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

SN [792] [794]

S N 563 233 [423] [476] V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N S 563 181 As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

N 563 992 Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361] There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN 563 668

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

SN 563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 577 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal 155

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563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvor-
schrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

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563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which thev are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

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563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

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563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[829] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

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563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
771 and Turks.

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181 While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as
[829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

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[635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces
[162] of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

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181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were
166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu
167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

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181 Among the Chirese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile
N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed
[812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less
N bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

[668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

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000 **IV. The Rise of the Communists**

Chronological Chart
Additional Readings

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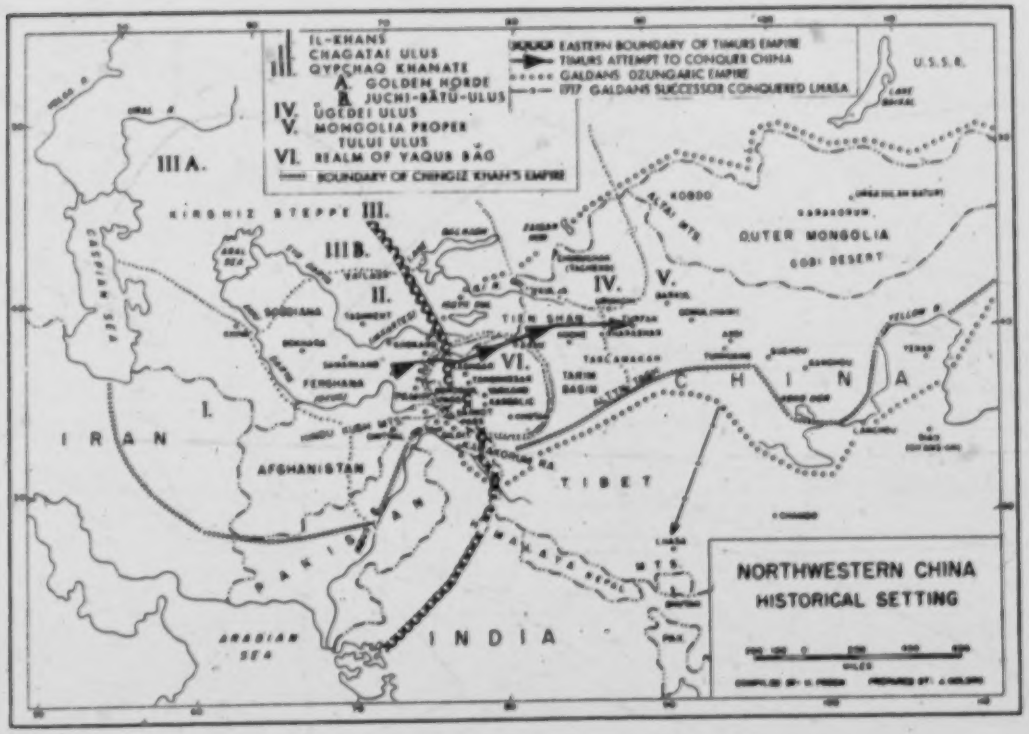

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HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [131] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

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A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

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All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
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During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

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17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
[131] Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
S in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
175 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb
648 when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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into China to establish militaristic states in North China. The aggregation of invaders included the Huns, the Hsien-pi, the Juan-juan, the Toba, and the Tibetans. But the dominant group to emerge was the Turks, who eventually ruled an extensive territory stretching from Mongolia to the Urals. Once more China, reunited under the Sui dynasty, was able to hold off the nomads. Under the T'ang dynasty the Chinese were able to advance into the domain of the nomads and to destroy the Turkish federation.

By the ninth century, as China declined in power, the nomadic peoples on the northern rim of the Chinese empire came into their own again. The situation appeared to be a repetition of what had happened at least twice before. The decline of the Chou had been followed by the disintegration of China into warring states (cycle one); the collapse of Han had ushered in the Three Kingdoms and the North and South Dynasties (cycle two). Now, with the fall of T'ang, there came the chaotic Five Dynasties and the division of China again into the north and south (cycle three). In each successive stage, the extent of nomadic power was greater than in the previous one. In the first period of division, both northern and southern states were primarily Chinese; in the second stage of division, the northern states were non-Chinese while the southern states were Chinese; but in the third stage, at first the northern states were alien and the southern state (Sung) Chinese, but later the northern invaders (Mongols) succeeded in conquering all of China.

3. Mongol expansion

In the period following the fall of Tang, peoples from Manchuria, Khitans and Juchens, as well as peoples from Turkestan, such as the Sha-t'o (or Chöl) Turks, poured into China. In the Northwest, the Western Turks and their offshoots, the Qarluqs the the Uighurs, were active. Later, some of the Khitans, ousted from North China, also established themselves in Turkestan. Here too, the Arabs, who had penetrated Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries, were influential. But the most powerful were the Mongols who, having united the tribes of Mongolia into a vast confederation of nomadic people in a series of sanguinary wars, in the 13th century embarked on a career of conquest that was to include all of Asia and part of Europe.

The Chinese, in their resurgence under the Ming dynasty, did not recover Turkestan. Central Asia remained in the grip of the later Mongols, from the Timurid dynasty in Persia, through the descendants of the Chagatai princes in Turkestan, to the Oirats in Northwestern China, the last of whom by the mid fifteenth century, were bold enough to make forays into China. The 17th century saw the rise to power of the Oirats who dominated vast areas of Mongolia and Turkestan. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the power of the Oirat confederacy broken and China,

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+175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the
N disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.
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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

175 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
121 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in
N the realm of assumptions.
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175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

N S 175 121 648 132 114 182 a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

N S (233) (262) A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

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1. Chou Dynasty

In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

*175 dynasty, they invaded China. At one time they even surrounded a Chinese army and besieged the first Han emperor. The Han court was constrained to buy them off by paying tribute and by sending Chinese princesses to become the wives of Hunnish chieftains. The constant menace and the sporadic inroads of the Huns finally induced the Han Emperor Wu to attempt, by diplomacy combined with the force of arms, to strike a determined blow at his enemy.

*175 101 During the Ch'in period, there was a people known as the Yüeh-chih who lived in the present-day province of Kansu until they were driven west by the more powerful Huns. These people had moved to Bactria, where they were known to the Greeks as Asoi and Tochari. Later when they established themselves in northern India they were called Kushans. In the hope of enlisting the support of the Yüeh-chih, Emperor Wu sent an officer, Chang Ch'ien, with a small party to locate the Yüeh-chih and to form an alliance with them against their common foe, the Huns.

*175 Chang Ch'ien left China in 138 B.C. and the account of his travels and exploits in Central Asia has since been ranked as one of the great stories of courage and adventure of all times. First he was taken prisoner by the Huns and spent ten years in captivity; Escaping with one companion, he reached the Ili Valley to find that the Yüeh-chih had been driven farther west by another warlike people, the Wusun. Chang went on to Ferghana, in the present region of Khokand, and learned that the Yüeh-chih were in a land southwest of Ta-hsia (Bactria), between the Amu Darya (the Oxus) and the Syr Daria (Jaxartes). When he finally found them, the Yüeh-chih refused to enter into an alliance. Chang made his way back to China. He finally reached it in 126 B.C. after another short captivity by the Huns. He set out again in 115 B.C. and again failed to win over the Yüeh-chih. Although he failed in securing an alliance for a two-front attack on the Huns, Chang was able to return to China with a lore of geographic knowledge of Central Asia that broadened the international outlook of the Chinese people and fired their imagination with ideas of the conquest of the west. The victory of Han troops over the Huns in 121 B.C. opened the Kansu Corridor to Chinese colonization. Other Han armies under Li Kuang-li conquered the Tarim Basin in 104 and 102 B.C. and garrisoned the distant outposts of the Han empire. Both the northern and southern routes around Tienshan came under Chinese domination and the presence of Chinese troops safeguarded the flow of trade between China and the West.

After a temporary eclipse of Chinese power in Turkestan during the inter-regnum of Wang Mang in the first decade of the Christian era, the Chinese reestablished themselves in the Western Regions (Hsi-yü), a name given at this time to the

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*175 territories west of the Kansu Corridor. In A.D. 44, the Chinese inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huns, splitting their confederacy into two hordes, one of which migrated westward to reappear a couple of centuries later as "the scourge of Europe." Set in motion by a strong push, the migration of a nomadic people from the border of the Han Empire to the frontier of the Roman Empire, was but one of the more conspicuous examples of how events in the Orient had their repercussions in Europe. The effects of famine or plenty, peace and chaos in China, transmitted through the conduit of Turkestan, were felt eventually in faraway Europe.

A revolt of the desert tribes that almost lost Turkestan to China led to another Chinese expedition in A.D. 78. The pacification was largely the work of one man, Pan Ch'ao, who, by diplomacy and high-handed methods, won the Tarim Basin back to Chinese political control. A Chinese protectorate-general was established over the oasis states of Khotan, Kharashahr, Kucha, and Kashgar, and later Pan Ch'ao was appointed the protector-general. His military activities raised the prestige of Han China so that "more than fifty nations sent hostages." States as distant as Parthia sent tribute. In A.D. 97, he led his army of native levies under Chinese officers to the shores of the Caspian Sea, the farthest western penetration of a Chinese-led army. In this campaign, one of his officers travelled further west and would have established contact with the Roman Empire had he not turned back, balked by stories of the hardship of sea voyages told to him by his native guides.

In the Han period the Chinese employed two methods for the domination of the Western Regions. In areas close to China, the native administration was transformed and merged into the provincial governments of the Chinese. In states farther away, the natives were permitted to retain their own political system and to govern themselves under their own chieftains, with the Chinese in charge of the army and of diplomatic affairs. By this method, the native states served as buffers to protect China from external encroachment. The chieftains of the native states were chosen from the ones who were favorable and loyal to China. They were given honors and titles, and girls of the imperial house to be their consorts. The display of armed might discouraged ideas of independence and quelled attempts at secession. To provide food for the army of occupation and to lessen the drain on the home government, Chinese troops were settled on the land as farmers and their efforts influenced the techniques of agriculture and irrigation in the far west.

However, because of the long line of communication with the home base, Chinese control over Turkestan was always precarious. Traffic through the Kansu Corridor was threatened by the Chiang (a proto-Tibetan people) who inhabited the region of present-

*175 day Chinghai. The constant raids of the Chiang on one border and the revival of nomad power in the Tarim Basin following the retirement and death of Pan Ch'ao combined to force the Chinese to abandon Turkestan and to withdraw back into the Kansu Corridor.

China's withdrawal from the northwestern regions was not entirely the result of strong pressure from the non-Chinese peoples. It was also the consequence of the decline of Chinese political power and the division of China into a number of belligerent states. With the growing weakness of China, the balance of power shifted to the side of the nomads.

4. The period of North and South

During the latter part of the Han dynasty too, large numbers of native troops were recruited into the Chinese army and stationed in China along the northern frontier. With the weakening of Chinese rule they threw off their allegiance. Joined by hordes of other nomads who poured through the undefended ramparts of the Kansu Corridor and other strategic points of China's northern and northwestern frontier, they set up strong militaristic states in North China. This took place in the first decades of the fourth century. In 316, the Chin dynasty, which had emerged from the civil wars that marked the fall of the Han, was driven to South China by the invading barbarians. For more than two and a half centuries, a succession of non-Chinese kingdoms ruled North China. Some of the more aggressive ones extended their influence to the Northwest.

5. Sui dynasty

The T'u-chüeh or Turks, descendants of the Huns, rose to prominence during this period as the dominant people on China's northwestern frontier and China's most dangerous external foe. They appeared in the middle of the sixth century when they defeated the Juan-juan, a Mongolian people. Forming an alliance with the Sassanid monarchs of Persia, they drove the Hephthalites or White Huns into India and established themselves in the region of Bokhara and Samarkand. Then, forming an alliance with Byzantium, they defeated their former allies, the Sassanids. The region they occupied straddled the trade routes between the Orient and the Near East and their levies on the commercial caravans gave them the economic resources that spurred their rise as a military power.

In 589, China was once more reunited by the Sui dynasty and the national capital once again was established at Ch'angan (Sian). It was a strong and aggressive dynasty and the Turks were at first inclined to make friendly overtures through embassies sent to the Sui court. But the first Sui emperor was shrewd enough to realize that there could not be any enduring amity between China and the Turkish confederation and that sooner or later the Turks would attempt to invade China. The policy of the first Sui

*175 emperor in regard to the Turks was one of diplomacy backed by military power. Since the Turks were divided into the eastern and western branches, he conferred honors and titles on the kagans of both branches, encouraging them to bid for his favors. By concluding an agreement with the Sui court the Western Turks put the Eastern Turks in the shade. Not to be outdone, the Eastern Turks submitted and became vassals of Sui.

This policy of divide-and-rule served to forestall a major war between China and the Turks. However, it did not prevent sporadic border clashes nor revolts when the attention of the Sui court was diverted to internal unrest and troubles from foreign enemies from other quarters.

6.. T'ang Dynasty

The Turks supported the House of Li, which spearheaded the revolt against Sui and founded the T'ang dynasty in 618. However, in 624, a severe cold wave coupled with dwindling food supplies compelled the Eastern Turks to make a large-scale incursion into China. They advanced to the gates of the T'ang capital, Ch'angan (Sian) and, in the fury and momentum of their eruption, they could have overrun North China. Having arranged with the Western Turks to harass the rear of the Eastern Turks, young Li Shih-min, later Emperor T'ai-tsung, by a daring feat of diplomacy, persuaded the Eastern Turks to sign a treaty of friendship with China and to withdraw.

When he became emperor, three years later, Li Shih-min set out to diminish the power of the Turks. His agents sowed dissension in Turkish ranks and incited the people to rise against their rulers. T'ang troops lent assistance to the rebels and in 630 succeeded in destroying the Eastern Turks. Turkish troops were incorporated into the Chinese army. For the next half century, the expansion of the Chinese into the Northwest was accomplished largely with the aid of these Turkish auxiliaries.

Having eliminated the Eastern Turks, the T'ang emperor employed the same methods of creating dissension, followed by the intervention of Chinese troops, to overcome the Western Turks who were settled in the Ili Valley. It was a long campaign, but, as the war progressed, the Chinese found many allies among the native tribes of Central ASia. The Uighurs were the most useful. With their aid, the T'ang forces finally crushed the Western Turks (657-59) and took possession of their lands. Thus the frontier of the T'ang empire extended westward to the valley of the Oxus, northward to Lake Balkash and southward to the Pamirs. The amount of territory encompassed was greater than that under the Han dynasty.

Earlier, between 630 and 639, a T'ang army had subdued the Tibetan kingdom of Turfan in the region of Chinghai and a Chinese princess was given in marriage to the king of Tibet. Through her

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*175 influence and the Chinese artisans in her entourage, some fundamental changes were instituted in Tibet. From Tibet, a Chinese-led army invaded northern India in a punitive expedition to avenge an insult to a Chinese envoy.

The advance of the Chinese armies and the political stability that followed their occupation gave impetus to the development of Buddhism. Many of the tribes, such as the Uighurs, were converted. It was at this time that a Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, writing of her peregrinations to India, gave a vivid description of conditions in Central Asia.

In the administration of the lands west of the Kansu Corridor, the T'ang officials went a step further than their predecessors of the Han period. As the troops of the native states in Turkestan were incorporated into the Chinese army, so were their governments absorbed into the Chinese provincial system and the native rulers who were retained were treated as Chinese officials. Following the policy of the Han court, the T'ang emperors established a protectorate-general over the Western Regions. Troops, who at their top strength numbered nearly half a million men, were garrisoned in Kucha, Kharashahr, Kashgar and Khotan. To reduce the drain on the government, they were settled on the land.

But, as in the Han period, the T'ang government could not succeed in completely subjugating the native people. Its domination of Turkestan was maintained in the face of constant and powerful opposition. In 670, the Tibetans attacked. They captured the four garrison towns and thus severed the trade route between China and Central Asia. Though driven back by the Chinese, the Tibetans, nine years later, formed an alliance with the Western Turks. Their combined power almost succeeded in wresting Turkestan from the control of the Chinese. It was only in 692, that the Chinese destroyed the Turkish-Tibetan alliance, recaptured the four garrison towns, and reopened the trade routes.

Having triumphed over the Western Turks and the Tibetans, the Chinese soon found themselves confronting a new and more formidable foe. Early in the eighth century, led by their general Qutaiba, the black-flag armies of the Arabs marched into Sogdiana. They were at the height of their power and stories of their prowess in battle had preceded them. The fearful princes of Transoxiana and the Tarim region pleaded for aid and succor from China, but the T'ang court, now less vigorous than before, was disinclined to heed their pleas for help. When pressed, it gave only token aid to some of the nearby vassals.

The reluctance of the T'ang court gave the Tibetans their long sought-for chance to strike a blow against China and to reestablish their prestige as a great military power. To do this they needed the assistance of the Arabs. Since the Chinese-garrisoned cities in the Tarim Basin blocked the easiest and most direct route, the

*175 Tibetans had to take a circuitous way over the Hindu Kush and across the headwaters of the Indus River in order to reach the open end of the Oxus Valley. In 741, despite three Chinese expeditions to prevent them, the Tibetans succeeded in joining hands with the Arabs. The junction of the Tibetans and the Arabs presented such a strong military combination that many of the small states in Central Asia threw off their allegiance to China and joined the allies. Chinese political influence in the Tarim Basin was undermined.

The T'ang court thereupon decided to split the alliance and to regain its influence in Turkestan. The officer chosen for this task was a Korean named Kao Hsien-chih. Kao, who was second in command of the four garrison towns, set out in 747 with an army of 10,000, horse and foot. From Kashgar, and Aksu, his army marched through Tash Qurghan, then across the high and inhospitable plateau of the Pamirs. Defeating the Tibetans who were entrenched in a fortified position near Sarbad, he brought his army through the ice-covered Darkot and Boroghil passes to the valleys of the Yasin and the Gilgit, tributaries of the Indus. His expedition across the Hindu Kush cut the Tibetan-Arab line of communications. Sir Aurel Stein, who has followed the route of Kao Hsien-chih's march, calls it a feat which matched those of the great Alpine commanders. Three years later, he defeated a determined attempt by the Tibetans to recover the Yasin-Gilgit area, Chitral and Tokharistan. By reestablishing Chinese ascendancy in the moutainous region where today the frontiers of China, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet, he was able to bring the princes in the Vale of Kashmir and the Indus valley back to the political fold of China.

The reassertion of Chinese power in Central Asia was brief. Kao's high-handed treatment of the people in Tashkent, a thousand miles north of the scene of his victorious expedition, stirred up a wholesale rebellion of the people in the region beyond the Syr Daria (Jaxartes). They were given aid and support by the Arabs. Kao Hsien-chih marched north to suppress the rebellion and, in one of the decisive battles of history, the Chinese army under Kao clashed with the Arabs and their native allies at Athlach on the banks of the Talas River in July, 751. Caught between the Arab legions and the forces of Tashkent, Kao and his 30,000 men were decimated. The battle determined the fate of Central Asia. Supremacy in that region passed from the Chinese to the Arabs. Some of the Chinese prisoners of war were taken as far as Bagdad and other cities of the Abbassid Caliphate. There they introduced Chinese technology such as the art of making paper and spinning silk, and lacquerware. A few of them were able to find their way back to China by way of the Indian Ocean and brought back first-hand information of the Near East.

*175 The Chinese defeat in Central Asia had repercussions in China. The military disaster laid bare the weakness of the T'ang government. Foreign auxiliaries revolted and in 755 drove the emperor from his capital Ch'ang-an (Sian). Not until 757 did the T'ang troops, aided by Central Asian mercenaries, including an Arab contingent sent by the Caliph Abu Jafar al Mansur, finally put down the rebellion. Many of the Arab soldiers settled down in China and the Islamic conversion of the Kansu Corridor and Sinkiang dates from this period. Islam flourished. It escaped the persecutions directed at the other religions at the end of the T'ang dynasty, probably because of the services that the Arab troops had rendered to the T'ang court.

There were still trouble from the Tibetans who in 763 invaded and sacked the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an (Sian). In repeated incursions which lasted until 801 they spread ruin and panic through the western marches of China. In 798, the T'ang emperor Te-tsung concluded an alliance with the Caliph Harun al Rashid and, in a long drawn out campaign the Tibetans were finally brought to their knees in 821. Shortly afterwards, internal dissensions sapped the power of the Tibetans and they ceased to be an important factor in the affairs of Central Asia.

Following the reverses suffered by the T'ang armies in the far West and the progressive withdrawal of T'ang authority, the Turkic peoples began to reassert themselves and to set up independent kingdoms. The Uighurs, who defeated the Eastern Turks in 744, established an empire centered around their base on the Orkhon River in Western Mongolia. They were overwhelmed by the Kirghiz in 840. Some of the Uighurs migrated to the region of the Irtish River, but the bulk of them moved to the area around Urumchi and the Tarim Basin. The Qarluqs entrenched themselves in the territory of the Ili River while the Sha-t'o (of Chöl) had control of the area of present-day Kansu. As they steadily grew in power and as the T'ang empire disintegrated in a welter of insurrections and civil wars, these border peoples, such as the Sha-t'o, began to edge their way through the Kansu Corridor and other passes and to set up militaristic states in North and Northwest China.

7. Sung Dynasty

Conditions were stabilized in the tenth century with the reduction of the score and more of petty states into three major states: the Chinese dynasty of Sun occupying most of what is China Proper today, the Khitan state of Liao in North China claiming suzerainty over Mongolia westward to the Altai Mountains, and the Tangut state of Hsi-hsia which occupied the strategic Kansu Panhandle and parts of present-day Ninghsia. The Tibetans held Chinghai. These states waged long and fruitless wars against each other until the emergence of a new power, the Juchens from Manchuria,

*175 led to another change in the geographic and political picture. The Juchens, whose state was named Chin, destroyed the Liao empire and supplanted the Khitans in North China. A branch of the royal family of Liao fled westward to found the kingdom of Kara Khitai in the Tarim Basin. Defeated by the Juchens, the Sung court fled southward to establish themselves below the Yangtze River.

The invasions of nomadic peoples in north and northwest China and the border wars that had been raging for over two centuries were dwarfed in magnitude and ferocity by the appearance of a new people. Far up north, in the heart of the Gobi Desert, the Mongols under the leadership of Chingis Khan had fought their way to supremacy over the other nomadic tribes. Erupting from their desert fastness, they conquered the Tangut state of Hsi-hsia in 1209 and made foraya into the Chin kingdom in North China. Pushing westward, the Mongols entered the Tarim Basin in 1217 and subdued the state of Kara Khitai. Then they launched an offensive against the Khwarezmian empire located in the region between the Syr Daria (Oxus) and the Amu Daria (Jaxartes). Mongol horsemen plundered the riches of the Punjab while other spearheads driving westward penetrated Southern Russia as far as the Dnieper.

Returning from their invasion of Russia in 1225, the Mongol forces destroyed the Tangut state of Hsi-hsia in 1227 for its failure to cooperate with the Mongol overlords. Although Chingis Khan died that year, his sons continued the war against Chin , which they wiped out in 1234. The extinction of Chin brought the Mongols face to face with Sung China. In a desultory war lasting forty years, interrupted by another Mongol excursion into Europe, the Sung dynasty was destroyed and all China came under the domination of the Mongol Yüan dynasty.

8. Yüan Dynasty

Although under the rule of the Mongols there was peace in the region of Kansu and Turkestan so that there was a resumption of caravan traffic via the Silk Roads, yet the peace was ephemeral. During the reign of Qubilai, who conquered and unified China, there were costly internecine wars between him and his cousin, Khaidu, who had his base in the region later known as Dzungaria in northern Turkestan. After Qubilai's death, Turkestan, though nominally a part of the Yüan empire, was more or less the independent domain of the princes of the Chagatai branch of the Mongol ruling house.

9. Ming dynasty

In China, the Mongol dynasty was overthrown in 1367. The Chinese, who established the Ming dynasty, paid little attention to the Northwest regions. Neither the first Ming emperor, who was concerned with the consolidation and reconstruction of China, nor the third emperor, who built a powerful navy for expansion

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of
[167] the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and
*175 73 166 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the
*175 633 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

+175 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to
[633] a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest
[178] had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops
+175 to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces,
724 not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by
487 canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

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*175 B. The Huns

For centuries Turco-Mongolian tribes had raided the Chinese frontier. A confederation of these tribes was brought about by their ruler Touman (Chinese: Shan-yü ; Mongolian: Tengri). Known to the Chinese as the Hsiung-nu, and to the west, some time later, as the Huns, this confederation occupied the mountainous area of the upper Orkhon River, not far from the later Mongol capital, Kharakhorum. Under the pressure of the Huns, China changed from fighting in chariots to cavalry tactics. Even though expelled from the present-day Ordos and Alashan regions by the Ch'in commander, Meng T'ien, the Huns became a formidable power and adopted Chinese administrative experience for the creation of their empire. Under Maotun (209-174 B.C.), they successfully invaded China and forced the Han emperor, Kao-tsu, to negotiate. Maotun's son, Laoshan (174-161 B.C.) forced the Yueh-chih (Tochari) to migrate westward from western Kansu. A group of Yüeh-chih turned toward Tibet. Most passed through the Northern Gobi and attempted to settle in the Ili Valley and the Issyk Kul Basin, but were driven off by the Wu-sun (presumably a people belonging to the Sarmathian Alans). Thereupon they moved to the Jaxartes on the Graeco-Bactrian border. Pushed by the Yüeh-chih (140-130 B.C.), the Saka (eastern Scyths) moved south and seized Graeco-Bactria from the King, Heliokles. Crossing the Oxus River, the Yüeh-chih next conquered Bactria and the Saka escaped to Drangiana (Scistan) and Kandahar in present-day Afghanistan (130-70 B.C.).

The Kushans, one of the five Yüeh-chih clans to depart from Bactria in 128 B.C. conquered a part of Northern India in the period 30-244 A.D. Thus, the first impact of the Huns had an important influence upon the fate of Asia, particularly Central Asia. Their forward drive contributed to Hellenism's loss of Afghanistan, the destruction of the Iranian-Parthian Empire, and the creation of the Indo-Scythian Empire. The expulsion and dispersal of the Yüeh-chih increased the importance of the Huns. Thereafter they ruled on both sides of the eastern Gobi, Inner Mongolia and northwestern China. Through the campaigns of Emperor Wu, between 124 and 102 B.C., the Huns were driven back into Central Asia. Inner strife weakened the Hsiung-nu Empire after 60 B.C. and eventually it split into an eastern and a western part, the former occupying present-day Mongolia and Sinkiang and the latter the region between Lake Balkash and the Aral Sea. However, the new West Hunnic Empire was unable to consolidate itself and was further weakened by a Chinese military expedition (36-35 B.C.). Only ca. 370-375 A.D., under Balamir and Attila, did the Western Huns again enter upon the stage of history. The fate of the Eastern Empire has been described above.

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*175 C. Other Turko-Mongol Empires

The destruction of the Eastern Huns was brought about not by the Chinese but by the Hsien-pi. They are believed to have been Proato-Mongols from the Hsingan area in Manchuria, and replaced Hunnish rule on the Orkhon in the middle of the second century B.C.

Not until the fourth century A.D. did a new forward migration of the Huns begin. Liu Yüan, ruler of a Hunnish tribe of Inner Mongolia, planned the conquest of China. His son Liu Tsung (310-318 A.D.) became the "Atilla of China". He conquered and laid waste Lo-yang (311 A.D.) and Ch'ang-an (312 A.D.). He captured and killed two China emperors. The pressure of the Hsiung-nu forced the Chin to transfer the capital to Chin-ling (Nanking) and the Huns founded their first dynasty on Chinese soil, the Chao Dynasty, 304-352 A.D. It was succeeded by the (Hunnish?) Ch'in Dynasty, which extended from Shensi far into Central Asia (351-392) and then by the Hsia (407-431), which ruled over part of the same territory. During this period the Hsien-pi eventually succeeded in establishing one dynasty in Kansu (Southern Liang, 397-404) and a succession of different ones in North China (Yen, 349-410). Other Mongol and Turkish tribes established themselves in Shensi and Kansu.

Another confederation which resorted to empire-building on Chinese soil was the Toba, an offshoot of the Hsien-pi. This confederation appears to have consisted of a Turkic core with proto-Mongolian and possibly even Tungusic components. The Toba asserted themselves against all of the nomadic states on Chinese soil. Their dynasty, the Wei, founded in 386, eventually encompassed the entire area of North China, and parts of Inner Asia up to Tun-huang. It finally split apart in 535. Thus the Toba succeeded in establishing the most enduring conquest dynasty of this period. This was due to a series of factors: the original breadth of their confederation; the initial vigor of their leadership; the readiness to conform to Chinese social and administrative patterns for the governing of their Chinese empire; and, most important, the wisdom they gained from the shortcomings of earlier conquest dynasties. Once settled on Chinese soil most of these had tended to lose their identity. More significantly, they had cut their ties to the nomadic home base, which, after all, was the only source of strength to sustain their power in the new environment. The Toba, however, had consciously divided their society into two sectors, one of which was to rule Chinese (agricultural) territories with the help of Chinese administrative experience, whereas the other was to maintain the nomadic and warrior traditions of the steppe. Only after this balance had been disturbed in favor of the Chinese sector did the Toba Empire disintegrate due to martial pressures emanating, not from the Chinese population they ruled, but from their neglected nomad-warriors.

#175 Goodrich (A Short History of the Chinese People, p. 85) conveniently tabulates the different conquest dynasties of this period in the following way:

Ruling Group	Race	Domain	Date of Rule
CHAO			
Early Chao, or northern Han	Hsiung-nu	Shansi	304-329
Later Chao	Hsiung-nu	Hopei	319-352
LIANG			
Early Liang	Chinese	Kansu; central Asia as far as Turfan	313-376
Later Liang	Turkic or Mongol	Kansu	386-403
Southern Liang	Hsien-pi or Turkic	Kansu	397-404, 408-414
Northern Liang	Hsiung-nu	Western Kansu; central Asia as far as Kao-ch'ang	397-439
Western Liang	Chinese?	Western Kansu	401/5-421
YEN			
Early Yen	Hsien-pi or Mongol	Hopei and Honan	349-370
Later Yen	Hsien-pi	Hopei	384-408
Western Yen	Hsien-pi	Shansi	384-396
Southern Yen	Hsien-pi	Shantung	398-410
Northern Yen	Chinese	Northern Hopei and Southern Manchuria	409-436
CH'IN			
Early Ch'in	Mongol	Shensi; and into central Asia at one time	351-394
Later Ch'in	Mongol or Tibetan	Shensi	384-417
Western Ch'in	Turkic or Mongol	Kansu	385-390, 409-431
HSIA	Hsiung-nu	Shensi	407-431
WEI			
Northern Wei	Turkic	All of North China and part of Central Asia	386-535

*175 In 402 A.D. the leader of the Juan-juan, believed to be a proto-Mongolian people, ruled the Gobi and Tsaidam area. With him and his successors the titles Khan and Khagan, for the first time replaced the Hsiung-nu title of Shan-yü (tengri).

In approximately 440 A.D. the Hephtalitic or White Huns, a horde probably of Mongolian origin, migrated from the Altai region via Turkestan into Transoxania. Their leader, Aqsunvar, defeated and killed Peroz, the king of the Sassanids (484 A.D.). The latter's successor, Kavadh (498 or 499 A.D.), was almost a vassal but the Sassanid state remained too powerful to provide a promising target. Therefore, the Hephtalites turned against India.

Thus by about 500 A.D. the steppe was divided into three vast Turko-Mongolian empires. The Juan-Juan ruled the area from the Manchurian border to Turfan and the eastern extremity of Lake Balkash, and from the Orkhon River to the Great Wall. They seemed to have exercised a type of suzerainty over the Hephtalites, who ruled the area from Turkestan to Eastern Iran, and from the Aral Sea to the Punjab. The Western Huns, who had already split into several groups by this time, controlled the steppes of South Russia.

D. The T'u-chüeh (Turks)

In the middle of the sixth century a new empire arose in the steppes. It was known to the Chinese by the name, T'u-chüeh, an attempted transliteration of an original Türküt, plural form of the word Türk meaning "strong." The T'u-chüeh had resided in the Altai region as part of the Juan-Juan confederation. Around 520 A.D. an internecine war had broken out among the Juan-Juan and had led to their weakening. A revolt of the proto-Uighuric Tölös against the Juan-Juan was suppressed ca. 546 A.D. with the aid of the T'u-chüeh whose tribes united under Bumin. Under his leadership and in cooperation with the Toba, the T'u-chüeh destroyed the Juan-Juan empire in 551. The last Juan-Juan Khaqan ended his life by suicide, 552 A.D. Then Bumin took the title of Khaqan and ruled over the Orkhon region, which remained the pivot of steppe empires from the days of the Hsiung-nu to the era of Chingis Khan.

Bumin's son, Mu-han, (553-572 A.D.) founded an Eastern branch that ruled the approximate area of present-day Outer and Inner Mongolia. Bumin's younger brother, Istemi, (552-575 A.D.) founded a Western line in Eastern Turkestan. The latter destroyed the Hephtalite Empire with the aid of the Sassanids (565 A.D.). Some of the Hephtalites on the Aral Sea apparently became the nucleus of the Avars who pressed forward into Europe. Istemi, now a neighbor of the Sassanid Empire, allied himself with Byzantium (567 A.D.). However, his son, Tardu (572-603 A.D.), attacked Byzantium in the Crimea. The conquest of heretofore Persian Tokharistan was completed.

#175 As long as the semblance of cooperation between the two Turkic empires was maintained, it constituted a formidable threat to newly-reunited China. However, the Western ruler, Yabghu (possibly an Indo-Scythian title adopted by the Western Turks) Tardu refused to recognize the Khaqan title of the Eastern Empire. The Chinese at first supported Tardu in order to stave off the more immediate threat of the Eastern Turks. Later, however, when Tardu advanced against Ch'ang-an (601 A.D.), they allied themselves with the Eastern Empire and incited the Tölös in Dzungaria against him. Tardu was forced to flee to Lake Kokonor and disappeared (603 A.D.). With the rise of the T'ang, conquest replaced diplomacy in Chinese dealings with the Turks. The Eastern Turkic El-Khagan (Chinese: Hsi-lieh) was defeated in 630 A.D., again with the support of the Tölös.

Disintegration of the Eastern Turkic Empire, brought about by a rebellion of the Turkic Qarluqs, accelerated. Even the Indo-Scythian states of the Tarim Basin were forced into submission. The Eastern Turkic Empire became subject to China for fifty years. (630-682 A.D.).

The Eastern Turkic Empire was revived under the Khagan Qutlugh (died 691 A.D.) with the aid of the able Chinese-educated statesman, Tonyukuk. Khagan Mo-cho (691-716 A.D.) successfully interfered in internal Chinese quarrels. With the aid of the Chinese he defeated the Khitan (see below) (696-697 A.D.). However, he died as a result of a conspiracy. He was succeeded by his brother, Bilge Khagan (716-734 A.D.), who, upon the advice of Tonyukuk, negotiated a peace treaty with China (721-722 A.D.) and erected a stele engraved with the so-called Orkhon inscriptions, the oldest example of literary Turkish. His death by poison led to a serious crisis and finally to the destruction of the Eastern Turkic Empire (744 A.D.) by the Uighurs who were allied with China.

E. The Uighur Empire

The Uighur, who, in alliance with other Central Asiatic tribes, succeeded in smashing the powerful Eastern Turkic Empire, had originally been part of the Tölös confederation. They had nomadized along the banks of the Selenga in northern Mongolia, even though part of the Turkic Empire had maintained a rather independent existence. In their wars against the Eastern Turks the Uighurs had sided with the Chinese; by the middle of the eighth century we find an Uighur confederation, consisting of nine Uighur tribes, the Qarlug, and the Basmil, in possession of a territory ranging from present-day Manchuria to the Altai and the Tienshan. Their capital was again situated on the Orkhon at what is today's Qara-Balgasun. During Kao Hsien-chih's campaigns in Central Asia they had kept a friendly neutrality. This traditional friendship led the T'ang rulers to enlist their help in suppressing the An Lu-shan rebellion (see China General, Historical Setting). Without their support, the

#195 rebellion might have meant the death-knell of the T'ang Empire. Twice they freed Lo-yang from the rebels, and they again assisted the Chinese in repulsing the Tibetans. The Uighur Empire became the principal power of Central Asia. Several of their Khagans received Chinese princesses in marriage, and a thriving exchange of tribute continued to bind the two empires together. As evidenced by the famous trilingual Qara-Balasagun inscription, Manicheism was introduced to the Uighurs from China and became their dominant religion.

Since the third decade of the ninth century inner strife had plagued the Uighur court. Thus the Kirghiz, approaching from the upper Yenissei, were able to destroy the Uighur Empire in 840 A.D. Its last Khagan fell in battle, and until 920 A.D. the Kirghiz controlled the key position on the Orkhon River.

The remaining Uighur tribes sought refuge among the Tibetans and the Chinese. Those who had fled to the Chinese found no welcome and were extinguished by 848. Those who had fled toward the west, however, were able to maintain two centers of continued Uighur existence, one in western Kansu and one in the area of Kucha and Bisbalig. In the tenth century they were strongly entrenched in the Kan-chou and the Turfan area, still retaining tribute relationship with late T'ang and the so-called Five Dynasties.

F. The Sha-t'o (Chöl Turks)

The Sha-t'o or Chöl Turks, who played such a decisive part in Chinese history during the tenth century, had originally belonged to the western T'u-chüeh Empire. In the seventh century, east of Lake Barkul, they split away from this Empire. One section of their tribes was still found between the tenth and the twelfth centuries north of the Aral Sea. However, the main group was dislocated by the Tibetans in 712 and immigrated west into the area of Ku-ch'eng. A century later, driven out again by the Tibetans, they requested protection from China and were assigned grazing territory in the Ordos and Alashan region. From there, under their young commander, Li K'o-yung, they interfered in favor of the tottering T'ang house. Two of the short-lived Five Dynasties, the Posterior T'ang (923-936) and the Posterior Chin (936-946 A.D.) were Sha-t'o foundations.

G. The Khitan and the Juchen

The Khitan are now commonly considered to be descendants of the Hsien-pi. At the time of the founding of their empire, however, they constituted a highly complex tribal society in which Tungusic and Uighur components were particularly strong. They are mentioned in Chinese records in the early fifth century as nomadizing in present-day Jehol. Raids across the Chinese border are frequently mentioned.

#175 Chinese attempts to subdue them appear to have been generally unsuccessful. Toward the end of the seventh century a major drive toward empire-building was blocked by the Eastern Turks. Thus only in the early tenth century did they emerge as a major power under the energetic leadership of their Khan, Ye-lü A-pao-chi (died 926). In 924, A-pao-chi drove the Kirghiz out of the Orkhon region. At the same time he destroyed the Tungusic North Korean Kingdom of Po-hai. His son and successor (927-47) assumed the Chinese dynastic title of Liao (937).

The empire that was erected covered most of present-day Manchuria, part of North China including present-day Peking and Tatung, and Mongolia up to the Altai. They took Kan-chou and Su-chou from the Uighurs, but an attempted drive toward Kashgar was cut short.

The patterns of conquest and rule of the Liao Emperors are based on the same principle which earlier conquerors had used: a dichotomy of administrative and social institutions into two sectors, a "Chinese" and a "tribal" one. In this way Khitan power remained impregnable even after the rise of the new indigenous Chinese dynasty, the Sung (960). The Sung had to recognize the Liao Empire and even to pay heavy tribute to guarantee a peace negotiated in 1004. This peace lasted for about a century.

When, in 1125, the Juchen finally smashed the Liao Empire, the "tribal sector" of the Khitan migrated west under the leadership of Ye-lü Ta-shih, who founded the empire of Kara-Khitai in Turkestan up to the Aral Sea.

The Juchen (Jürched) who rose under A-ku-ta (1113-1123) took over the Liao Empire and added to it the greater part of North China, after having captured the Sung capital, Kaifeng, and abducting into captivity two Chinese Emperors (1126). The Sung again had to pay heavy tribute to maintain a precarious peace. The Juchen were a Tungusic people who already had stopped the earlier drive of the Khitan toward the sea and toward Korea. They called their dynasty Chin (Gold). Their patterns of rule followed closely those of the Liao.

H. The Mongols

By the end of the twelfth century the actual steppe empires in Central Asia were limited to the region north of the Gobi and to the Altai, Khangai and the Kentei ranges. The Naiman, a mongolized Turkic people living on the upper Irtych, adopted cultural characteristics from the Uighurs. The Turkic Kirghiz, who had been expelled from the Orkhon region by the Khitan, lived further north. Another Turkic people, the Kereits, were Nestorians; their Khan Marguz (Marcus), was handed over by the Tatars to the Chin and executed. His grandson, Toghrut, in alliance with the Chin, defeated the Tatars and by 1199 A.D. had become the most powerful ruler of Mongolia. The Chin court at Peking

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#175 bestowed the title of King (Wang Khan) upon him. North of the Kereits and south of Lake Baikal lived the Turkic or Mongolian Merkits. West of Lake Baikal lived the Mongolian Oirats, in northern Manchuria the Tungusic Solons, between the Kerulen and the Hsingan range the Mongolian Tatars, and between the Onon and the Kerulen the actual Mongols. The last may not have been originally a steppe, but a forest people. They were divided into numerous independent and mutually hostile tribes.

1. Chingis Khan

Chingis Khan, or Temujin, as he was called until 1196, was born in 1167 (1155?). While he was a boy, his father, Yesügge, the leader of the Mongolian Kiyat clan, was killed by the Tatars, and his clan disintegrated. Shortly afterwards, Temujin became the vassal of Wang Khan under whom he defeated all the other major steppe peoples. In 1203 Chingis Khan quarrelled with Wang Khan, forced him to flee and brought the Kereits into submission. In 1204 Chingis Khan defeated the Naimans and killed their chieftain. A tribal assembly (Qurultai) was convoked and Chingis Khan was proclaimed Khaqan (1206). Thereafter, all the peoples subjugated by Chingis Khan became part of the "Mongol Ulus". Chingis Khan attacked Hsi-hsia, in Kansu and the Ordos region and forced the ruler to pay tribute (1206-1211). Then he turned against the Chin empire and devastated it methodically. In 1215 Yen-ching (now Peking) fell to the Mongols. The captured Khitan prince, Ye-lü Ch'u-tsai, became an important adviser to Chingis Khan.

In 1218 the Mongols conquered Kara-Khitai. Since at that period Moslems were persecuted in Kara-Khitai, the Mongols were regarded as liberators. With the conquest of Kara Khitai, the Mongols bordered on the newly-created empire of Khwarezm, which they proceeded to attack. Bukhara was captured in February, 1220, Samarkand in March of the same year, and the former Khwarezm capital, Khurghan, in April, 1221. The occupied territories were laid waste completely .

Chingis Khan's generals next conquered the Koman Empire in Southern Russia (1221-23) and then returned to the steppe north of the Syr-darya. Then the conquest of Hsi-hsia was completed. Chingis Khan died before the end of this campaign (August 18, 1227).

Prior to his death, Chingis Khan had divided his empire into several uluses and apportioned them among his sons, his wife and his closest followers. The second son, Chagatai, (died 1242), received primarily the former principality of Kara Khitai.

2. Turkestan under the house of Chagatai (13-14 century)

The successors of Chagatai were able to retain the characteristics of a steppe empire. They continued the tradition of the Kara-Khitai Empire which also had had a Mongolian dynasty

#175 ruling over a Turkic population. By the early 14th century they had become turkified to such an extent that their name has been used to designate the Eastern Turkic language; Chagatai equals Turkic.

Until around 1260, the Chagatai Ulus displayed few signs of being independent of the all Mongol capital Kharakhorum. However, under Alghu (1261-1266), who supported Qubilai in the latter's quarrel with Erik Böke, the Chagatai Ulus received a more independent status. Soon thereafter the Chagataids embraced Islam (1266). From 1267-1301 the Chagatai Khanate was vassal to Khaidu, a descendant of Ugedei and a rival of Qubilai. Following the death of Khaidu (1301), the power of the Chagatai Empire reached its zenith under the successive reigns of Duvá (died 1306), Esen Bugha (died 1320) and Kebek (died 1326). During the latter's reign a campaign against India was undertaken. After a temporary split of Chagatai into Transoxania and the actual "Mogolistan" (the region along the Issyk Kul), the Chagatai ulus was reunited by Tughluk Timur (1347-1363). Tughluk Timur appointed Tamerlane as advisor to his son to whom he had granted Transoxania. Tamerlane (1336 1405), after overthrowing the Chagataids, carved out a huge Central Asian Empire which included Northern India, Eastern and Western Turkestan, Northern Persia and Southern Russia. After Tamerlane's death the Chagatai Khanate in Eastern Turkestan (Issyk Kul and Sinkiang area) flourished once again under its rulers and became again the most powerful state in Central Asia. However, when Mahmud (1490-1509) was defeated by Mohammed Sheiban the Chagatai Khanate once again was restricted to the region east of the Tienshan range. In the 17th century all traces of the house of Chagatai were lost. In the Kashgar region it was replaced by Khodjas who regarded themselves as direct descendants of Mohammed.

3. Ugedei

The third son of Chingis, Ügedei, received the former Naiman region, and the youngest son, Tolui (died 1232), the Mongolian home region. The latter convoked a qurultai in 1229 which elected Ugedei as Khaqan. In 1235 Ügedei built his capital at Kharakhorum. During the next four years Ügedei, with the aid of the Sung emperor of the South, completed the conquest of the Chin Empire. The Mongolian general, Churmaghan, completed the conquest of Persia (1230-1241). Between 1235 and 1241 the Mongolian armies invaded the empire of the Kama Bolghars, Southern Russia, Poland, Croatia and Hungary, but the Mongolian prince, Batu, retreated upon the death of Ügedei. In opposition to Batu, Ugedei's widow forced the qurultai to proclaim her son, Göyük, as Khaqan. A quarrel broke out between Batu and Göyük but the latter died in 1248 after a reign of two years. After a brief interregnum he was

*175 succeeded by Möngke (1251-1259). A qurultai of 1253 announced renewal of the campaigns against Persia and China.

Persia was finally conquered in 1256. Thereafter it was ruled by Möngke's brother, Hulagu, and by his successors, later called the Il-khans.

4. Qubilai and the Yüan dynasty

The conquest of China was not completed until 1279. It was directed by Möngke's brother, Qubilai, who succeeded Möngke as Khaqan in 1260, after a brief quarrel with his rival, Erik Böke, over the succession. As early as 1270 Qubilai proclaimed the Yüan as a new Mongolian dynasty for China. This dynasty lasted until 1368 when it was overthrown by resurgent Chinese forces who established a native dynasty, the Ming.

5. Dissension between Eastern and Western Mongols

After the expulsion of the last Yüan emperor, Toghan Temür, (died 1370) the Ming rulers advanced into Mongolia. For more than twenty years, the Hung-wu Emperor (1368-1398), the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, conducted campaigns against the Mongols. In 1402 the Mongol Chief, Gun Temur Khan, was assassinated. From that time on intertribal warfare ensued between the nomads east of the Alashan, the Eastern Mongols, and those west of it, who were known as Wala or Oirat (see below).

In the west several Oirat chiefs achieved varying degrees of success in their efforts to exercise power and authority over their fellow tribesmen. Batula, son of an Oirat prince, was proclaimed chief of his people by Elbe, Khan of Mongolia, in 1393. Earlier, in 1388, Toghan Temür's nephew, Tokuz Temür, had been defeated in the Buir Nor region by a Chinese army. Khan Elbe himself was defeated and killed by the prince of the Kergüts in 1399. Only under Olghai Temur, (1403) did the Qubilaids (descendants of Qubilai) again become renowned. However, they were defeated by the Yung-lo emperor on the Onon River in 1410 and shortly thereafter by the Oirat leader, Ma-ha-mu. The Oirat domination of Mongolia was fostered by the Chinese government and reached the peak of its success under Toghan (1434-39).

After a series of localized struggles for power the Oirats became formidable and even subdued the Eastern Mongols and other neighboring tribes. Fired with the ambition to revive Mongol greatness, the next Oirat chieftain, Esen Taiji, made preparations to renew incursions into China. In 1449 he collected his forces and descended upon the frontier of Shansi. At a place called T'u-mu (in Chahar) the Chinese imperial armies were surrounded by the enemy. The emperor, Ying-tsung, who had taken the field in person against the Oirats, was captured alive and carried away to the desert, and Esen Taiji proclaimed himself khan of all Mongolia. Only the stubborn resistance of the militia

*175 saved the Chinese capital, Peking. Hoping to ally himself with the Ming empire, Esen returned the captive emperor to Peking. However, internal dissensions soon disintegrated the Oirats. Esen Taiji was assassinated by his own men in 1453, and the Western Mongols' period of political dominance came to an end.

The decline of the Oirats did not bring an end to Mongol activity. Now the Eastern Mongols dominated the desert country and continued the practice of raiding the Chinese frontier.

With the accession of Dayan Khan (1470-1543), Mongolia was again united under one Eastern Mongol khan. The Oirats were compelled to acknowledge his supreme authority. As a consequence of the new political alignment the continuous struggle between the Oirats and the Eastern Mongols ceased for a time. Kharakhorum was taken from the Oirats in 1552.

Events of this and the following period were related to the reconversion of the Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism in the sixteenth century under the Tumet prince, Altan Khan. The church proved to be a unifying agency, a cohesive force which held together the elements of Mongolian culture and enabled it to resist assimilation by Chinese civilization. This conversion also produced a more closely integrated society which was amenable to control by a central authority. Thus, even before the period of Western Mongol ascendancy control of the church was identified with control of the Mongols. As a result of the conquest of Tibet by the Khoshuts (who are western Mongols), the Buddhist church and its officials became subservient to the Western Mongols and acquired new political importance. Mongol aspirants to power installed their own relatives in high ecclesiastical offices and then attempted to consolidate control over their newly-expanded empire by using the church as a symbol of Mongol unity. The Dalai Lama came to be associated with the cause of the Western Mongols. The Jebtsundamba incarnation (see section Religion) was established among the Khalkhas (who are eastern Mongols), and in similar manner became the symbol of the Eastern Mongols' claim to hegemony.

6. The rise of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty

The former rulers of China, the Juchens, now called Manchu, took advantage of the waning power of the Ming dynasty. Their able leader, Nurhachi (1599-1626), reorganized their six leagues between the Sungari River and the Japanese Sea and laid the foundations of the Manchu Empire. His son, Abahai (1626-1643), defeated the Khan of the Chahars, Ligdan Khan (1604-1634). Inner Mongolia entered into a relationship with the Manchus that lasted until 1912. The Manchus' final conquest of China occurred in 1644, when Abahai's son, the Shun-chih Emperor was elevated to the throne of Ch'ing.

The Qubilaid Burni, Khan of the Chahars, attempted to attack

*175 his successor the Kang-hsi Emperor but was defeated and captured. However, the real danger for China came from the Western Mongols.

7. The Western Mongols or Oirats

a. earlier history

Chinese and Mongol annals of the thirteenth century testify to the existence of a tribe of Western Mongols in the early part of that century who had probably lived in what is now the northwestern Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. These Mongols were called Wei-la or Wa-la. The Ta-shi Wei-la are said to have made a league with other tribes against Chingis Khan in 1204. The submission of the Wa-la to Chingis is reported a few years later. The Persian historian, Rashid-ed-Din, writing in the fourteenth century, reports the league and submission of the Oirats during the same years. They apparently are to be identified with the Ta-shih Wei-la and Wa-la. The Horiads of Marco Polo and the Boyrats of John of Plano-Carpini are evidently the same Oirats.

The Western Mongols or Oirats, whom the Chinese writers of the Ming period term Wa-la, were noticed by the Turkish writers of the same period under the name of Kalmaks. Even today these people are known in Europe by the same name, which is more generally written Kalmuck. The origin of this name is obscure and has not been satisfactorily explained, although it is thought to have been applied to the Western Mongols by Turkish neighbors.

Chinese authors of the Manchu dynasty generally wrote the name of the Oirats Wei-la-t'e or O-lu-te, from which are derived the spellings, Elute, Eleuth, Olot, Ölöt and others, by which these people are variously designated. Howorth believes that the name Oirat, or one of its variants originally was the name of only one branch of the Western Mongols, the dominant tribe among them, and that later it was applied to the whole group.

b. composition

Since ancient times the Oirat have been considered to be a union composed of four tribes, the names of which have varied according to the sources and the period of their history. However, the initial divisions in the Ming period seem to have comprised the following tribes:

1. The Choros in the Ili District
2. The Khoshut in Urumchi
3. The Durbet on the Irtish
4. The Torgut in Tarbagatai

After the Torgut migration to Russia in the early part of the 17th century, the Khoit, who formerly were part of the Durbet, are listed as one of the four Oirat. During this same period the Khoshut resettled in Kokonor and their former lands in Urumchi became common pasture for all the Dzungarian princes. The Ch'ien Lung Emperor, noting this apparently unorganized use

*175 of the common pastures, ordered the restoration of the four Oirats as a means of promoting systematic land utilization. He proposed to establish the Durbet, the Khoshut, the Khoit, and the Choros as the four groups. Later, with the final pacification of the Northwest in the late 18th century, the return of the Torgut from Russia, the formation of the aimaks and the allotment of the pastures, the Oirat numbered six: the Elueth (Ölüt), Khoshut, Khoit, Choros, Durbet, and Torgut.

Regardless of what names have been applied to the sub-groups at various periods, these Western Mongols constitute a unit distinct from the rest of the Mongols. Before the Yüan dynasty historians recognized them as a separate division of the "Mongol nation". Finally, with the breakup of the Yüan dynasty and the reappearance of the ancient division between Eastern and Western Mongols, the Wa-la or Oirat again appear as a separate group. They sometimes fought, sometimes joined, their northern or western neighbors in the struggles for supremacy over all of Mongolia. These struggles continued until the Mongols were finally pacficied in the Manchu period, and their history is in a great measure the history of the Western Mongols.

After the death of Dayan Khan renewal of conflicts in Khalkha ended the period of peaceful relations. The new wars were fought between the Oirats and the Khalkha Tushetu and Jasaktu Khans. About 1577 the Tushetu Khan, Abatai, won a brilliant victory over the Oirats. He subjected them to his authority and installed his son, Subagatai, as their khan. However, after the death of Abatai in 1586, the Oirats rebelled, killed Subagatai and declared themselves independent. This revolt set off a new series of wars with the Khalkhas that continued into the last half of the 17th century.

During this period of Oirat activity a Dzungar prince, Batur Khun, arose. His goal was the creation of a single powerful Oirat state. His ambitions forced other princes to secede from the proposed union. It was during the first quarter of the 17th century that the Torgut prince, Khu Urluk, led his people's migration to the banks of the Volga. Later in the same century some of the Durbets and Khoshuts of Dzungaria followed the Torgute to Russian territory.

A Khoshut prince, Gushi Khan, became a successor to the aspirations of Batur Khan. A resolute and energetic individual, he had made a name for himself by his military activities and his devotion to the Lamaist faith, which he defended with his forces wherever it needed support. In 1637 he launched a campaign against the Khalkha prince, Tsoktu-noin, who, forced out of his own country by other princes, had withdrawn to Kokonor, where he espoused shamanism and began to persecute Buddhism, especially the Yellow Sect. Gushi Khan defeated the Khalkha prince, conducted victorious campaigns in Kham and Tibet, and then retired with his people to Kokonor.

*175 The defection of Oirat princes from the union to escape Batur Khun's influence had been coupled with the rising peril in the east from the Manchus, who had grown into a strong military power. Both factors impelled the Oirat and the Northern Mongol princes to forget their ancient enmities and to unite to protect their mutual interests. The defeat of Ligdan Khan of Chahar and the submission of many southern Mongolian princes to the Manchus alarmed the princes of northern Mongolia. It forced them to consent to the Oirat proposal to participate in a pan-Mongolian congress. In the fall of 1640 the seven independent Khalkha princes and the chiefs of the four tribes that comprised the Oirat union met near the Tarbagatai mountains and approved a body of laws that aimed to create a union of northern and western Mongols. The reciprocal rights and obligations of the princes were delineated, and laws to provide uniform criminal and civil procedure were devised. The objective of the congress was to establish a basis for elimination or mediation of internecine conflicts. These consistently had frustrated earlier attempts to unify the Mongols politically, and now threatened to destroy them. The Oirat and Khalkha princes agreed to refrain from attacking each other or from provoking any kind of discord among themselves.

Despite the acknowledged political necessity of creating a united front to halt internal disintegration and to oppose Manchu encroachment, neither Oirat nor Khalkha princes supported the resolutions of the Congress. Conflicts between the princes, at least among the Oirats, were resumed and continued until all the Mongols were subdued by the Manchus.

b. Galdan and his successors

Soon after the accession of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty (1644) the Inner (eastern and southern) and Outer Mongols submitted to the jurisdiction of the Chinese empire. The Oirats, however, not only remained defiant but became strong enough to challenge the supremacy of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Dzungars, left-wing of the Oirat federation, already had dominated the neighboring minor tribes of the Ili district, forcing the Torguts to migrate. The Khoshuts had conquered Kokonor and Tibet. The Dzungars subdued the other Oirats and intervened in a religious war which had broken out among the Islamic priests, thereby extending their influence to eastern Turkestan, which they controlled for the next seventy-eight years. Having established sovereignty over a vast area, embracing the districts of Kobdo, Kokonor, and Turkestan both north and south of the Tienshan, Galdan, the Dzungar chieftain, now turned his attention to the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia.

The Ch'ing government, experiencing difficulties with the Russians at this time, adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the Dzungars. Galdan, however, continued his campaign against the Khalkhas and forced large numbers of them to seek the protection

*175 of the Ch'ing emperor. Galdan then prepared to invade the districts south of the desert. The K'ang-hsi Emperor saw clearly that the ambitions of the khan included eventual conquest of the Chinese empire. In 1690, when Galdan descended upon the Inner Mongols and defeated the imperial forces, the emperor marched against him with troops from various tribes and won a decisive but costly victory. Galdan was allowed to return with his followers to his homeland.

During Galdan's ascendancy, and as a direct result of his aggressive campaigns, the Khoshuts of Alashan settled in the region which they inhabit today. These people, led by descendants of Gushi Khan, the Kokonor chief, first settled in the western Ordos where they were victims of Galdan's aggrandizement. After the Dzungar prince had laid waste their territory and killed some of their leaders in 1686 the Khoshuts applied to the Manchu emperor for new pastures, which were allotted to them in the region west of the Alashan mountains.

Galdan's retirement after his defeat by the Chinese armies was only a temporary one. He soon sought the aid of the Russians and the Dalai Lama, while his warriors renewed their attacks upon the Khalkhas. Finally, after the Dzungar chief had murdered the Emperor's envoy who had been sent to establish peace in a family feud between Galdan and his newphew, Tsewang Raptan, the Emperor sent two Chinese armies against him. The Dzungars were thoroughly beaten. Galdan escaped westward only to find his homeland occupied by Tsewang Raptan, and orders posted everywhere for his arrest. At length, after refusing the Emperor's offer to accept his peaceful surrender, Galdan took his own life in 1696.

Tsewang Raptan declared himself vassal of the Emperor and surrendered the entire district of Dzungaria west of the Altai mountains. Following him the Khoshuts in Kokonor also submitted.

It seemed that the pacfication of the Western Mongols had been completed. After a short interval of peace, however, new conflicts erupted among the Oirat tribes, and the next fifty years were marked by sporadic rebellions that repeatedly required the intervention of imperial troops. In the last years of the K'ang-hsi Emperor's reign, the chief of the Mongols in Tibet, Latsan Khan, who was subservient to the Emperor, drove out the Dalai Lama's civil functionary who was a protege of the Dzungar princes. Meanwhile, Tsewang Raptan was undertaking a policy of aggrandizement. He extended his authority to parts of Central Asia, Siberia, Mongolia and eastern Turkestan as far as Qomul (Hami), which was held by the Chinese. As he became strong, he threw off his allegiance to the Ch'ing court. In 1715, although he was beaten back in his attempt to seize Qomul, his troops led by Cheren Dondub bypassed the Chinese defenses and invaded Chinghai. Brushing aside Chinese defenders, the Dzungars knifed their way into Tibet to capture Lhasa, which they held until 1720. Latsan Khan was put to death, the Dalai Lama taken prisoner,

*175 and the country subjected to the ravages of the invading Dzungars. The Emperor sent his armies against Tsewang Raptan to restore order, and he was finally defeated by the Chinese under Nien Keng-yao and forced to evacuate Tibet. However, the Emperor's armies were unsuccessful in Turkestan, and the greater part of the country remained in the hands of Tsewang Raptan.

Meanwhile, Tsewang Raptan, moving north, came into conflict with the Russians. Two Russian expeditions, sent against him in 1715 and 1720 by Tsar Peter I, were beaten by the redoubtable Cheren Dondub. Among the prisoners taken was a Swedish officer who helped the Dzungars make firearms.

Such were the circumstances when the K'ang-hsi Emperor died in 1722. His successor was Yung-cheng, whose accession was marked by a new Oirat rebellion among the Khoshuts of Kokonor. The Khoshut prince, Lobdzang Dandzin, a grandson of Gushi Khan, declared himself independent. A Chinese army marched into Kokonor, quickly quelled the uprising, and forced Lobdzang Dandzin to flee to Dzungaria where he was given asylum by Tsewang Raptan.

When Tsewang Raptan died, the court at Peking thought that the opportunity had come to chastize the Dzungars and to bring them to submission. In 1731 a large army, composed of Solons, Khorchins and other Mongol auxiliaries and buttressed by Manchu bannermen, was sent under Furdan. But, not far from Kobdo, it was met and routed by the Dzungars under Cheren Dondub, who then led his men to capture the towns of Qomul (Hami), Urumchi (Tihua) and Kitai. The defeat set back China's advance in the Northwest for twenty years. Although the war continued until 1738 when peace was finally concluded, the people of Dzungaria prospered under the rule of the son of Tsewang Raptan, Galdan Chereng. He renewed the attack on the Khalkhas. Once more the Emperor resorted to military intervention.

Having failed in every attempt to penetrate Dzungaria or to subdue its inhabitants, the Emperor decided to adopt conciliatory measures. He established a frontier between the Oirats and Khalkhas along the Altai Mountains and arranged an agreement between the two peoples to refrain from trespassing upon the pastures of the other.

The death of Galdan Chereng in 1747, however, precipitated a new series of violent conflicts among aspirants to the succession. In the Ili Valley, the grandson of Cheren Dondub, Davatsi, killed Tsewang Raptan's grandson who was then ruler of the Dzungars, and made himself ruler.

Davatsi's success was in part due to the assistance of Amursana, chief of the Khoits. After he had secured his position Davatsi turned against Amursana who fled with his followers to China and submitted to the Emperor, later to assist the Ch'ing troops in their advance on Ili. Other Oirat chieftains whose ambitions had been frustrated by

*175 Davatsi also took refuge in China. The tales of their grievances reached the ears of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor who sent his armies into Dzungaria and subjugated the country. Davatsi was captured and sent to Peking. Imperial garrisons were installed in the country and the four Oirat divisions were re-established. The Tannu-Urianghai, who had been vassals of the Dzungars, now also became subjects of the empire.

Amursana had expected to succeed Davatsi as chief of all four tribes, but the imperial government, distrusting his motives, permitted him to assume only a minor office. Disappointed that the Chinese Emperor did not confer on him the title of "Khan of the Four Birat Tribes," Amursana rebelled in 1755 and massacred the Chinese troops at Kuldja. The first Chinese punitive expedition against him was unsuccessful.

Amursana's avowed aim was to restore an independent Dzungarian khanship. The insurrection was successful for a time and the spirit of revolution even spread into Outer Mongolia. However, in 1756 the Chinese government soon penetrated to the troubled area with two fresh armies. The Ili region was recaptured by troops under Chao-hui. Amursana fled to the land of the Eastern Kazakhs from whom he obtained troops for an invasion in 1757. Defeated again, he fled to Siberia where he died shortly afterwards.

c. the end of Oirat power

With the flight and death of Amursana, the power of the Oirat was broken. Thousands were killed, other thousands died of an epidemic of smallpox. Some found refuge in Russian territory, but many more were exiled to northern Manchuria. Some of the Khoshuts also migrated to Chahar.

The slaughter of an estimated 600,000 nomads in 1758 by the imperial armies in the final pacification of the Western Mongols, and the resettlement of some Mongol groups in other parts of the empire had resulted in the virtual depopulation of portions of northern Chinese Turkestan. Under these circumstances the Volga Torguts or Kalmucks returned from Russia to their old homeland in the Ili district. These Mongols had migrated to the Volga under pressure of Dzungar aggression in the early seventeenth century, but had maintained sentimental ties with their native country and religious connections with the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

In 1771 some 160,000 of them undertook a long hazardous march across Central Asia and returned to Ili. On their way they were constantly harassed by hostile tribes, and they arrived greatly reduced in numbers and in a very forlorn condition. Emissaries of the Imperial government welcomed the Torguts, supplied them with food, clothing, livestock and money, and conducted their leaders to the Emperor. He received them personally, entertained them and expressed his pleasure at their return to his kingdom. Four districts were assigned to the returned Torguts for

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*175 settlement: an area north of Karashar, one east of the Tarbagatai, a third between the Ili and Urumchi rivers, and a fourth east of Kulja.

After the redistribution of the Mongols of the northwest they were found in five general areas which roughly corresponded to administrative districts under the Manchu dynasty. These were the Altai or Kobdo district with 14 banners of Durbets, two of Khoits, two of Torguts and one of Khoshuts; the Kokonor district with 21 banners of Khoshuts, two banners of Choros, one banner of Khoits, and four banners of Torguts; the Alashan district with one banner of Khoshuts; the Edsin Gol district with one banner of Torguts; and the Ili district with ten banners of Torguts and three banners of Khoshuts.

Having thus disposed of the Western Mongols, the Manchu government proceeded to repopulate Dzungaria by encouraging immigration from northwestern China. It also moved some of the Chahar from their home ranges north of Kalgan to the Borotala valley of Dzungaria. Groups of Solons and Sibos, Tungusic people from northern Manchuria, were also transplanted to the newly-conquered region. There they served as military colonists after participating in the wars on the western frontier.

III. China's Control of the Northwest

A. Moslem Rebellions

With the pacification of the Oirats, the court of Peking attempted to gain control of the regions inhabited by peoples of Moslem faith-those who were ethnically Chinese as well as those who were ethnically Turkic. The Ming court, unable to exercise control over them, had sought to win them by granting favors and privileges. When the Ch'ing court took over, it conferred honors on religious leaders of other minority peoples but slighted the Moslem priests. The first to revolt were the Chinese Moslems in Kansu who proclaimed a Ming pretender as their leader. They established liaison with other rebel forces including the military commander at Tatung and the turncoat general, Wu San-kuei, in South China. While the Manchu forces were preoccupied with quelling rebellions in other parts of China, the Moslem rebels succeeded in gaining possession of the whole of Kansu. But their victory was short-lived. As soon as the K'ang-hsi Emperor could spare troops from other fronts, he sent them to Kansu where they soon crushed the Moslem revolt.

South of the Tienshan range, the Turkic Moslems, or Uighurs, had been under the domination of the Dzungars following Galdan's conquest of the Tarim Basin. After the defeat of Galdan, they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ch'ing Emperor but as soon as the Dzungars, under Amursana, were up in arms, they joined in the revolt.

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175 As soon as he had subjugated the Dzungars in 1756, the Ch'ing commander, Chao-hui, sent a part of his army into the Tarim Basin. There they freed the scions of a princely family, the Little Khoja of Yarkand and his brother Burkhan al-Din, the Big Khoja of Kashgar, who had been imprisoned by the Dzungars. However, the Uighurs did not take readily to the exchange of overlords. Rallying the Moslem population south of the Tienshan, they revolted and set up the Khojas as their rulers. The Moslems were unable to present a united front, split as they were by factional disputes and by quarrels between the Old and the New Sects (see section Religion). They were easily subdued by a Chinese army under Chao-hui in 1759. The cities in the Tarim Basin fell one by one to the forces of Chao-hui who pursued the fleeing Khojas to Badakshan and the Pamirs. Among the prisoners was the beautiful wife of one of the chiefs. Taken back to Peking she became the "fragrant concubine" of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor and the source of many romantic stories.

The wars against the Oirats and the Moslems were commemorated in engravings done by French artists in Paris in 1774. Although they glorified the military deeds of the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung Emperors, the seventy years of warfare left Turkestan in a state of devastation and had been a heavy drain on the resources of China.

The killing of the Khojas, regarded as descendants of the Prophet, aroused the people of Turkestan and there was general talk of revenge. The people refused to cooperate with the Ch'ing officials and carried out both passive and active resistance against them. Among the members of the households of the Khojas who had fled to Khokhand was Jehangir, the grandson of Burkhan al-Din, the Big Khoja. Raising a force of several hundred Burut (Khirghiz) tribesmen, he crossed the frontier in 1820 with the avowed aim of retaking Kashgar, Yingishar, Yarkand and Khotan. The Ch'ing government sent Ch'ang-ling with forces from Aksu to quell the rebellion. After defeating the Khokand army, Ch'ang-ling recaptured Kashgar in 1827. Jehangir, who was lured into a trap, was captured and taken as prisoner to Peking where a big victory celebration was held.

But the Moslems still resisted. Jehangir's brother, Yussuf, collected another army from Khokand and attacked Kashgar and Yarkand. By this time, the Ch'ing government was too weak to take positive action and, in a treaty signed in 1830, it tried to buy off the rebels by granting them special commercial privileges. The raids carried on by the Moslem rebels with the assistance of Khokand did not cease. As the Ch'ing government declined in power, the rule of its frontier officials became more oppressive and the opposition of the native people became more widespread and more determined. In 1848, a fresh force from Khokand invaded the Tarim Basin. It was led by Wali Khan, the nephew of Jehangir, and by six others. Known collectively as the Seven Khojas, they plunged Turkestan into

175 another sanguinary and desolating war.

The suppression of the "Rebellion of the Seven Khojas" was achieved only after the massacre of thousands of the resident population, Chinese, Chinese Moslems, and Uighurs. Thereafter, nothing was done to ameliorate the situation. The officials sent by Peking treated the local residents as a conquered people and levied heavy taxes as a means of self-enrichment. The local functionaries whom they appointed to assist them in the administration emulated them in tyranny and rapacity. Consequently, as soon as China was prostrated by domestic insurrections, the Taiping Rebellion in South China and the Nien Rebellion in North China, the Moslem peoples in the entire region of the Northwest, from Shensi province all the way to Kashgaria, rose in revolt.

The first to rebel were the Chinese Moslems in Shensi in 1862. A raid on the province by a small Taiping force precipitated the uprising. In the confusion that ensued, the Chinese Moslems, led by Pai Yen-hu, seized a number of Shensi towns, spread fire and rapine throughout the Wei River Valley, and at one time even reached the gates of Sian. When the rebellion in Shensi was finally put down in 1863, it spread to Kansu where it was led by Ma Hua-lung. To-ming, a Chinese Moslem from the Shensi-Kansu region, marched west to occupy the area around Turfan, Qomul (Hami) and Urumchi (Tihua). The steppe-land of Ili was occupied by another rebel band. The strongest of the insurgent groups was led by Yakub Beg, who had control of the territory around Kashgar.

When the Moslems of Eastern Turkestan joined in the general insurrection against Ch'ing rule, they had sought the assistance of Khokand, which was then having trouble with the Russians' steady advance into Central Asia. Unable to provide direct assistance, it sent Buzurg, the son of Jehangir, and Yakub, an adventurer with a checkered career including that of a dancing-boy and a bandit. There were stories that they were supplied with arms by the Russians in a sub rosa attempt to use them as vanguards of Russians advance, but these stories may have been apocryphal. They arrived at Kashgar in 1865, and thousands of rebels flocked to enlist in their forces.

After Buzurg was made king of Kashgaria, Yakub Beg, as commander-in-chief, set out to eliminate the other rebel leaders and to expand and consolidate the territory under his control. Some of the rebel leaders lost their lives in the bloody struggle for power. Others, such as To-ming, who held the Qumul-Urumchi region, were murdered by their own people, leaving Yakub Beg master of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. Later, in a coup d'etat, Yakub deposed Buzurg and made himself king. Pai Yen-hu, expelled from Kansu by Chinese forces, threw in his lot with Yakub so that the latter controlled an empire extending from the Pamirs to Lop Nor. The British in India afforded him diplomatic recogni-

175 tion by sending two missions to negotiate a trade treaty with him. The Sultan of Turkey made him the Amir of Kashgaria and bestowed upon him the title of Commander of the Faithful, supplying him with arms and sending officers to train his army. His relations with the Russians, who had annexed Khokand, were strained. He feared their designs on his empire and they refused to give him military assistance.

Meanwhile, the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (in 1864) and of the Nien Rebellion (in 1868) enabled the Ch'ing court to take more energetic action in the Northwest than before. Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Chinese officer who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Taiping and the Nien rebels, was given the responsibility of rooting out the Moslem rebels in Kansu. By 1869, having cleared Shensi of all insurgent forces, he besieged Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Chin-chi-pao, the rebel stronghold in Kansu. With the capture of Chin-chi-pao and the execution of Ma Hua-lung in 1871, the resistance of the Chinese Moslems in Kansu collapsed.

The next step, to press on westward beyond the Kansu Corridor and to recover Turkestan, was harder. The Peking court complained that it had no funds for an extended campaign. Many of the high officials believed that peace could be obtained by a renunciation of China's claims on the Far West and the recognition of Yakub Beg as an independent monarch. The British minister at Peking suggested that Yakub's domains be made into a buffer state. All this opposition and the suggestions were brushed aside and Tso Tsung-t'ang's views finally prevailed. Funds were obtained from many parts of China as well as in loans from foreign banks. Veterans of the wars against the Taiping and Nien rebels were sent to bolster Tso's command. Having reconquered the northern areas of the Tienshan in 1876, a column of his troops led by his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, pushed into the Tarim Basin. In 1877, Chinese troops recaptured Turfan and the kingdom of Kashgaria came to an end. Yakub Beg committed suicide and Pai Yen-hu, who had joined forces with him, fled to Russia.

Tso Tsung-t'ang's pacification of Turkestan brought Chinese forces face to face with Russian troops. By the Treaty of Peking in 1860, China ceded to Russia all the land east of Lake Balkash and west of the Tienshan, a region that Russian troops had occupied after their conquest of Central Asia. In 1871, when Yakub Beg was at the height of his power, the Russian government sent troops to occupy the city of Kulja and the territory of Ili on the pretext of safeguarding the region and preserving peace and order. They promised to withdraw when the Chinese had recovered the area. However, the Russian move also was designed to counter the extension of British influence in Chinese Turkestan and the steady advance of Chinese forces under Tso Tsung-t'ang.

In 1877, when the Chinese finally reconquered Turkestan, the

175 Russians were reluctant to withdraw. The Treaty of Livadia, signed in 1878 after negotiations held in St. Petersburg, was unfavorable to China. China was constrained to pay for the expenses of Russian occupation. Moreover, China also had to agree to Russian retention of the region of the Tekes River and the strategic passes between Ili and Kashgaria and to the establishment of Russian consulates as far interior as Kansu. All China received was the city of Kulja. The Ch'ing court refused to ratify the treaty. The Chinese envoy, who had exceeded his instructions by agreeing to the terms of the settlement, was condemned to death. At Qomul (Hami), where Tso Tsung-t'ang had his headquarters, Chinese troops made threatening moves, and Russia sent reinforcements into Ili. For a time a full-scale war between China and Russia seemed imminent. Finally, cooler heads prevailed, both sides yielded ground and in 1881 at St. Petersburg a treaty was successfully concluded in which China regained the Tekes Valley and the mountain passes between Ili and Kashgaria. Instead of the five million rubles for the cost of occupation, China agreed to pay nine million rubles. In addition, China permitted the opening of Russian consulates not only at Kulja (Ining), Tarbagatai, Kashgar, Urga, but also at Su-chou and Turfan.

B. Sinkiang as a Chinese province

In view of Russia's covetousness and Britain's hints of alienation of the region, Tso Tsung-t'ang proposed that Turkestan be made into an administrative province of China. His suggestion encountered strong opposition at court. Many high officials favored the construction and consolidation of the southeastern coastal provinces for defense against the Western powers, rather than the diversion of China's attention to the northwestern territories. But the recommendation of Tso Tsung-t'ang was finally adopted. The entire region north and south of the Tienshan range was made into a province in 1884 and renamed Sinkiang, the New Dominion, with Liu Chin-t'ang as the first governor. The provincial seat was located at Urumchi (Tihwa) and the headquarters of the military governor established at Kulja. The Chinese system of administration was organized in all the cities and counties of the New Dominion.

This was the first time that the region of Chinese Turkestan formally became a Chinese province, although the way was prepared in the Han and Tang Periods. However, in the past, Chinese troops only held the main cities. The administration of the region was largely relegated to the native princes, and the civil government was quite different from an actually Chinese-administered province. Again, during the Mongol period, an ambulatory government was set up in Turkestan, but it was only a nominal government. The real power was in the hands of the Chagatai princes. The occupation of Turkestan during the reign of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor was largely military, and the civil administration consisted of Ch'ing officials working through the native chieftains, and it was their excesses and exactions that provoked large-scale uprisings.

175 Under the energetic administration of the first governor of Sinkiang, Liu Chin-t'ang, and, to a lesser extent, under the administration of the second governor, Yüan Ta-hua, there was a genuine attempt to reform the government and to work for the welfare of the native peoples. Some of the abuses were eliminated, the tax burden was equalized, more schools were established, and wastelands were opened for agriculture. However, the good intentions of the governors were not enough. Repayment of the three million taels borrowed from abroad for the military campaign and of the nine million rubles for Russia's occupation of Ili drained the province. With a large percentage of its revenue siphoned off little funds were left for internal development.

In the train of the Chinese army there came hordes of Chinese migrants, many of whom were merchants and craftsmen from Hunan, Tso Tsung-t'ang's native province. Gradually, they entered into the business life of the cities and operated farms in the countryside. Soon their encroachments led to clashes with the native peoples.

There is little evidence that the Mongols were influenced by the Moslem rebellions of the early 19th century. These disturbances were confined almost entirely to the oases south of the Tienshan range. In the sixties of that century, however, the revolt spread to Dzungaria and the Ili valley and to some degree involved all the nationalities of the province. Many Mongol groups abandoned their ranges, particularly in the Tienshan mountains and the Ili region, and fled to more remote and possibly less desirable areas. Some may have returned to their former pastures after hostilities ceased, but it is probable that these years effected a redistribution of Mongol tribes.

The Chinese rebellions of the early 20th century - the Boxer uprising in 1900 and the revolution of 1911-1913 - caused no mass disturbance in Sinkiang. However, apparently these years saw the growth of a spirit of independence throughout Mongolia, especially in the western regions most remote from Chinese authority. In this developing spirit the provincial government saw a threat to the ruling Chinese minority. It was feared that the Mongol tribes of Sinkiang might join with the clans of Outer Mongolia in a bid for autonomy.

C. Sinkiang during the Republic

Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, there had been a slackening of the administration in Sinkiang. The officials sent out from Peking were not men of high caliber. Their failure to understand local conditions and their maltreatment of the natives had aroused much resentment and hostility. Yüan Ta-hua, the governor, was virtually an independent ruler of Sinkiang while the rest of China was engulfed in the civil war that resulted in the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the formation of the republic. In 1911, when

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

175 159 635 669 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppression of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Moslems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 175 635 575 668 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 635 175 648 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 635 175 185 631 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms. By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft, and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation. Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's
635 administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of
175 Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang.
648 At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh
167 refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete
635 repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in
175 the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible
648 to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was
648 characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 took advantage of it, Ja Lama assumed the role of liberator. He
648 was influential in swinging Western Mongol support from the Sinkiang government to Outer Mongolia. His apparent objectives were the conquest of Sinkiang and part of Tibet, and a union of all the Western Mongols to form a new Western Mongolian state. In 1912 he led a successful attack on the town of Kobdo. He assumed religious and princely titles and served briefly as military governor of the region. In 1914 he was arrested and deported by the Russians, whose negotiations for a Chinese-Mongolian treaty were being disturbed by his aggressive activities. Eventually he returned to eastern Sinkiang. There he again rallied a group of Mongol adherents and built a fortification. He was hunted down and killed by assassins from the Urga(Outer Mongolian) government, which apparently feared the consequences of a new Western Mongolian union.

The destruction of Ja Lama and his "organization", and the policy of the Sinkiang government in dealing with the Mongols, both contributed to the permanent detachment of the Kobdo district from Western Mongolia. The actual separation dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century and the Manchu conquest of the Northwest. In 1754 the Imperial government set up the Kobdo region as an administrative district under the administration of Outer Mongolia. When Ja Lama attacked and captured the city of Kobdo and established himself as governor of the district, it was Russian power that expelled him and forced the return of Kobdo to Outer Mongolia. Finally when Ja Lama established himself in eastern Sinkiang and attracted a new following of Western Mongols, he again threatened the detachment of Kobdo. It was the Urga government that sent men to kill him and thereby insure Outer Mongolia's retention of Kobdo. The Mongols of the Kobdo district were, and probably still are, descendants of Oirats whose attachment to Outer Mongolia was merely a military and political convenience for the Manchu administration. Ja Lama's temporary success and the actions taken against him by the Russian and Outer Mongolian governments probably reflected a real feeling of "Oiratism" among the Mongols of Kobdo.

175 Before the Chinese Revolution in 1911, Western Mongol tribal territories were administered by princes who enjoyed virtual autonomy under the provincial government. This arrangement was continued with some modification under the Republic. The government extended its control over the princes and consequently over the Mongols themselves. The league and banner system probably remained in effect until the establishment of regional autonomy in Sinkiang, although the administrative units did not correspond strictly to tribal divisions and, in some cases, even included groups of unrelated peoples. There were three leagues and two special groups which were constituted as follows:

The Unen Susuktu League consisted of ten banners of Torguts,

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [664] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cog- [648] nizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175 159 635 669 578 rebellion.

The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 159 635 669 Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides. In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

195 also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek
159 aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the
635 Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were
669 sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

[648] Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, [506] harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 50,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

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5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in comparison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N 175 668 669

IV. The Rise of the Communists

While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang, events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

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The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he maintained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

175 One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
669 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
[563] protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Ta-cheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 669 648 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thanking the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane. The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese authorities.

175 669 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese government delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October, 1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy. The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 668 669 578 563 However, realization of these agreements, which would have given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements, led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government. Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and democratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

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WESTERN ASIA Present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia	NORTHWEST CHINA Sinkiang (Ili Region, Tarim Basin), Chinghai and northern Kansu	CHINA PROPER including Shensi and southern Kansu
1200 -		
1100 -		CHOU (Capital: Sian) 11th
1000 -		
900 -		
800 -	Jung, Ti, and Chiang	Invasion of Jung
Medes 708-550		
700 - Zoroaster-zoroastrianism		
600 -		
Rise of Persia 580		
500 - (Achaemenids)		Warring States
400 -		DIVISION
Conquests of Alexander 321-331	Huns (Hsiung-nu). Chinese settle in Kansu, Chinghai. Huns drive Yüeh-chih westward	
300 - Greek states in Bactria	165 B.C. Chang Ch'ien's Travels 138-126	CH'IN (Capital: Sian)
Parthia (Assakids)	Chinese advance into Turkestan 121-119	Great Wall linked
200-	Take Tarim Basin, 104, 4 garrison cities; three campaigns against Loo-lun, 99-90;	HAN (capital: Sian) 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.
Scythians (Sakas) 165	defeat of Wu-sun 72 B.C.	
100 -		
B.C. / A.D.	Chinese split Hun Confederacy -44 A.D.	Wang Mang 9-23
	Revolt of Nomads, Kushan (Yüeh-chih) invade Turkestan 87	

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100 -		
Pan ch'ao reaches Caspian Sea 92	Pan Ch'ao regains Turkestan 74-94; returns to China 102 Huns retake Turkestan 107-31. Invasion of Kushan 127	
200 -		
Sassanid Dynasty in Persia 226-651		THREE KINGDOMS (221-265) CHIN 265-419
300 - Mani; Manichaeism		Barbarian Invasions Foreign States in North China
	Hephthalites (White Huns), Juan-juan, Kao-chü (Tolös)	
400 - Wars with Rome	Appearance of Turks; Expansion Turks destroy Juan-juan and the Hephthalites	Minor Chinese state in South China
500-	552 Division of Turks into East and West 582	DIVISION
554 -subjugate the Hephtalites in region of Oxus		
600 - Arabs invade Persia Expansion to Mediterranean; Last Sassanid King flees to China, 674	Travels of Hsuan-tsang Chinese defeat E. Turks 636; Tibetans 639; W. Turks 659; Chinese control of Turkestan Arabs and Tibetans effect junction 741	SUI (capital:Sian) 589-618 T'ANG (capital:Sian) 618-906 invasion of E. Turks 629 Rebellion of An-lu-shan 755
700- ARABS - Qutaiba conquers Central Asia 707-713	Expedition of Kao Hsien-chih over the Pamirs 747 Battle of Athlach 751, Chinese defeat. Uighur Empire on the Orkhon 744-821	Uighurs sack Loyang 762 Tibetans sack Ch'ang-an 763
800-	Defeat of East Turks, 745 Tibetan Wars 763-821 Kirghiz destroy Uighur Empire 840	Barbarian Invasions
900-	Uighurs migrate to (1)Irtish (2)Urumchi-Turfan Qarluks, Uighurs, Sha-t'o (Chöl) Turks	FIVE DYNASTIES (North) and TEN STATES (South) DIVISION

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Iran MA1
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1000 -	Hsia	Liao(Khitan) Sung(Chinese) 960-1279
1100 -	Kara-Khitai	CHIN (Juchen)
1200 - Mongols destroy Khwarezmian	Mongols destroy Hsia & Kara-Khitai	Mongols destroy Chin 1233 Mongols destroy Sung 1279
1300-Mongol Il-Khans in Persia; Tamerlane 1369-1405	Chagatai and Usedei princes (Mongols)	YUAN dynasty 1260-1367 (Capital:Peking) MING dynasty 1368-1644 (capital:1. Nanking 2. Peking)0
1400 - Timurid Dynasty 1387-1449	Oirats (Mongols) -Esen, ca. 1450	Expulsion of Mongols Invasion at Oirats 1449
1500 - Safavid Dynasty in 1560-1736	Oirats (W. Mongols) Atan Khan ca. 1550	
1600- Abbas I ("the Great") 1587-1629	Oirat confederacy; Galdan invades Mongolia 1697; Tsewang Raptan 1697-1727	CH'ING dynasty 1644-1911
1700-	Conquest of Tibet 1717 Amursana 1755 Chinese dominate Turkestan, 1759 Return of the Turgots, 1770	
1800 - Kajar Dynasty in 1794-1925	Moslem Revolts, 1820-1878 Jehangir 1820-27; the 7 Khojas, 1848; Yakub Beg, 1865-78. Tso Tsung-t'ang reconquers the Northwest 1869-78. Sinkiang Province created 1884	Taiping Rebellion, 1851-64 Moslem Revolts in Shensi & Kansu, 1862-71; Ma Hua-lung, 1862-71; Pai Yen-hu, 1862-78
Anglo-Russian Rivalry		Revolution, 1911
1900 Revolution in Persia 1905	Yang Tseng-hsin governor 1912-1928 Dungan Revolt 1932-34 Sheng Shih-ts'ai 1932-44;Ili Revolt 1944-46 Sinkiang submits to Communists, 1949	REPUBLIC, 1912 Communists in Shensi, 1935 Communist Govt. in China, 1949

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GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation. It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 184 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity. 241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies. 233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is 182 largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

133 B. Surface Features.

The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

133 mountains, notably the Chin-ling and Mei-chang, forming the boundaries of southern Shensi and northern Szechwan. Water separates the low lands between the mountains, and there are several notable basins such as Han-chung Basin. Except in the Chin-ling section, the mountain range is rather bare and has little vegetation. The slopes along the Chi-lien-shan are strewn with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the gravels. Valleys form vast corridors several miles wide between the mountain ranges. In the central area, where the topography is more level, pebbles, sand dunes, pastures, and swamps appear. The Chi-lien-shan region is suitable primarily for a grazing economy. However, most of the flat [241] land in the valleys has been opened for agricultural use. Spring wheat, millet, linseed, and colze are grown nearly everywhere in the region and form the major foodstuffs of the people.

The Chi-lien-shan is the major mountain range in this section [103] of Northwest China. It has received various names. The eastern end of the range is called the Liu-pan-shan or the "six coil mountain." The upper Yellow River cuts a gap through the links of the mountain range so that the Liu-pan-shan is an isolated mountain from which the Yellow River runs north and northeastward. The Wei River, one of the major tributaries of the Yellow River, runs along the south edge of the Liu-pan-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan. North of the Wu-sha-ling, or Dark Sand Peak, 120 miles northwest of Lanchou, a narrow strip of land extends along the northern foot of the Ch'i-lien-shan. From here westward, the land is relatively flat and plain. This area is called the Kansu Corridor. It is the important passageway to the Northwest of China.

All streams, as well as meltwater, come down from the Ch'i-lien-shan and run toward the north or northeast. Some streams disappear into the desert after a short distance. This is the case almost everywhere in Northwest China. This is one of the main reasons why agricultural products cannot be evenly distributed and dependably developed in the area.

Geologically speaking, the Tertiary formation appears in a number of basins in Kansu Province. The beds are generally composed of red clays, conglomerates, red sandstones, and gypsum. The geological structures remain the same to the mountain ranges of both the north and the south, the Ch'i-lien-shan and the Ho-li-shan, which is submerged into the Mongolian Gobi and the semi-steppes. They are mainly composed of Silurian and Devonian structures resting unconformably on older

133 formations. The unconformity and faults are due to the mountain making movement in the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic stages. All the se constructional mountains extend from northwest to southeast, paralleling each other.

Although the Ch'i-lien Mountains provide a natural screen between Kansu on the north and Chinghai on the south, there are many passes in the mountainous areas. Generally speaking, all the passes are around 9,000 feet high. For instance, Pien-tu-k'ou, on the upper stream of the Hung-shui is at the elevation of 8,100 feet; Peh-yai-k'ou on the upper stram of Shan-tan-ho is at the height of 9,800 feet; Wu-lung-k'ou on the upper stream of Kou-shui is at the height of 8,400 feet. All of these are well-known passes. However, Pien-tu-k'ou is the short-cut from the central portion of Kansu to the main section of Chinghai Province, and it covers the shortest distance from Chiang-ye to Sining, the capital city of Chinghai.

The topographical features of Kansu are rather open and simple on the west and northwest in contrast to the southeast, where the land has suffered local deflections and dislocations from earthquakes. The Shu-le River runs through the northwest corner of Kansu, and projects westward to the eastern border of Sinkiang Province. The altitude is about 3,000 feet. There are fewer mountains in the northwestern section of Kansu, simply a few hilly lands merging into the desert. Although the Shu-le River is the major water system in western Kansu, water constantly sins and disappears into the sandy gravels after it runs down from the hilly lands.

South from the Ch'i-lien-shan is the Chinghai Plateau. Linking with the Tibetan Plateau to the south, it forms the huge plateau region of west China. The Kun-lun mountain ranges run through the core of the area, projecting eastward to form a few paralleling ranges. The southwestern section of the area is much higher and its topography is rugged in comparison with the northern section. Two notable basins, the Tsaidam and the Sining, are situated between the Ch'i-lien Mountains to the north and the Kun-lun Mountains to the south. In the western sections of the area there are numerous lakes and streams which are the sources of the most important river systems of China, namely the Yellow River and the Yangtze River. The Tsaidam Basin is swampy. Its elevation is estimated at some 8,100 feet with the western edge of the basin much sharper than the eatern margin. The Chinghai Basin, in the eastern section of the area, is the most essential one. It is named after the salt lake, Koko Nor. Sining is the major city [633] in this basin. It is not only the pivot station between the Mongolian Gobi and the Tibetan Plateau but also the economic and political center of Chinghai.

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133 From the provinces of Kansu and Chinghai northwestward is the former province of Sinkiang, or the New Dominion. The remoteness of Sinkiang from China Proper is emphasized by its size and the physical difficultires. Of the five gigantic mountain ranges in Asia, Sinkiang has three: the Altai, the Tien-shan, and the Kun-lun Mountains. The Tien-shan, or the Celestial Mountain, runs through the middle of the province and divides Sinkiang into two parts - northern Sinkiang and southern Sinkiang. Between the northern slope of the Tien-shan and the southern piedmont of the Altai Mountain, the Dzungarian Basin is located. This is covered by gravels, sands, and pebbles. On the other side of the Tien-shan, the Takla-Makan desert is situated. This part of Sinkiang is called the Tarim Basin. Locally, the Tarim means "the cultivable land." Here the important Tarim River runs along the north edge of the desert eastward to the Lop Nor and furnishes irrigation water to the people who live there. The Kun-lun Range forms a great mountain chain on the southern border of Sinkiang adjacent to the Tibetan Plateau. The topographical features of the province can be divided into five major divisions. They are: the northern mountain region or the Altai division; the Dzungarian Basin; the Tien-shan region; the Tarim Basin; and the Kun-lun region.

The northern mountain region extends from the northern fringe of the Dzungarian Basin to the Mongolian Plateau. The major mountain range in this region is the Altai. In Mongolian altai means "gold." The Altai mountain range is not only the boundary between Sinkiang to the west and Mongolia to the east, but the northern end of the range also functions as the boundary between China to the south and Russia to the north. From China's side, the mountain is not very high and the slopes are relatively gentle. The height is approximately 4,500 feet although a few peaks are about 12,000 feet high. There are a few small plains, for example the Burchun (Pu-er-chin) Plain, which is approximately 1,200 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The plain is formed on the right bank of the Kara Irtis River which originates from the Altai and runs westward to Lake Zaisan.

The Altai mountains are a block faulting structure. Faults appear on both sides of the mountain range. Only the middle part remained stationary as a horst. The ridge goes from the northwest to the southwest and disappears into the Mongolian Gobi. The southern slope of the Altai mountains is dominated by numerous rolling and dome-shaped hills where the Burchun and Urungu Rivers originate. On the southwest side there is a broup of dome-shaped mountains. The Tarbagatai Mountain, where Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) district is located, is the major group of this section. This part is around 2,100 feet above

133 sea-level, and it joins the Burchun plain on the east. The E-min River originates from this group.

The Dzungarian Basin: Dzungaria was the name derived from a Mongolian tribe who lived in this area for a long time. The basin covers the area from the fringes of the Burkan Plateau and the Burchun Plain at the north, the Ili Plain at the west, and the Cheng-hsi Basin to the south, along the piedmont of the Tien-shan. The basin is triangular in shape. The Altai runs from northwest to southeast, so that the east side of the basin is relatively higher than the west side. The surface elevation of the eastern part of the basin is around 1,500 feet, whereas, on the western part, it is only 600 feet in height. All the rivers run from east to west.

The Tien-shan Region: As the Tien-shan range runs from west to east, it separates the province into two sections - southern Sinkiang and northern Sinkiang. The range has been structured by numerous fault blocks; there are many horsts and grabens along both sides of the mountains. Moreover, they vary considerably in height and width and everywhere constitute a strongly marked dividing line between the great basin and the regions to the north. These comprise the wide plateaus of Dzungaria, stretching north to the fringe of the basin with a few well-irrigated, but isolated, areas and fertile plains and valleys. They do not, however, form any regular system and pattern. Since there is adequate moisture, [241] agriculture is to be found both in the valleys and on the plains, especially in the Ili Valley and on the Fou-kang Plain. Farther north on the northern slope of the ranges, grazing land is found. It has, at all times, attracted waves of nomadic nations, from the Huns to the Kazakhs and the Mongols. The continuity of its rampart, the Tien-shan range, offers opportunities to [489] nomadic neighbors on the north for plundering the oases and and trade routes in the south, since the mountain rampart is pierced at intervals by passes which are passable for mounted men and transport during a considerable portion of the year. To the southwest of the Turfan depression the wide valley of Karashahr descends from the grazing plateaus of Yulduz. It always has served as an open gate for nomadic inroads in the northwestern corner of the Tarim Basin. Farther to the west, under corresponding conditions, the great oases of Kucha and Kashgar are equally liable to attack across the Tienshan. The Tien-shan Region is the most important division in the province, because it occupies almost one-fourth of the provincial territory and there are many major cities and oases located on both sides of the ranges.

The Tarim Basin: This is the huge desert area between the

133 Tien-shan on the north and the Kun-lun Mountain range on the south. Generally speaking, this area can be divided into three sections: namely, the core desert area, the piedmont alluvial fans, and the isolated oases. In the core area of the Takla Makan Desert, the absence of moisture bars all animal [361] and plant life. In the alluvial fans at the piedmonts of Tien-shan and the Kun-lun there are settlements and towns. However, they are rather widely separated. The alluvial fans [137] are not all alike. In the higher plateaus of the southern fringe of the Takla-Makan near the Kun-lun ranges vegetation is to be found only at great elevations where the proximity of glaciers provides moisture and allows vegetation to grow for a few months of the year. It also is found in the extremely confined spaces that streams fed by these glaciers leave at the bottom of deep-cut, narrow gorges. Oases are strung singly like a chain, especially along the fringe of the southwestern corner of the Takla Makan desert. They are generally located between the hilly land and the desert and are of different sizes and conformations, depending upon the local relief.

The basin itself is higher on the southwestern corner, near the massive mountain ranges of the Pamirs. The elevation of this part of the basin is around 4,500 to 4,800 feet. It inclines gently towards the east and northeast, where the elevation is around 3,600 feet. Thus, the rivers run from the southwestern mountainous area, along the edge of the Takla Makan and toward the east. East of the Takla Makan is the oval depression of the Lop Nor where the Tarim River ends.

The structure of the basin is that of a depressed part of the Kun-lun range. The southern edge is higher than the northern edge, revealing that the southern edge of the basin was joined with the hilly land of the lower part of the Kun-lun range.

The Kun-lun Region: On the southern flank of the Tarim Basin the Kun-lun range extends in an unbroken line. It starts from the "roof of Asia" - the Pamirs - and forms a gigantic and massive feature of the southern border between Sinkiang and the Tibetan Plateau on the south. On this range lies the watershed between the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim Rivers. East of the Pamirs it separates into several high parallel ranges. These ranges are cut by the Yarkand River and its tributaries, the main feeders of the Tarim. At an elevation of some 16,500 feet above sea level there is the Karakoram pass, which is the only practicable means of access to Ladak and the uppermost Indus Valley. Farther to the east, the Kun-lun raises a practically impenetrable barrier to any sort of traffic. The two rivers which water the Khotan oasis break through the northernmost main range, but their passage ends largely through extremely deep-cut and generally quite

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133 inaccessible gorges. To the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor, the mountains résume an easterly bearing and sink to a lower level. Beyond the eastern extremity of the Tarim Basin, the Kun-lun imperceptibly merges with the Ch'i-lien-shan along the southern edge of the Kansu Corridor. In the western portion its northern slopes, with their aridity and far advanced erosion, closely reporduce the physical features already familiar to us from the Kun-lun. The other branch extends eastward to Chinghai Province, forming the divide of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers.

Examination of the topographical features of northwestern China reveals that mountains, plateaus, deserts, and gravels dominate the land forms of the whole area. Level land is present along the various river banks; notably, the Ili Plain, the E-min Plain, the Kara-Irtis Plain, the Urumchi Plain, and at certain portions of the Tarim River. Human activities are largely restricted and limited by the unfavorable topography
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[361] and land forms. Cities are located at the piedmonts of the mountains, and oases are situated along the outer fringes of
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[161] the deserts by the side of water. The population of Northwest China is sparsely distributed through the whole section .

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132 C. Climate

Particularly in Northwest China, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution, and its reliability. Temperature, which in winter absolutely stops outside activities with its cold and which destroys crops through untimely frosts in spring and fall is next in importance.

The inland provinces of Northwest China are least influenced by ocean winds from the southeast and east, and the continentality is very obvious. The climate of Northwest China undergoes sharp fluctuations of temperature in summer and in winter, and uneven and unpredictable precipitation throughout the year.

According to collected data on temperatures from a few stations in Northwest China, Chiu-ch'uan for instance, the average temperature of January is minus nine degrees Centigrade. Tun-huang is minus seven degrees Centigrade. Because of a lower elevation than Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang is relatively warmer even though farther west. In July, Chiu-ch'uan has 23.8 degrees Centigrade, whereas Tun-huang has 27.1 degrees Centigrade. The annual differences of each of the stations in Kansu are over thirty degrees Centigrade. Chiu-ch'uan is thirty-three degrees Centigrade; Tun-huang is

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132 thirty-four degrees Centigrade. The larger the annual difference, the more obvious is the seasonal differentiation.

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132 In Sinkiang, the highest temperature of the year is in July. The lowest temperature of the year is in January, in Southern Sinkiang, and in February in northern Sinkiang. The temperature curve is very sharp. The average temperature for the coldest month of the year is from minus seven to minus sixteen degrees Centigrade. Khotan, in southern Sinkiang, has minus seven degrees Centigrade; whereas Altai, in northern Sinkiang, has minus 16.7 degrees Centigrade. This variation of 9.9 degrees is explained not only by the locations and altitudes of these two places but mainly by the abrrier of the Tien-shan. All the recording stations of former Sinkiang Province generally have a mean January temperature below zero. The only difference is that there are three months below zero in southern Sinkiang and five months below zero in northern Sinkiang.

The obstruction of the Tien-shan greatly influences the climate. Statistics show that all the weather stations in southern Sinkiang have a mild temperature compared with those in northern Sinkiang. This is due to the fact that the former are well-sheltered by the mountain ranges. For example, the difference in latitude from Urumchi to Kucha is only two degrees, but the temperature in January in Kucha is minus fourteen degrees Centigrade and in Urumchi is minus 19.3 degrees Centigrade. Due to topographic differences, the variation is 5.3 degrees.

Summer temperatures are relatively uniform. In Sinkiang, for instance, the range of temperatures is twenty-two to twenty-five degrees. The July average is 24.2 degrees Centigrade at Urumchi, 23.9 degrees at Kucha, 23.1 degrees at Hi, and 22.2 degrees at Ta-chang. Altai, in the extreme north, has an exceptionally low average temperature, only 20.9 degrees Centigrade. In contrast, the stations in southern Sinkiang, such as Kashgar and Khotan, have a mean temperature for July of more than twenty-five degrees Centigrade. The hottest place in Sinkiang is Turfan, which has 33.7 degrees Centigrade in July. This is the place noted as a "fire district" (Ho-chou) in Chinese history. During its hot summer days, the natives retire to underground chambers. There are two explanations for this extreme heat. First, Turfan is in a depression; it is forty-five feet below sea level. Second, Turfan is surrounded by mountains. When the air masses move in, they are warmed and rise in a conventional current.

Continental climate changes rapidly, both daily and seasonally. It differs from south to north. For example, at Khotan the year range is 32.4 degrees Centigrade; at Kucha

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

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132 Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally, it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year; whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

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132 Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia. Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist
[131] air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
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[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

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132 places not even as much as 4.5 millimeters falls through the year. There are no longer a series of records showing either the temperature or the precipitation of the area, but the available data show that the total precipitation consists of snow water as well as summer rain in certain parts of the province.

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132 In the geographical distribution of rainfall there shows a marked contrast between the shady side of the mountainous areas and the oases. On the whole, the southeastern part of Kansu and Shensi receive a relatively greater rainfall than the northwestern sections. For instance, Wu-wei district, in the southeastern section of Kansu, has a comparatively high precipitation, and Chiu-ch'uan, because of its location in the northwestern section of Kansu, has a precipitation that
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[241] is relatively low. The former is considered an area of agricultural dominance; the latter, due to less precipitation, makes for agricultural uncertainty.

Because the warmer southern air has been blocked by the Nan-shan and Chin-ling on the southern border of the region, the temperature of Kansu and Shensi is relatively lower than those places in the same latitude in eastern China. For instance, the January temperature in Peking is minus 4.7 degrees Centigrade; in Chiu-ch'uan it is about minus nine degrees Centigrade. In July the temperature in Peking is 25.3 degrees Centigrade, whereas in Chiu-ch'uan it is 23.8 degrees Centigrade. This is due not only to the influence of location - one near the coast and the other inland - but also to the fact that the mountain range runs from west to east as the barrier which shuts off the warm, moist winds from the southeastern coastal areas of China.

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132 Furthermore, the distribution of precipitation of Sinkiang differs from south to north of the Province. The mean annual precipitation at Kashgar is 89.4 millimeters of which over two thirds, or around seventy three percent, falls in the spring and summer. At Urumchi it is 228.8 millimeters, of which twenty-four percent falls in winter; thirty-four percent falls in spring; fifteen percent falls in summer; and twenty-seven percent falls in autumn. At Kashgar the precipitation is greatest in summer and at Urumchi it falls largely in the spring and autumn months. The Takla Makan desert absorbs the limited moisture from the air. However, in northern Sinkiang the topographical features are comparatively open so that the Arctic Oceanic winds blow toward the area more easily. Thus, precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year.

The dry air reduces cloudiness and thus increases sunshine.
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[241] The agricultural activities of the area depend largely upon the brilliant sunshine for melting snow on the mountains for irrigation.

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132 irrigation. There is, therefore, a common saying in the area that sunshine equals rainfall.

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132 Generally speaking, Northwest China is affected by the high pressure of the Mongolian Plateau. It is windy throughout the year, particularly in the spring. There are also local cyclones on the Gobi desert during the hot summer. These cyclones are relatively short-lived and remain within one area. Winds blow more strongly in the spring than in other months of the year, because at this time the center of the high pressure area is moving toward the northern part of Central Asia and Northwest China is just beyond the edge of the high pressure. Since Sinkiang is in the high pressure circle in
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[132] the winter, the wind blows calmly. When the strong winds sweep down to the ground in spring or summer they do much damage to agricultural crops. Therefore, the places which face such strong winds are the places where agricultural products are relatively poor.

In summary climate is modified by topography and the distance of the area from the sea. Northwest China is located in the interior of China and is remote from seas. The huge mountains and the gigantic deserts render the climate generally dry throughout the year. According to Koppen's classification, the area lies in the zone of B climate; that is, the potential evaporation exceeds precipitation. Owing to topographical features' influence upon climatic changes, it is always drier on the southern and sunny sides of the mountains than on the
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[132] northern and shady sides of the ranges. In southern Sinkiang, for example, the climate is classified as a dry desert type; whereas, in northern Sinkiang, it is a steppe climate. This difference is mainly due to the amount of precipitation. In the steppe regions the precipitation is always greater than it is in the desert area.

In Northwest China, the temperature changes rapidly from day to day and season to season. Precipitation is greatest in the summer months but it is not reliable.

II. Mineral Resources.

N A. General Distribution and Some Specific Importance
135 Northwest China is a poverty-stricken area, due in part to insufficient fainfall and also because it was until recently, practically an unexplored region in regard to its natural resources. Although the coal reserve of Shensi is known to be rich (next only to its close neighbor, Shansi,) (if reported recent discoveries in the Northeast are left out of consideration), it has not been mined to any great extent due to the lack of a nearby market. The only other promising mineral is the

N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells N [315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil [489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation [499] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent 316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology 315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are [654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in 316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.

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[131] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones

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of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
[439] tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

N 315 new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the
S [315] exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of
N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of
N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have
N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent
S 315 [648] [433] paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province, [131] roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from [648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavoragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table 1.) 1

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones [133] and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations,

1. [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the
[133] source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

[648] In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structures will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to
433 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955. its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

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315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansú province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.) [1]

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315 Oil Development in Sinkiang:

To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in
[135] minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40), near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-jan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha
S (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
[133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1, [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 petroleum resources are between the last two stations extending in a north-south direction with a length of forty miles; the petroleum is yellow and easy to refine. The oil from Sinkiang is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest of China. One of the main centers of petroleum exploitation is at Tu-shan-tzu, five miles south east of Wu-su, on the Western Highway of Urumchi; there exist wells over 2,275 meters in depth.

[133] The intermittent Tertiary oil sands are said to lie between a light green shale above, and the sandstone below. No record of the drilled stratographic sections is available. The Sinkiang [648] provincial authorities employed two Russian drilling experts, and in 1935 they began to test the field with modern drilling rigs. Some time later the Russians took over the project and after 1939 increased their efforts to develop a producing field safe from enemy action. In 1942, only three or four of the seventeen known wells drilled were producing, and only one was flowing, the others being pubped. Yield was said to be ten to [433] thirty tons per well per day. Other wells were being drilled, but it is not known how many were completed. In 1943 there [648] was some disagreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments and the Russians left the field. In August, 1944, an American oil man visited the field and reported that the Chin- [433] ese had uncapped six producing wells and were producing about fifty tons of crude oil a day. The wet gas was wasted as there was no equipment for saving it. The oil is thought to have a paraffin base, similar to that of Kansu. Sample distillation gives nineteen percent gasoline, twenty-three percent kerosene, and the remainder, black oil and residue.

At Tu-shan-tzu in Wu-su, there are more than thirty oil wells being drilled. There is a fairly good refinery which makes it the best oil-producing center of Sinkiang. In addition to gasoline and kerosene, it produces lubricating oil for airplanes.

At Taklak small oil wells are drilled by the natives along the Kun Alik Range to the south east of Taklak in Wen-su, northwest of Aksu. The natives work on a small scale during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. At Hung-kou and An-chiu, southeast of Wu-chia, oil wells were drilled in the late 1940's, but no oil is produced in Hung-kou, although the natives extract some paraffin wax from the oil sands. However, oil is obtained from the well in An-chiu, but the output was only two to three gallons a day in 1949-50. (See Table III.) 1/A

315 Oil prospecting teams were sent to Sinkiang by the Northwest 654 Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology in early 1955. They went to the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins (as well as Tsaidam of Chinghai province) to locate oil bearing structures,

1/A [See p. 129--Analyst]

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315 oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June,
654 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum
N production are discovered.
315 Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing structures have been increasingly revealed.

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[654] Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they
N have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin.
[654] Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

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b. Coal

135 Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if
S claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted)
[135] With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

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135 region, even excluding Shansi, ranks high and accounts for about half the coal deposits of all China. The known coal
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[135] reserve of Shensi amounts to over 72,950 million tons and that of Sinkiang is over 35,000 million, about half that of Shensi. Most of the coal deposits of the Northwest are of good quality and have been exploited very little. Thus they provide sufficient fuel for industrial development for a considerable length of time.

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316 Some New Coal Discoveries:

Some new discoveries of coal deposits have been reported. In addition to the previously mentioned, newly discovered big coal field in west Kansu, which is estimated to have a reserve four times that of A-kan-chen colliery, one of the major coal mines in Kansu, new coal deposits are found in the vicinity of Ching-tai in north Kansu in 1954. Large scale and detailed prospecting is now under way. Also, many prospecting teams are searching for mineral deposits in the Chiu-chuan (Su-chou) district of northwest Kansu and in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai province. (FBIS, Daily Report, No. 102, 1955). Mining machinery and other equipment are now being sent from Sian, the capital of Shensi, to the site of the deposits. Drilling teams arrived and have been working since early May, 1955; it is said when put into operation, the new coal field will supply Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, and Kan su-Sinkiang Railway and the Paotow-Lanchow Railway lines, both of which are now under rapid construction. (NCNA April 24, 1955). Deposits of good quality coal have also been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin, Chinghai, where oil is being prospected. The coal deposits consist of seven seams totalling some twenty-five meters in thickness. They are suitable for open-cut working (NCNA, June 19, 1955).

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135 In Sinkiang, coal deposits are widely distributed. They are found in the vicinity of Aksu, Kucha, Kurin, Turfan, Urumchi, along both shores of the Ili river, and in the north of Chuguchak. In addition to the above-mentioned places, high quality coal deposits are located along the northern slope of the Tien-shan mountains in Wu-su district. The Sinkiang coal belongs to Jurassic formation. The deposits are of exceptional good quality with thick seams. Most are bituminous and some may be good for coking industrial uses.

Sinkiang's coal deposits were estimated at over 35,000 million metric tons in 1955 (32,000 million in 1950), fourteen percent of China's total. The richest coal beds in the province are those of the Ili valley and near Urumchi. There are good anthracite beds in both places. Similar beds are also found
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316 near Aksu, Kucha, Yenchi and Hissar. Geological teams were sent in early 1955 to investigate the two large coal fields in

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316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

Coal Mining and Its Production:

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316 While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a xixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But
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[655] since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these
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[466] mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal by mule collie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

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316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome, Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the S [377] Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants S [377] in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N 377 653 According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

377 and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of
253 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land
[311] in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under
[503] irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

135 Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lüeh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The S 316 total annual production is less than 2,000 tons.
[433]

In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and N [433] Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The S 316 iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is S 327 producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [398] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine [392] tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N S 135 With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found useful. (See Tables V and VI.) 1/A

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter

1/A [See p. 131--Analyst]

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135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold,
S platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively
316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of
[508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet
S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining
[491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B. cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S a. Copper:

N Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and
135 Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality, It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the
S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near
N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent
316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.)[1]

S b. Gold and Platinum:

Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread,
135 stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains
S too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan,
316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1. [See p. 132-- Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined.
S [804] Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River,
[433] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolotniks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik: ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942
S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden
N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province. (See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very
S [316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih, Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in Sinkiang.

N 135 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

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135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang
S are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in
[135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

N b. Borax:

317 Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko
S and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang,
[317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for
S welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine
[433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

S c. Jade and other precious Stones.

135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in
S Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern
[439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve

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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialisation, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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131 A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu

161 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civilization.

000 N *175 635 S 175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tsarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 162 The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. 186 [563] Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

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Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5 per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile, for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution between the eastern and western parts of the region, their distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

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361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance
1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[131] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[169] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

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161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, judged by some current information, the large increase of
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[167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups,
635 Occupation, and Urban Centers
161 (See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was
S
[161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly
635 Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho
162 Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient
S Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion
[771] they are Sunna Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

162 [181] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M.V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P.53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olöts, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists. They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

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162 the Ma Chan-shan and other leaders of resistance against the Japanese aggression in Manchuria (See Northeast, History).

The Indo-Europeans are essentially Russians who number about 15,000, and another 9,000 are Tajiks (Sari Kolis or Iranians). They are found mainly in the large towns of Kashgar, Yarkand, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Khotan, Keriya, and Qomul.

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162 2. Distribution by Occupation

In general, the Northwest is mainly agricultural, and pastoralism prevails in the higher and colder parts of the country. The Chinese and Dungans are essentially agriculturalists with some engaged in trade and industry, besides working as official administrators and soldiers. They live in villages and towns. Among the Turkic people, the Uighurs, (who are commonly called the "Ch'an-t'ou" or "Turan-heads" by the Chinese and to the Russians are the "Sarts" and the Taranchi), are oasis-dwellers, engaged largely in horticulture, animal husbandry and handicraft. The Uzbeks are city dwellers engaged in business and handicraft.

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162 In regard to the occupation of the people living in Southern Sinkiang, Pevtsov said: "Population of Kashgaria (Tarim Basin) is close to 2,000,000 people. The people are divided into three groups: the settled people , the shepherds and the nomads. The settled population amounts to 1,800,000 people; they inhabit the areas surrounding the desert or the oases. The nomads and the shepherds are not more than 200,000. They occupy the mountainous areas of the encircling mountains." (Pevtsov, M.V.: Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kuń-lun, p. 52).

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162 The Mongols are pastoralists, or semi-nomadic as are the Kazakhs and Kirghiz in Dzungaria and most of them live in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai and Hsi-t'ao or Alashan Desert or former Ninghsia province.

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[162] The Manchus of Sinkiang, like the Chinese, are city dwellers. They are found mainly in Dzungaria and the Ili Valley of north Sinkiang. They are largely merchants and traders - middlemen between the Russians and the Turkic people.

The Tibetans are engaged mainly in mixed farming, animal husbandry and some agriculture, raising some hardy crops for their own use, besides rearing yaks, cattle, some sheep and goats.

Both the old Russian residents and the newly arrived refugees are mainly technical laborers - small artisans, such as electricians, miners, road construction crews, car drivers, etc.

The Tajiks lead a semi-settled and pastoral life.

000 3. Distribution of the Urban Centers (See Table XV)[1]

E. Population Problems

1. [See p. 137--Analyst]

S
N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
669 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
648 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been
175 frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
179 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
179 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

642 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same
668 offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members
177 of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was
631 called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a
177 province - divided into ten special districts and these were
162 subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily
131 accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been
668 aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for
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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
[648] permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a
N partial and temporary solution.
311 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
185 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

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433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
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311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

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TABLE I. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Shensi Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Yung-ping, 57 km. NW of Yen-ch'ang	1914-16	667	small	36.57 x 109.57
Yen-ch'ang 158.3 meters west of city's West Gate	1907-36	83-923	1-6 bbls/day	36.30 x 110.08
Fu-shih (Yenan) 4 km. NE of Fu-shih	1914-16	1,000	only show	35.31 x 108.86
Chung-pu 25 km. WSW of Huang-ling (Chung-pu)	1914-16	833 - 1,182	only show	35.12 x 109.03
Tung-kuan 22 km. NW of Tung-kuan	1914-16	933	no data	29.17 x 106.35

TABLE II. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Kansu Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Lao-chun-miao, Chiu-ch'uan county, 70 km. W of Chiu-ch'uan city	1943		776,076 bbls in 1942	39.46 x 97.47
Tun-huang 20 km. NW of Tun-huang city	1943	100-475		40.19 x 94.32
Shih-you-ho SW of Yü-men	1937	492 ft. to 656 ft.	20 bbls/day 35 bbls/day	39.46 x 97.33
	1944	1,400 ft.	10,000 bbls/day	
	1944	1,313 ft.		
Yü-men, near city	1944		4,000,000 gal in 1946 from the Yü-men Field	40.15 x 97.13

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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TABLE
III. Distribution of Oil Wells in Sinkiang.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Ssu-cha-kou, k5 km W of Urumchi	1934	shallow	small	43, 51 x 87.16
Ching-shih-hsia (Kaiavusun) or Hsi-ho) 95 km SE of Tarbagatai	Not available	seepages	fair	46.04 x 83.34
Tu-shan-tzu, 25 km SE of Wu-su	1934-42	2,275	From few hundred bbls (1942) to 1000 bbls in 1946; now 10-30 tons a day.	44.18 x 84.54
Hung-tung-shan (Kolayalun)	Not available	seepages	50 tons a day from 6 uncapped wells (1944)	42.06 x 82.47
Nan-shan, 40 km. W of Shu-fu, to the W of Kashgar	Not Available	seepages	small	29.32 x 75.31
Taklak, along Kunalik Range 50 km NE of Wen-su	Not Available	seepages	small	41.40 x 80.12
Hung-kou and An-chiu, SE of Wu-kia (Urukhe-kiati)	Not Available	seepages	2-3 gal/day(1949)	38.04 x 74.50

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, II, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE IX. The Best Known Gold Fields of Sinkiang*

Locale	Field	Comment
Altai	Tung-kou Hsi-kou Chien-kou Hou-kou Chung-kou Ha-hsiung-kou Pan-tang-kou	2 1/2 lb. nuggets mined; highest quality
Barkol (Chensi)	Hsiao-liu-kou	
Cherchen (Chieh-Mo)	unnamed	
Chi-tai (Ku Cheng Tzu)	unnamed	
Sui-ting (Ili)	Chio-li-Ko R.	
Keriya (Yutien)	A-ha-ta-Ko Shan Chia-pa-shan Yu-mo-chiang Shan	
Sui-tung	unnamed	
Ta-cheng (Chuguchak)	Ha-tu-shan	placer, between T'a-erh-ta-mu-tu and Su-erh-tu rivers
Tihwa (Urumchi)	unnamed	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 114-17.

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TABLE X. Distribution of Salt and its Production in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in 1942 and 1943 (Production in metric tons) Source: Stephens, Harre E.: N. W. salt, American Embassy, Lanchow, Kansu, China, Jan. 29, 1945)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 Production	Total	1943 Prod.	Total
Ninghsia	Tsa-han-chih (Lake).	38.20x104.42	39,040		30,244	
	Ho-twen-chih "	39.24x104.40	9,400		12,381	
	Ya-pu-lai "		10,500		5,600	
	Chi-lan-tai "	39.40x105.43	16,200		2,089	
	Hui-on-pu (Earth)	37.28x106.41	175		750	
	Tung-hu-chih (Lake)	37.40x104.55	700		460	
	Ba-in-chih (Earth)(?)	38.18x104.15	35		254	
	Hung-yen-chih "	38.02x104.58	155		16	
Kansu	Hsi-feng-chen(Lake)	35.45x107.28	2,700	77,105	5,004	51,978
	Tsao-shan-chen "	35.20x107.59	1,500		2,712	
	Kao-tai (earth)	39.21x99.58	2,800		2,055	
	Chang-hsien "	34.38x104.40	1,400		1,076	
	Su-mu-shan "	38.30x103.20	500		815	
	Tang-chia-hai "(?)		330		453	
	Kan-yen-chih "		200		417	
	Yen-kuan "	34.18x105.19	420		393	
	Pai-tun-tzu "	37.30x104.05	750		367	
	Hsiao-hung-kou "	36.43x105.26	160		351	
	Ma-lien-ch'uan "	41.10 x94.47	425		347	
	Ma-chia-T'sun	36.18x103.30	430		233	
	Lin-hsia	35.34x103.14	135		215	
	Hsia-ho (Lake)	35.12x102.30	20		174	
	La-pai (Earth)		290		112	

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
NorthChina	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
LowerYangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C.P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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ETHNIC GROUPS

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   1. The Turkic Peoples
   2. The Chinese Peoples
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   3. Religion
   4. Social organization
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B. The Taranchis

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   1. Origin and physical characteristics
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E. The Uzbeks

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1. Physical characteristics
2. Economic activities
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4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

F. The Salars
1. Physical characteristics
2. Language and religion
3. Social organization

G. The Sarigh-Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)
1. Physical characteristics
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H. The Tatars
1. Economic activities
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III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang
1. General characteristics
a. tribes
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2. Physical characteristics
3. Relations with non-Mongols
4. History
5. The leagues

B. The Mongols of Kansu
1. The Mongours
a. history
b. language
c. clan divisions
d. physical characteristics
e. economic activities
2. Other groups

C. The Mongols of Chinghai
1. General characteristics
2. Hordes
3. Probable extinction

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

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B. Physical Characteristics

C. Economic Activities

V. The Chinese Moslems

A. Population
1. Physical characteristics and economic activities
2. Religion
3. Relations with other groups
a. Chinese
b. Turks

B. History of Islam in Kansu

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

A. The Tajiks (Iranians or Sarikolis)
1. General characteristics
2. Physical characteristics
3. History and economic activities

B. The Russians

Additional Readings

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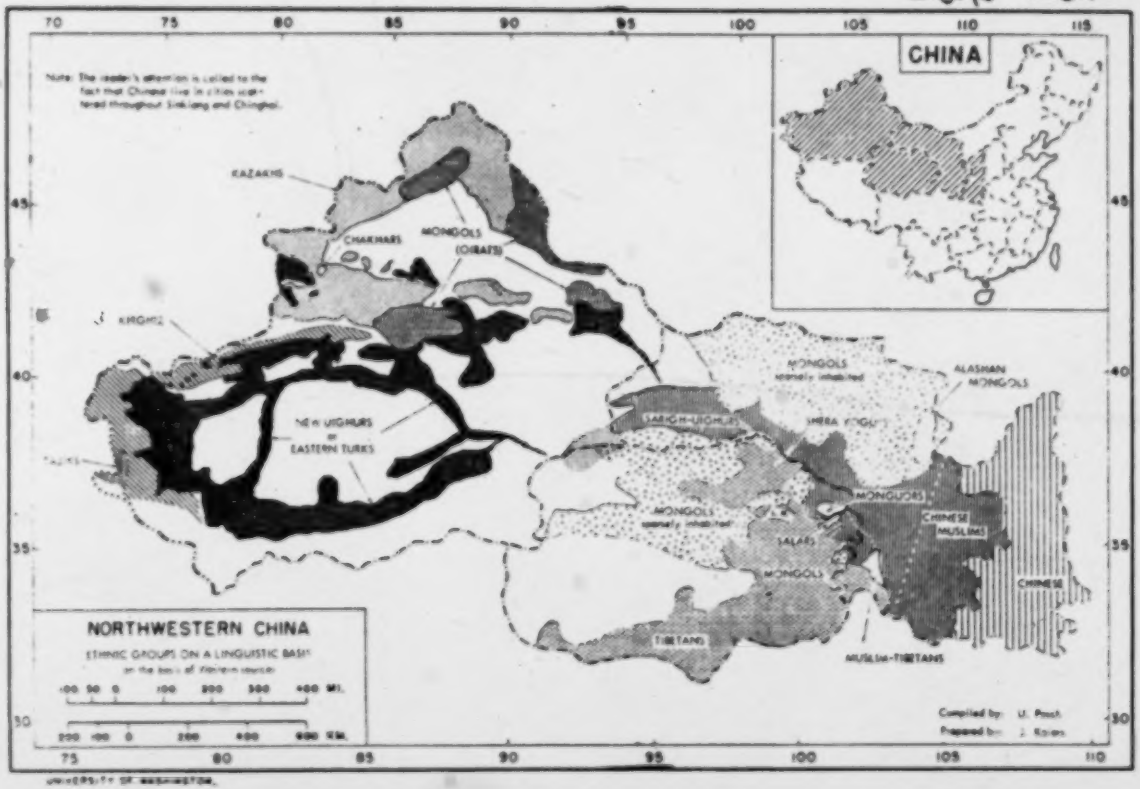

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S
N 1. Introduction
121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S
N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of
635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S
162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

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[114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Oirts	15,000	people
2) Torguts	18,000	"
3) Khoshuts	21,000	"
4) Chahar	8,000	"

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5) Urianghai 4,000 people

4. The Indo-Europeans

The remainder are Indo-Europeans and are in two groups:

1) Russians about 14-15,000 people
2) Tajiks about 9,000 " (also called Sarikolis or simply Iranians)

5. The Manchus

The Manchus, with the subgroups Solons and Sibos, are a recently extinct racial group. They merged with neighbouring Turks or Chinese or were absorbed by them. They forgot their own language about 40 or 50 years ago. The main group, consisting of about 10,000 persons, used to live in the Ili valley and the town of Ili. The present regime still constantly lists these three groups.

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6. Summary of population

Number	Group	No. of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	New Uighur	3,000	In the area of Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Cherchen, Aksu, Kucha, Kuldja, Turfan, Barkul, Hami, Chuguchak.
2	Kazakhs	300	Along the Tekes River and Kunger River, in the area of Chuguchak, on the border of Sinkiang, and Kazakhstan, on the border of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang.
3	Kirghiz	70	On the border of Sinkiang and Kirghizistan, between the area of Tekes River, the mountains north of Aksu, Uch-Turfan, Yanigshahar, Tashkurgan.
4	Taranchi	43	In the Ili region.
5	Uzbeks	8	Mostly living in cities, especially in Kashgar, Yarkend, Kuldja and Chuguchak.
6	Tatars	5	Exclusively living in the cities of Yuldus, Urumchi, Kuldja and Chuguchak.

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
2	Chinese Mohammedans	1,500	Mostly in the northern and western part of the province
3	Mongours	30	In the area which is enclosed by the Pingfan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River westward of Lanchou
4	Tibetans	40	scattered over the area which is enclosed by the Ping-fan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River
5	Sarigh-Uighur	5	on the northern slopes of the Nanshan, south of Su-chou
6	Mongols (Torguts and Ölöts)	?	The Torguts live in the area west and east of the Edsin gol and north of the line Ansi Su-chou. The Ölots live in the Alashan, north of Kan-chou and Liang-chou and the Chukhushan mountains, also north of the Lung-shan.

C. The Ethnic Groups of Chinghai

The main racial groups in the province of Chinghai are the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Chinese Moslems, the Salar Turks, the Mongols (Ölöts from Alashan) and the Mongours or Tu-jen.

No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	576	Mainly in the southeastern part of Chinghai, also along the Nan-shan mountain region, bordering Kansu and Sinkiang
2	Tibetans	417	In the Kuku-nor area, in the Dang-la mountain range and at the headwaters of the Yellow River

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
162 131 361 3	Chinese Moslems	138	In the capital Hsining (19,000) in the districts of Ta-tung, Huang-chung, Huang-yuan, Min-huo, Hua-lung, Hsun-hua, Meng-yuan, Also in the cities of Ho-chow and Lin-hsia.
4	Salars (Turks)	50	In the area of Hsun-hua, south of the Yellow River, and around Payen-Jung, southeast of Hsining.
5	Mongols	33	In the area north of the Kuku-nor, south and north of the Tsaidam swamps and in the area of the Bayan Kara Shan mountain range.
6	Mongours	72	West of the Kuku-nor in the area of the tributaries of the Ta-tung River, Hsi-ning River. Some of them live south of the Yellow River around Kuei-te.

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II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After
[668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term
563 later was adopted by the Chinese.

144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old
[167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen-
[175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some-
563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

701 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com-
563 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature
563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 619 614 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat, Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli, Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 233 433 [342] The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses, sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 181 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 538 [173] [212] The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script, but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 991 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 563 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 [619] [614] [144] The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one, and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] [181] [212] [538] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate, their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 361 233 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the mountains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
268 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorted a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
[197] of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[171] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habi-
tat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[171] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil-
lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.
[177]

1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[556] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga
region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have
lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian
merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[558] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from
[167] Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small
group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols,
but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their
new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken
in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[233] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[342] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.
[614]

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
14 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

20

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

N
*563 /Kansu Monguors/
*[195] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring
M
[195] tribes."

b. language

M
[197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N
*563 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in
M the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses
614 the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

N
*563 2. Physical characteristics

M
142 Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to),
[144] Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

N [177] Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian

N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[195] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/Chinghai Mongols/

*563 619 361 (8) the horde of the Tsinkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the monastery of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no population figure given).

(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few families nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of Tankar;

(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomadizing east of Gungga-nor;

(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 families, nomadizing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families, also nomadizing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families, nomadizing southeast of the Dzun;

(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, about 40 families nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;

(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is composed of a few families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest of Dankar;

(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomadizing around Shara-khoto;

(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northwestward of Kue-te;

(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-ch'eng (no population figure given)

(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the Kurluk Bei-tse.

*563 631 P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersburg, 1906) another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdivides the 24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
   1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
   2) Kökdd Beili, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
   3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
   4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
   5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
   6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
   7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
   8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut Dzasak)
   11) Kurlik Dzasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
   12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
   1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
   2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
   3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
   4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel: ?)
   5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Ghabcha Gung)

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*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [177] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the *563 791 795 northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 341 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Suflsm (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and
*175 Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[199] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

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Additional Readings

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LANGUAGES

I. Turki

A. Dialects

197 The main language spoken in Sinkiang is Turkish. The Turks themselves, however, call their language Turki. Sometimes, when denoting their local dialect, they use terms such as Kashgarlik (i.e. "a man from Kashgar"), or Kashgar türkisi (i.e. the Turkish language of Kashgar"), or Turfanlik ("a man of Turfan"), or Turfan türkisi ("the Turkish language of Turfan"), etc. Among Western linguists, the term "Eastern Turkish" is widely in use, and we shall use this term only; since the Communist revolution of 1917, however, the term "New Uighur" also has been introduced. The Soviets apply this designation to the 100,000 Turks who inhabit the area of Jarkent and Alma-Ata in Kazakstan at the headwaters of the Ili river, some parts of Kirghizistan, and the area of Andijan and Ferghana in Uzbekistan. They are of the same linguistic family as those who live in Sinkiang. Prior to the Soviet Russian revolution, the New Uighurs were called Taranchi, "inhabitants of the country."

East Turkish represents one of the dialects of the widely diffused Turkic language family. Closely related to Eastern Turkish are the Turkic languages spoken in Turkey, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, and the Soviet and Persian Azerbaijanian regions. The Turkish inhabitants of all these areas have no difficulty in communicating with each other.

1. Phonetic bases for subdivision of Turkic languages

194 The Turkic languages are subdivided according to certain characteristic phonetic features. For example, in the word dokuz~tokuz, "nine," the last sound is represented by -z in all Turkic languages except in Chuvash. There it is represented by -r, i.e. tăxăr, "nine" (this might also refer to the extinct languages of the Old Bolghar and Old Khazar). The Common Turkic intervocalic *-d- or *-ð- (a phoneme which resembles the English -th- in "that" or "those"), in the Common Turkic word aðaq, "foot," becomes ataχ in Yakut; adaq in Soyot (or Tuva, for which the name Uryankhai was also used) and Karagas; azaq in Sagai, Kacha, Koibal, Kizil, Kttarûk, Cholim, Beltir, Kamas, Sarigh-Uighur, and Shor; and ayaq or ayaγ respectively in Turkey Turkish, Chagatai, Eastern Turkish and all the remaining Turkic dialects.

193 Another phonetic criterion, commonly used in subdividing
194 the ayaq group, is the suffix of the present participle -an or -γan (γ indicates the voiced counterpart of -ch in the German "ach"), e.g. qal-an or qal-γan, "remaining." In this respect

193 subgroup, again, is divided into the so-called taγ-lıq and
194 tau-lı, "inhabitant of a mountain range" sections. This refers to the transformations which take place as far as the noun-forming suffix -lıq is concerned. It also refers to the changes of the final consonant -γ in the word taγ, "mountain" in the various dialects, i.e. daγ in Osmanli, taγ in Soyot and Karagas, tɑ̄ in Oirot, tō in Kirghiz, and tau in Kazakh and Karakalpak. In this respect, Eastern Turkish belongs to the taγ-lıq ("mountain inhabitant") section.

197 2. Position of Eastern Turkish

To summarize the facts concerning the classification of Eastern Turkish and its position within the family of the Turkic dialects, the following scheme should be applied: Eastern Turkish belongs to the dokuz languages, ayaq division, qal-γan subdivision, taγ-lıq section.

3. Derivations

Without doubt, the Turkic languages are related to the Mongolian, Manju-, and Tungusic languages, and together with them form the so-called Altaic language family. The oldest substratum of Korean is undoubtedly of Altaic origin. Many linguists believe that the Altaic languages and Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) languages constitute one large linguistic family.

With the exception of the Chuvash, and to a lesser degree the Yakut languages, the Turkic dialects demonstrate a striking resemblance and uniformity. Even the oldest known Turkish dialect, the so-called Old Turkish, or Uighur, as represented by the inscriptions on stone slabs erected in honor of the Khans of the empire founded by the Northern Turks in 682, differs amazingly little from modern Eastern Turkish, its closest descendant.

193 B. General Characteristics of the Turkish Dialects.
194 1. Vocalic harmony

Vocalic harmony is one of the most remarkable features of the Turkish dialects. This means that in one and the same word, including the suffixes, only front vowels (e, i, ö, ü) or back vowels (a, ı, o, u) are permitted to appear; e.g. front vocalic stems: köpek, "the dog"; yüzük, "the ring"; bilezik, "the bracelet"; back vocalic stems: topuk, "the ankle"; yatak, "the bed"; yastık, "the pillow". The rules of vocalic harmony must also be followed in adding suffixes to the stems: examples of back vocalic stems with back vocalic suffixes are: quduq, "the fountain"; quduqning, "of the fountain"; pičaq, "the knife"; pičaqči, "the knifemaker"; bala, "the child"; balaları, "their children"; examples of front vocalic stems with front vocalic suffixes are: beš "five"; bešindşi, "the fifth;" inek, "the cow", inekim, "my cow"; tüš "the dream", tüšüm "my dream";

193 köz "the eye", közöm "my eye."
194

2. Consonantal harmony

Another phonetic feature of the Turkic dialects is a certain type of consonantal harmony. This means that certain consonants appear in connection with front vowels or back vowels only; e.g. there are two k-sounds in Turkic dialects, a front one (somewhat like the front k in "came") and one produced further back in the mouth (somewhat like the back k in the German "kann"). The symbol "q" is used to designate this second k-sound. The first k-sound appears with front vowels only, e.g. keldim "I came," the second one with back vowels only, e.g. qildim "I made."

3. Grammar

193 Since the Turkic dialects belong to the Altaic language family, grammar is a matter of suffixes. This means that declension, conjugation, and comparison, in the broadest sense of the word, are expressed by suffixes and not by prefixes, infixes or ablaut as in the Indoeuropean or Semitic languages. These suffixes are attached to invariable stems, e.g.:

qiz "the girl," qizlær "the girls"
öj "the house," öjdɛ "in the house"
qil "do, make," qila "doing, making," qilyaj "I shall do"
kašγar "Kashgar," kašγarliq "inhabitant of Kashgar"
kel "come," keldim, kelding, "I came, you came"
beg "duke," begim "my duke"

4. Distinctions between Turkic and Indo-European

193 The following are the principal syntactic and grammatical
197 differences between the Turkic and Indo-European dialects. The Turkic dialects:

1) have no grammatical gender
2) have no definite articles
3) have a special posessive declension, e.g. baγ "the garden," baγim "my garden," baγin "your garden," baγimiz "our garden," baγiŋiz "your garden (plural)"
4) have a large number of verbal derivations, e.g. qilmaq "to make," qilduurmæq "to cause to make;" ačmaq "to open," ačilmæq "to become opened;" bermɛk "to give," berišmɛk "to give to each other," berinmɛk "to give oneself"
5) have postpositions instead of prepositions, e.g. pičaq birlɛ "with a knife," öj üčün "for the house"
6) place the attributive modifier in a position preceding the noun, i.e. the modifying word precedes the modified, e.g. čoŋ öj "the big house," but öj čoŋ "the house is big"
7) do not use the plural forms of nouns if these are preceded by numerals, e.g. iki öj "two houses" and not iki öjlɛr
8) replace the verb "to have" by the verb "to be," e.g. gul "the rose," gullum "my rose," gullum bar "I have a rose" (verbatim: my rose is existant)

193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilmaq
197 "to do, to make," qilmamaq "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu and do not change the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. baγqa yol bardur "there is a road to the garden," but baγqa yol bar muduur? "Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confunctions by participial or gerundial constructions, e.g. bolmoq' "to be or to become," bolsæm "if I were," the suffix -sæm could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashar, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
[193] dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
[194] the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
[167] valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ö, e, ö, ɛ,

193 ə; and a. Eastern Turkish has eight backvowels: i, ɯ, u, o, æ
194 ə, a, and ɒ.

1. Scheme of the vowel system of Eastern Turkish

	front:	central:	back:
closed:	i, ü	i, ü	ɯ, u
half closed:	e, ö		o
half open:	ɛ	ə	æ, ə
open:	ɑ		ə, ɒ

2. Scheme of the consonantal system of Eastern Turkish

	Explosive		Nasal		Lateral		Tremulans		Fricative		Half vowel	
	v*	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv	v	uv
Labials	b	p	m	m̥			ṙ		β		w, u̯	
Labial dentals									v	f		
Dentals and alveolars	d	t	n	n̥	l		ṙ	r	z	s		
Supradentals	ɖ	ʈ	ɳ		ɭ							
Palato alveolars									ʑ	ɕ		
Alveolar palatals									ʒ			
Palatals	dʒ	ʧ							j		i̯	
Front velars	g	k	ŋ						ɣ			
Back velars		q							ɣ	χ		
Laryngals										h		

* v means voiced, and uv means unvoiced

3. Transcription of Eastern Turkish

104 The transcription of Eastern Turkish used in this paper is
114 the so-called "Association Phonetique Internationale," according to M. Heepe (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, L'Ecriture Phonetique Internationale.) Prior to the Linguistic Conference of Copenhagen, however, the investigators of the Eastern Turkish dialects used other systems of transcription. Therefore a table showing all the earlier systems is presented.

212 E. Script

The Arabic script is still in use in Sinkiang. In 1940 the

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
197 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

F. Tables of Transcriptions

104 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern
114 Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

Radloff	Le Coq	Hartmann	Kunos	Raquette	API
i	i	i [i] [ı] [ü]	i, e	i	i
ü	ü	ü [ü] [ö]	ü	ü	ü
e [e] [ä]	e [e] [ä]	e [e] [ä]	e [e] [ä]	e	e
ö	ö	ö [ü]	ö	ö	ö
ö [ä] [e]	ö [ä] [e]	ö	ö	ö	ɛ
a	a	a	a	a	a
—	ı [ı]	i, ö, y, ı	i, ö	ı	ɨ
—	—	—	ü	ü	ʉ
—	—	—	ü	ü	ʏ
ü	—	—	—	ü	ʊ
ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ʊ
o	ö [ü]	ö [ü] [o] [ö]	ö [ü]	o	o
—	ü	y		ü	ʉ
				o	ɔ

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Table I (continued)

Radloff	Le Coq	Hartmann	Könow	Raquette	API
b	b	b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p	p	p
t	t, t	t	t	t	t
		—		ʂ	[ʃ]
ǰ, y	ɟ, ǰ	ǰ, ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	dʒ
č	č	č	č	č	ʧ
h	h [h]	h	h	h	h
x	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ
d	d	d	d	d	d
			—	δ	[ð]
r	r	r	r	r	r
z	z	z	z	z	z
		—	—	ẓ	[ð]
	ʒ	ʒ, ǰ	ʒ	—	ʒ
s	s	s	s	s	s
š	š	š	š	š	ʃ
	—	—	—	ṣ	[ʃ]
	—	—	—	ẓ	[ʒ]
	—	—	—	ṭ	[t]
	—	—	—	ḍ	[ð]
	ʿ	—	—	ʿ	—
ġ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
f	f	f	f	f	f
q	q	k, q	k	q	q
k	k	k	k	k	k
g	g	g	g	g	g
l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ŋ	ŋ [ŋ], ŋ	ŋ, ñ	ŋ	ñ	ŋ
v	v	v	v	v	v
	w	w	—	w	β, w
h	h	h	h	h	h
j	y	i	j	y	j

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Table II. The Arabic symbols which are still in use.

ب b	ر r	غ γ	ا, آ	a, ɒ, ɛ, æ, e, i, ï, ü, u, o.
پ p	ز z	ف f	ع	a, ɛ, æ, i, ï, ü, u, ö.
ت t	ژ ʒ	ق q		
ث s	س s	ک k	و	a, ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü̈, ö, ə.
ج dʒ	ش ʃ	گ g	ه	a, ɛ, æ, e, i.
چ ʧ	ص s	ل l	ی	a, æ, ɛ, e, i, ï, ɛ̄.
ح h	ض z	م m	او	ɔ, o, u, ɯ, ü, ü̈, ö, ə.
خ x	ط t	ن n		
د d	ظ z	و v, w	ای	ɛ, e, i, ï.
ذ z		ه h		
		ی j		

212 Table III. The Russian symbols which are in the process of
177 introduction.

Аа	Зз	Нҥҥ	Уу	Щщ
Бб	Ии	Оо	Ӯӯ	Ьь
Вв	Йй	Өө	Фф	Ъъ
Гг	Кк	Пп	Хх	Ыы
Дд	Лл	Рр	Цц	Ээ
Ее	Мм	Сс	Чч	Юю
Жж	Нн	Тт	Шш	Яя

G. Sketch of Eastern Turkish

193 As Eastern Turkish is an agglutinative language, the dialect can be described most simply by presenting the index of suffixes, the only grammatical means of modification. With the use of such an index, the general reader when knowing the meaning of a stem, should be able to figure out the grammatical function of the suffix concerned.

The genitive suffix: -nïŋ, -niŋ
quduq "the fountain," quduqnïŋ "of the fountain"

The dative suffix: -ɣa, -gɛ
öj "the house," öjgɛ "to the house, in the direction of the house"

The accusative suffix: -nï, -ni
ɯj "ox," ɯjnï "the ox" (direct object)

The locative suffix: -dæ, -dɛ
qïz "the girl," qizdæ "at the girl's, with the girl"

The ablative suffix: - dïn, - din
kül "the ashes," küldin "from the ashes"

The plural suffix: -læ-r, -lɛr
jürɛk "the heart," jürɛkler "the hearts"

The diminutive suffix: -ča, -čɛ
baɣ "the garden," baɣča "the little garden"

The professional suffix
ötmɛk "to pass by," ötmɛkči "the passer-by"

The suffix of ordinal numbers: -indʒi, -ïndʒï, -ündʒi, -ɯndʒï
beš "five," bešindʒi "the fifth"

The possessive suffixes:

1. pers. sg. -ïm, -im, -öm, -ɘm, -üm, -üm, -ɯm, -um, -om, -ɘm
2. pers. sg. -ïŋ, -iŋ, -öŋ, -ɘŋ, -üŋ, -üŋ, -ɯŋ, -oŋ, -ɘŋ
3. pers. sg. and pl. -si, -sï, -i, -ï
1. pers. pl. -ïmïz, imiz, ömiz, -ɘmiz, -ümiz, -ümiz, -ɯmïz, -omïz, -ɘmiz
2. pers. pl. -ïŋïz, -iŋiz, -öŋiz, -ɘŋiz, -üŋiz, -üŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -oŋïz, -ɘŋiz

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193 e.g. baɣïm "my garden" baɣïmïz "our garden"
baɣïŋ "your garden" baɣïnïz "your garden" (pl.)
baɣï "his, her, its garden" baɣlæri "their garden"

The suffix forming the present participle: -æ, -ɛ
qïl "do, make," qïlæ "making, doing"

The suffix forming the conditional: -sæ, -sɛ
bolmɛq "to be, to become," bolsæm "if I were"

The suffix expressing impossibility: -al-, -ɛl-
ber "give", berɛlmɛdi "he was not able to give"

The suffix forming verbs out of nominal stems: -la, -lɛ, -læ
tiŝlɛmɛk "to bite"

The suffix forming the negative participle in the present tense:
-mas, -mɛs, -mæs
kör-mɛs "not seeing"

The suffix forming the past tense:
1. pers. sg. -dïm, -dim, -dum, -düm, -dɔm, -dœm
2. pers. sg. -dïŋ, -diŋ, -duŋ, -düŋ, -dɔŋ, -dœŋ
3. pers. sg. -dï, -di (refers also to the plural)
1. pers. pl. -doq, -dɔq, -dük
2. pers. pl. -dïŋïz, -diniz, -duŋïz, -düŋiz, -dɔŋiz, -dœŋiz
e.g. qïldïm, qïldïn, qïldï, "I did, you did, he (she, it) did," etc.

The suffix forming the past participle (converb): -ïp, -ip, -up, -üp, -op, -ɔp, -œp
čir "enter, come in," čirip "after having entered"

The suffix forming the past participle (converbum terminalis):
-ɣač, -gɛč
qïl "do, make," qïlɣač "when you do"

The suffix of the participle expressing habitual activity:
-ɣaq, -qaq, -gɛk, -kɛk; ur- "to push, to beat, to strike, to hit," urɣaq "beating something habitually"

The gerundial suffix expressing "in order to": -ɣali, -ɣæli, -gɛli; kör- "see," körgɛli "in order to see"

The suffix which forms a gerund: -ïɣ, -ïq, -uɣ, -uq, -ig, -ik, -üg, -ük
qïl "do, make," qïlïɣ "the doing, the making"
bil "know, understand, comprehend," bilik "the knowledge, learning, erudition, comprehension"

The suffix forming the future participle: -ɣo, -u, -qu, -gü
kel "come," kelgü "one who wants to come, will come, wishes to come"

539 H. Specimen of Eastern Turkish Literature
Turkish text (transcription)

1 [illegible]
haq rasul [illegible]

2 [illegible] ɣyda di
haq rasul [illegible]

3 haq rasul [illegible]

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4 *haq rasul ekrem nimn jete daja: ja'rab*
maga usta bolsangiz dj[illegible]him (dyrema dim) bol du

5 *ala kim du ashge qad'm qojdla*
ala kim du jemej ichmej tojdla

6 *ala kim du oylin qurbanu etla*
oylom a.ziq bolsangiz maga djerab be

7 *pajyambajm du ashge qad'm qojdla*
melajk du jemej ichmej tojdla

8 *ibrahim du isma'il' qojdek sojdla*
maga usta bolsangiz djerab bol du

English translation:

1 Peace be with you, my dearest Gharib
Out of what has God created the honored prophet?
2 Peace be with you also, Juneid of Baghdad
God has created the highly honored prophet from light
3 How many rivers has God created because of the highly honored prophet?
4 Because of the highly honored prophet God has created seven rivers
If you are my teacher, this is my answer
5 Who is it, who became satiated without eating or drinking?
6 Who is it, who has sacrificed his son?
My son, if you love me, give me an answer
7 It is my prophet who has set his foot upon the heavenly throne
It is the angels who became satiated without eating or drinking
8 It was Abraham who slaughtered Ismail like a sheep
If you are my teacher, then this is my answer

I. Other Turkic Dialects of the Northwest

19

1. Phonological differences

The remaining Turkic dialects of the Northwestern region, namely Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar, Salar and Sarigh-Uighur are somewhat different phonetically from New Uighur. Since all these Turkic dialects stem from one and the same original Turkic language, namely Common Turkic, phonological differences on the basis of the latter may be discussed if they are

19 pertinent and unusual as far as mutual understanding is concerned. The Common Turkic initial consonant q- is generally preserved in all five dialects mentioned above. The word for "black," qara, is pronounced the same in Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek, Salar (where it alternates with xara) and Sarigh-Uighur. In a few cases the Common Turkic q- developes into g- in Salar, e.g. New Uighur: q[illegible] "arm," appears as gol, id. The Common Turkic final -q is generally preserved as such but in Uzbek and in Salar it frequently becomes a -x, e.g. Osmanli: yanaq "cheek", Kirghiz: dʒäq; Uzbeg: yanaq "cheek bone", Salar: yanax. Another possible phonetic development of the final Common Turkic -q is that to -ɣ in Uzbek and to -g in Salar, e.g. Tatar: baliq "fish", Salar: paliɣ. The intermediate Common Turkic -q- is preserved as such but occurs in Salar as --x-. e.g. Uzbek: oqu "to read", Salar: uxu-. The Common Turkic initial consonant k- is preserved as such in all five dialects. Only rarely does it become g- in Salar, e.g. Uzbek: kümüš "silver", Kirghis: kümüš, Tatar: kümüš, Salar: kümiš; but the Uzbek: Kömür becomes gümir in Salar. The final Common Turkic consonant -k is preserved as such in all five dialects. However, in Salar it can become a -x, e.g. Uzbek and Kirghiz: ek- "to sow", Salar: äx- "to plow". The Common Turkic voiced stops, -ɣ- and -g; in intermediate and final position undergo very characteristic phonetic developments.

1) The Common Turkic group -aɣ occurs in Kazakh and in Tatar as -au, in Kirghiz as ō and in Salar as -ag or -aɣ, e.g. Taranchi: taɣ "mountain, Kazakh and Tatar: tau, Kirghiz: tō and Salar: tag or taɣ.

2) The Common Turkic group -aɣa is preserved in all five dialects. However, in Kirghiz it often becomes contracted, e.g. Kirghiz and Tatar: aɣač "tree", Kazakh: aɣaš, Uzbek: äɣäč, Salar: agäč; but Taranchi: taɣar "bag, sack", is pronounced in Kirghiz as tär.

3) The Common Turkic group -aɣï occurs in Kirghiz as ō, in Kazakh and Tatar as au and is preserved as such in Salar and Uzbek, e.g. Uzbek: aɣïz "mouth", Kirghiz: ōz or ōs or ūz, Salar: agsï "his mouth" (only the form with the posessive suffix of the third person singular is recorded).

4) The Common Turkic group -aɣu is preserved in Uzbek and in Salar when it constitutes the first and second syllable of a stem, but it is not preserved as such when it constitutes the second and third syllable of a word, In Kirghiz and in Kazakh it became contracted to a long ū and in Tatar it developed to avē or ewē, e.g. Middle Turkic: yaɣuq "next, close, near", Chagatai: yavuq, Kirghiz: ʒūq, Kazakh: ʒūq, Uzbek, yauq.

5) TheCommon Turkic group -oɣ occurs in Kirghiz, and Kazakh and Tatar as long ū; in Uzbek as oɣ or uɣ; and in Salar as ug, e.g.

19 New Uighur and Uzbek: toɣ- or tuɣ- "to be born or to give birth to a child", Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar: tū. Salar has only one word recorded which contains the Common Turkic -oɣ namely ugrí "thief", which is pronounced in Uzbek as oɣrí.
6) The Common Turkic group -oɣa was preserved as such in Uzbek, became a long ō in Kirghiz, and in Kazakh and in Tatar it has been transformed to uɣa, u'a or ua, e.g. Uighur: boɣaz "goiter" or "pregnant", Uzbek: boɣaz, Kirghiz: bōz "pregnant" Kazakh: buɣaz, Tatar: buaz.
7) The Common Turkic group -oɣu occurs in Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar as a long ū (in the latter also as uvê and êwê); in Uzbek it has been preserved or was transformed to avu; in Salar it has been preserved as ogu, e.g. Uzbek: oɣul "son", Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar: ūl, Salar: oɣul.
8) The Common Turkic group -uɣ became a long ū in Kirghiz, uv in Uzbek, e in Tatar and simply u in Salar (or ī when constituting non-first syllables) e.g. Uzbek: yuv- "to wash", Salar: yu-.
9) The Common Turkic group +uɣu has been preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, Kirghiz and Kazakh, e.g. buɣu "male deer."
10) The Common Turkic group *-iɣ became -eɣ in Uzbek (or has been preserved as -iɣ); it remained in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ij and was transformed to -êj in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: yiɣ- or yeɣ- "to stock up, to collect", Kirghiz: ǰij-, Tatar: ǰêj-.
11) The Common Turkic group +iɣī remained as such or became eɣi or igi in Uzbek, -ij or a long -ī in Kazakh and occurs in Tatar as êyê or long ī, e.g. Uzbek: yeɣin "heap, pile, hoard", Kirghiz: ǰíyín, Kazakh: ǰijn or ǰīn.
12) The Common Turkic group +āg is represented in Uzbek by -eg, in Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar by a long -ī or by -ij, e.g. New Uighur: beg " a native official ", Tatar: bēj, Salar: peɣ.
13) The Common Turkic group +āgā is preserved in Uzbek as -ege-, in Kirghiz as long ē and in Kazakh as -iyā- e.g. Uzbek: yegen "nephew", Kirghiz: ǰēn, Kazakh: ǰiyān.
14) The Common Turkic group +-āgū is represented in Chagatai as -āgi-, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ūgū-, e.g. Chagatai: tāgil "not", Kirghiz and Kazakh: túgūl.
15) The Common Turkic group +āgi is represented in Uzbek by -igi- or -egi-, in Kazakh by a long ī, in Tatar by -êgê-, in Kirghiz by -egi- and in Salar by e, e.g. Chagatai: tāgirman "mill", New Uighur: tōgurmah, Kirghiz: tārban or tegirman, Kazakh: tīrman, Salar: termen (recorded in this form which obviously does not show the long ē).
16) The Common Turkic group +-ōg is represented in Uzbek by -ōk, -ōj, or ō, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -új, -ōj, or -ū, in Tatar by ëj and in Salar by -úg, e.g. Taranchi: bōrāk "kidney", Kirghiz: bójrók, Kazakh: bújrōk or būrōk, Tatar: bōyōr, Uzbek:

19 bůjrăk, New Uighur: bŏrăk, Salar: bůgůrix.

17) The Common Turkic group +-ŏgă- is preserved as such in Uzbek, but occurs as -ŏgŏ- in Kirghiz and as -ůgê- in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: ŏgăj "step-", Kirghiz: ŏgŏj, Tatar: ůgêj.

18) The Common Turkic group +-ŏgů appears in Uighur as such, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ůyů- and in Tatar as -ŏyŏ; e.g. Uighur: ŏgůr "herd", Kirghiz and Kazakh: ůyůr, Tatar: ŏyŏr.

19) The Common Turkic group +ůg is preserved as such in Uzbek or alternates with -ug; in Kirghiz and Kazakh it became -ůj and in Tatar -ŏj; e.g. New Uighur and Uzbek: tůg- "to tie a knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tůj-, Tatar: tŏj-.

20) The Common Turkic group +-ůgă is preserved as such in New Uighur, but became in Kirghiz and Kazakh -ůgŏ-, e.g. New Uighur: yůgăn "holder", Kirghiz and Kazakh: ǰůgŏn.

21) The Common Turkic group +-ůgů- is represented in Kirghiz and Kazakh as -ůyů-, e.g. Chagatai: tůgůn or tůyůn "knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tůyůn, Tatar: tŏyŏn.

22) The Common Turkic group +-ig develops into -ij or long ī; e.g. Chagatai: čig "raw", Tatar: čī.

23) The Common Turkic group +-igi is preserved as such in Taranchi, Uzbek, Kirghiz and Kazakh, but occurs as -êgê- in Tatar; e.g. Chagatai and Taranchi: yigit "young fellow", Uzbek: yigit, Kirghiz and Kazakh: ǰigit, Tatar: yêgêt, Salar: igit.

24) The Common Turkic group +-igů- is preserved as such in New Uighur but became -iyi- in Kirghiz; e.g. Chagatai and New Uighur: kigůr- "to lead in", Kirghiz: kiyir-.

2. Phonetic development of the consonants.

1) The Common Turkic consonant +y- is represented in Uzbek, Chagatai and Salar by y- but in Kirghiz and Kazakh by ǰ-; e.b. Uzbek: yaγmur "rain", Salar: yaγmir, Kazak and Kirghiz: ǰamγīr.

2) The Common Turkic prelingual voiceless stop +t- is preserved in all dialects. A peculiarity of Salar is the development of +t- before +i, +ī and +ū to ǰ- (dž-) in intervocalic position and to č- otherwise.

3) The Common Turkic intermediate +-d- (+-ď-) is represented by -y- in all five dialects. Only in Sarigh Uighur it became -ž-; e.g. Salar: ayax "foot", Chagatai, Kazakh and Uzbek: ayaq, New Uighur: ayaγ, Sarigh Uighur: ažaq. Again Salar develops +-d- before +i and +ī to -ǰ- (-dž-) or -č-; e.g. New Uighur: ăyiq "bear", Uzbek: ayiq, Salar: ačīx.

5) The Common Turkic affricate +-č- (in intervocalic position) is preserved as such in New Uighur, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar but became š- in Kazakh; e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur and Uzbek: očaq "stove", Kirghiz: očoq, Tatar: učaq, Salar: očag, Kazakh: ošaq.

19 6) The Common Turkic spirant *s is preserved as such in all five dialects; e.g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč< säč, Kazakh: šaš< saš.

7) The Common Trukic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *-z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e.g. Uzbek: qīz "girl", Salar: kīs, Tatar: kēz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e.g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bär- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e.g. Uighur: tobīq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar: e.g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolot (ø is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e.g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *ī resulted in a reduced vowel ə̂ : e.g. kīz "girl", Tatar: qə̂z.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e.g. Uzbek: köl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in e in Tatar; e.g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: ken.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

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II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zöün gar "right
[131] wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aγu, *egů, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caγaγan "white	čaγan	tsaγān
*qaʃaγar "bridle	qaʃaγar	γazār
*qaβalγa "gate"	qaγalγa	χālγə
*čiγiraγ < *tiγiraγ "massive"	čigiraγ	tšīrəG "solid"
*daγuda- "to call"	daγuda-	dūn "voice"
*toγarī- "to turn"	toγori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraγu "calf"	būrū
miqan "meat"	maχn̥
sira "yellow"	šarə
milaγa "lash"	malā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: džidə < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaγan "white"	tsaγān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegůn "cold"	zekůn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkē

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19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitčig (or bitčig)
čimůgen "hammer"	tčimgn̥
čiraj "face"	tčirī

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůddg "knee"	öwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtčn̥
elgů- "to hang"	öig-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaγai "large and flat"	dalwaγī
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moγai "snake"	moγī
ɮiγui "name of a plant"	alγū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. The Monguor Language

+563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M The following observations may be made about the Monguor
19 language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

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Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Monguor
*γon "year"	on	fǎn
*γodun "star"	odun	fõdi
*γarban "ten"	arban	χarwan
*γeki "head, beginning"	ekin	χεgi
*γirů "to pray"	irůge	śurõ-

(It must also be added that the Common Mongolian *p or *γ becomes ś in Monguor before the following *i, as seen in a previous example).

2) A special characteristic of Monguor is that in the very same word a Written Mongolian hard consonant (medially) becomes soft, but the Written Mongolian initial soft consonant becomes hard.

Mongolian	Monguor
ekin "head"	χεgi
burčaγ "pea"	p'dźiaǵ
bičig "letter"	p'udźig

3) The Written Mongolian consonant *t and *χ were so strongly aspirated in Monguor that they became *tś:

Mongolian	Monguor
tata- "to pull"	tśida-
teǰiye- "to feed"	tśudźie-

4) Written Mongolian *o and *ő converged to *o; and written Mongolian *u and *ů converged to *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
ebůdůg "knee"	udig
bődůne "quail"	bodono
γurban "three"	gurǎn
odun "star"	fõdi

5) Written Mongolian vowel *i after *b became *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
bičig "letter"	p'udźig
bi "I"	bu

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III. The Tibetan Dialect of the Chinghai Region

The Tibetan dialect of Chinghai has never been studied, although some, like Potanin, Prževalski, Hedin, Filchner, Rockhill, Täfel and Ekvall have made some brief remarks about it. The following statements are made on the basis of the few words and phrases reported in their diaries and articles.

1) The Tibetan Chinghai dialect, like Lhasa Tibetan is a monosyllabic tonal language presenting the typical phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the Tibetan-Burmese subgroup of the Indo-Chinese language family.

2) The Chinghai dialect may be subdivided into two branches: that of the sedentary Tibetans (rong-skad "valley speech") and

19 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

*563 3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bkrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W
576 Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few
*563 greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced es-
[127] pecially in the area between Kokonor, Tossun-nor and the

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Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nan̄-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ūr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yō-lam-na-de-bār-tyō-chig

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As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyō, tchō, to ktchō. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

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The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

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The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligatory language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

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A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɲ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

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19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

S N 197 d) Contrast between -ẽ and -ɔŋ

Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N +175 197 S 175 197 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V. Concluding Remarks

S N 191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [190] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Öläts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

A. The Nomadic Turks

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs

B. The Sedentary Tibetans

C. The Monguours

III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese Moslems and the Sedentary Tibetans

Additional Readings

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang All

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563
556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Usbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is
621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
596 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
563 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
423 ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
[565] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
622 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[674] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal
[681] is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
563 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
583 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price,
584 payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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Kazak RQ2

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      - Sikhym
      - Jamys
      - Tämir
      - Shymyr
      - Botpai
      - Kurulus
      - Bäsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      - Sirgäli
      - Ysty
      - Otakshy
      - Jalair
      - Shapas
      - Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      - Kara kesäk
      - Shar Jitim
      - Janshar
      - Tört aul with aa) Atygai
        - bb) Altai
        - cc) Terbish
        - dd) Tabakty
      - Borshy
      - Karpak
      - Basäntin
      - Agysh Kalkanam
      - Kanjygaly
      - Kosugan
      - Kök shal
   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      - Bulatty
      - Tärs tamgaly
      - Baganaly
      - Sadyr
      - Ergänäkti
   c) Tribe Kypchak
   d) Tribe Kiräi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kuräi with the clans:
         - Jantykai
         - Jadyk
         - Shiräüshi

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/The Kazakh Nation/

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Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itängmän
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kiräi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitäi
Tört kara
Shümökäi
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jätti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptäi
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Teläii
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

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Sinkiang AI1

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The Kirghis Nation

1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)

a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:

Tselek	Bor	Shykmayat
Torgo	Dölös	Kala
Bapa	Kongrat	Assan-tukum
Yeldün	Monguldur	Aryk-tukum
Talabai	Sayak	Küchük
Serike	Udu	

b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:

Saru	Sayak	Mundus
Kala	Assik	Kitai
Monguldur	Dölös	Yetigün
Shykamat	Kongrat	

c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:

Yetigün	Monguldur
Kuchu .	Mundus
Saru	Assyk

d) Tribe Edigüna with the clans:

Dölös	Mundus
Saru	Sayat (incomplete)
Kongrat	Kaba
Monguldur	Shykamat

e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:

Askaly	Kandabas
Toro	Kosh-tamga
Macjak	Kuan-duan
Ush-tamga	

f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:

Ak-chubak
Bai-chubak (incomplete)

2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)

Known clan names are:

Saru
Besh-beren
Mundus
Töngtörüp
Kuchu
Kükürün
Yetigün

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

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The Uzbek Nation

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1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)
2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)
3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly
4) Tribe Yüz(hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pärchäyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    - a) Mesit
    - b) Yaby
    - c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bükhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[167] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR. Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex [671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted [595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. [671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the [851] social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, 563 586 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

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563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or
S Tibetan aristocratic clans.
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
*563 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
N sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[562] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the
[922] products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

*563 In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
221 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual
*563 pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
221 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
437 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems. These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

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*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
*563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
792 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a
member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irri-
gated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All
their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water consti-
tutes the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the
youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in
shaping the character of the community. As the representa-
tives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders
of the community, but they are also the administrators of
the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as be-
565 quests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares
for all those persons of the community who are unable to make
a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It
is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Mos-
lems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities,
but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the
merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials
who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese adminis-
trators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials
aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often
assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against
the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent
the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the mer-
chants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an
economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the
fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and
therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
[428] equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[562] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc-
cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the
sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are
held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

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563 The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
[583] away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding ex-
penses. Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usu-
[584] ally occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
[586] a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a consid-
[589] erable number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usu-
ally engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identi-
fied with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
62 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
[181] The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were dis-
couraged. The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
[585] the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural out-
growths of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
166 land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
241 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation pro-
425 jects are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
families who move as a group to such a new area. This prac-
tice may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social struc-
ture, since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 138 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bükü (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatse Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bükü and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings N [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 62 [622] [623] [632] [792] [622] There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. [423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 62 241 [787] [792] Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. [787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. [776] [782] It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. [625] [486] [651] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

N *563 621 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on N *563 and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the 592 family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, [595] instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the N herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death [768] of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N C. The Mongours

*563 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a M reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, 173 brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in 565 Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops *563 depending on the size of the territory and the population of which M he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor 565 social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol [701] rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese M and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four [614] general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the *563 appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan M chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of 614 T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. 554 Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his M "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social [428] organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a
M double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese
614 official.
554
648
175

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-
*563 Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the
M seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original
614 Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned.
175 It is very likely that especially in the period from 1368 to 1723,
648 only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later
179 in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese
M or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clans-
[565] men and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his
*563 clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned,
M according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when
614 the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed
554 that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.
423

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his
N respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a
*563 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his com-
M mand in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was
614 therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners.
565 Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of
554 slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

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N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after th' time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 317 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 M [554] The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [428]

M [182] [168] [428]

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000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older N than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is [191] found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are [241] the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The N *563 621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N [701] The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such division

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for
[794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
621 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found (578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the [361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
[181] the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
167 a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
621

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
*563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
184 have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

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THE FAMILY

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THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
595 religious person will not exceed four wives.
779

S N Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
779 loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
829 man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic

S 595 563 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom

S [562] [152] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

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563 592 562 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower [565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing [582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the seden- 563 592 593 182 tary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the [671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and [779] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

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593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
[582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 86 [591] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems. With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many in- [586] cidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband [587] and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

563
548 Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated
[588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

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582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

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584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former
[583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

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585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is required to pay toward their maintenance.

563 The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
369 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no sec ir-
369 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
586 then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs. The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

59 Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
182 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions; (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are manifested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure. The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
582 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
586 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the sedentary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
184 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
563 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
592 holds is maintained.
342

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house, milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways (milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social contacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] [868] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret, Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 269 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 587 586 793 181 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
*563 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accord-
*563 ingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
592 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
[848] to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young
[836] people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
[591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with
*563 their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
583 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
591 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
595 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
162 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

*563 The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
593 tinuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability
182 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[182] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
584 he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 584 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
[431] Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 585 After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
[583] lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
[583] family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

*563 585 593 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 585 The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get
[184] married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders.
[586] Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 586 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however, with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 M [556]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

N *563 M 592 554 [169]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[771] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that
M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

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Additional Readings

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SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with
181 which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values
183 are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

121 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the
183 norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

121 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically,
183 custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as
181 matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group; they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121
128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda
* [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chi-
* 563 nese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with
[177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

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N
121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S
101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S
563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S
178 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
563 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N
S
121 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
*563 our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N
*563 A. The Han Chinese

*175 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
[651] the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the disasters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich merchants who have authority in political and economic matters, but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade. There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here generations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine furnishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yellow earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses. But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits, fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted vegetables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn with the fur side inside.

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradi-
769 tion. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
592 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obei-
[796] sance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relation-
[184] ships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[593] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
796 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
184 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is

N *563 more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
829 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The atti-
N [558] tude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

S
N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

563 1. The People
101 Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[190] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
N than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are con-
563 sidered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
181 said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S
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563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
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S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 909 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a (798) united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S N a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

S N Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
[562] sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
563 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
796 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
785 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
779 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S N b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 179 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is 342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by 352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are 353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its 252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents. Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses, strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed, by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast, furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
[131] part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a farming people.

The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
563 honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most com-
[534] mon instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

/The New Uighurs/

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called ův, or
[184] sometimes hānǎ, which resemble the simple earth, stone and reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table. Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

[251] The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer. Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread. The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot, onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

/The New Uighurs/

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier anu tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

d. Tobacco

563 276 Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 a. Marriage

562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

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000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

/The New Uighurs/

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the mid-wife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives. When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[851] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

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563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the 764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the 782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-inter- [184] ment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

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563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 771 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [777] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays. Rōse-hāyt, Kurban-hāyt and

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563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).
796 Rōse-hāyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles [785] the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days, everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each [574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all [262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hāyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day, the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two [184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a [782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the [785] house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who, they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting. Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection 796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open 184 house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus- [735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed, 519 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring 533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos- 535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum 519 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, K [361] adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, [272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and K 291 their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in [171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather [556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding K 769 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the 171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

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S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakhs will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [191] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 M 462 533 535 [191]

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 M 648 175 311 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies M [354] [362] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [351] [182] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. M [194] A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. M [412] Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

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N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

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N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 179 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

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N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [177] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

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000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 224 439

Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 226 M [251]

Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

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tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

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6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

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G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

*563 264 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 504 312 262 184 556 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with [556] sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots [556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 302 [184] Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 181 577 a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 576 431 [822] b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living [574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For [554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious ritual. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 88 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [615] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

*563 585 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 844 852 [562] [751] [853] The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 553 852 [793] The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 764 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 [755] [793] When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 763 764 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 764 562 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

N *563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N [116] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 789 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac- 000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.

[291] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
525 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
292 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

563 517 A. General Introduction

The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities. [179] [668]

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[175] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

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563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

[197] [177] In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[756] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

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563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, and the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

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563 538 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 533 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cultural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives. [199] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in [539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

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(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi litera-
538 ture and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads.
[101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the
533 Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life
538 and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the
[539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of
538 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

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563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 538 179 668 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

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563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 532 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manu-

[538] scripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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centuries.

Most of the religious structures in general followed the Persian and Indian patterns of buildings. Every shrine had a square or circular cell with a large image of Buddha in it, and included a passage where religious processions could take place and go all the way around the Buddha statue. Additional images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and goddesses decorated the temples. The statues ranged in dimension from over-life sized figures in almost full relief to very small figurines of sitting Buddhas.

The inner walls of these temples and the ceiling were often completely covered with frescoes. Dramatic compositions illustrating scenes and episodes from the life of Buddha, stylized mountain landscapes and illustrations of Buddhist legends were the subject matter of these frescoes.

Several examples of smaller art were also found in these temples. Of particular interest are the wooden panels, which were painted, deposited at the feet of the Buddha statues as votive offerings. Among the other kinds of votive offerings were some paintings on fabric or paper.

Sir Aurel Stein discovered the site of the ruins which belonged to the earliest historical period in Sinkiang: the secular dwellings at Niya sites, and the Buddhist shrines at Miran. Sir Aurel Stein found fairly well preserved wooden brackets and beams which had fallen from the ceilings, and parts of furniture. These objects were carved with many animals, flowers, leaves and other decorative motifs. The decorative motifs are strickingly reminiscent of the style of the Bandhara school of sculpture which flourished in India's northwestern frontier in the first and second centuries A.D. This art is often referred to as Greco-Buddhist, as its content is definitely Buddhist while its style is very strongly affected by the Greek art of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Western Asia.

Further remains of the third and early fourth century were found in the temples at Miran. The interior walls of these shrines were full of murals, containing scenes from the life of Buddha, Buddhistic legends, decorated with young men carrying garlands, and youthful male angels. The Miran wall paintings also strongly resemble the Hellenistic frescoes of the same period discovered in the Middle East, both in the techniques employed and in the general effect. Sir Aurel Stein holds the idea that they had been painted by a "Roman Eurasian." A large number of statues of similar nature were discovered by Stein in the temples at the desert site of Rawak, not far from Khotan.

Paul Pelliot and Albert von le Coq found small statues of clay and wood, and some broken heads of statues, which resembled the Hellenistic ancient art even more closely than the murals of Miran and Rawak. They were found in the Tumshuk

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532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art
(177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
229 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
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532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
799 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[799] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
799 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
799 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably comple-
[213] mented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
177 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are def-
328 initely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its crafts-
531 manship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the
294 gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are
531 the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Per-
(177) sian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of
517 art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the
177 availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use,
178 from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist re-
532 gime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They
177 center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day
668 leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sin-
529 kiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of
(177) Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the [114] old pre-Islamic times.

The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the 533 Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural ac- 535 tivities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and 197 musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in 668 China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

*563 538 979 mandment," is so called because it was translated from the ancient Indian language. The code extends to one hundred and eight volumes of about a thousand pages each. The Kah-gyur is divisible into three great sections: the Dul-va (Discipline), the Do (sermons), and the Ch'os-non-pa (metaphysics). These three sections are considered to be the antidotes for the three original sins; thus the discipline cleanses from lust, the sermons from ill will, and the wisdom from stupidity.

The Tibetan commentary or Tan-gyur is a great cyclopedic compilation of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian scholars and some learned Tibetans, in the first few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There are two hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is divided into two classes, the rGyud and mDo. The rGyud is mostly on rituals and ceremonies and the mDo on science and literature.

The indigenous works composed in Tibet are for the most part devoted to sacred subjects. The secular books exist, as a rule, in manuscript form, as the printing is in the hands of the monks. The sacred books can be divided into (a) apocryphal and (b) authentic and quasi authentic. The apocryphal works are the most numerous and most popular. Chief among them are the fictitious "revelations" or Terma books. Other common apocryphal works are the manuscripts possessed by the monasteries which gave a more or less legendary account of the history of the monastery.

The authentic books include many religious chronologies and records. Most of these biographies and records are legendary, especially those of the earlier Lamas and Indian monks. Some of the later ones dealing with more modern personages are of a somewhat more historical character, but are also overloaded with legends.

The leading ritualistic manuals of the various sects are of a more or less authentic character and small pocket editions of these prayer books and hymns are very numerous.

*563 538 By looking outside the monastic circles, little can be found: on the one hand, the elaboration of chronicles and genealogies of noble families, on the other, sacred plays, arbitrarily adapted to the people's psychology, temperament and understanding, by actors always ready to modify their literary origin. Folk songs and epics also originated by the people outside the monasteries. A collection of proverbs and drinking songs can be found in "The Precious Rosary" (rin-ch'en-p'ren-wa). The folk tales of the people (sgruns) are fabulous. The best known of these is that of Gesar. (Waddell suggests a possibility that the name may be derived from Caesar, or from Czar.)

Among the secular works of Tibetan literature, the most popular is the epos of Gesar, the national epic poem of the

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*563 538 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 532 [177] C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently. [992]

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze, [992]

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The [171] brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting de- [291] signs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

/The Tibetans/

*563 533 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgorbzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by [539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 535 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

/The Tibetans/

*563 535 far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

*563 535 536 796 It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the West as "devil-dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church, given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

536 *668 177 The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Communist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

*[175] Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

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among those who promoted this movement during the earlier war years was Ting-ling (see General Handbook), whose dramatic team was particularly active before army audiences. Further impetus was derived from the foundation of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts, which also had a drama department. Ts'ao Yü and Ma Chien-ling are two of the more frequently produced authors.

The whole movement was streamlined, however, only in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on the "Problems of Art and Literature" (see General Handbook). The directive given therein to link up artistic activities with popular traditions was followed and, at least in name, the yang-ko movement gave contour and direction to the dramatic arts from then on. The yang-ko, literally "rice sprouting song," was a widespread and popular form of dance, songs—frequently antiphonies—and simple thanksgiving plays in the rural areas. Again the discovery of the usefulness of this tradition for contemporary propaganda purposes was not of Communist priority; it had been used in similar ways in the Ting-hsien experiment.

Very little but the name remained of the popular yang-ko tradition under Communist moulding. Most of their propaganda plays for rural and army consumption, whatever their topics and whatever their form, were called yang-ko. The number of so-called yang-ko pieces composed and produced in Yenan is legion. The most famous of them is, of course, "The White-Haired Girl," the libretto for which was written in early 1945 by members of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts (see General Handbook).

Other playwrights, particularly Ma Chien-ling, developed the regional style of the traditional opera, the so-called ch'in-ch'iang, into an instrument of Communist propaganda. Ma's first play in this tradition is called "Bloody Enmity," and was written in 1943, the enemy being the Kuomintang and not the Japanese. His second play, entitled "Everybody is Happy," was written in early 1944. Its topic is the conversion of an opium smoker and lazybones into a useful and productive member of the rural masses. This was followed in 1946 by the play called "Save the Peace," which is put into the take-over situation after the Japanese surrender, and in which the conversion of Kuomintang soldiers is the main topic; and in 1947 by the play "The Hate of the Poor People," a civil war play in which the objects of hate are, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, the "feudalistic" gentry and American "imperialism." It is worthy of note that at that early date the Communists came out into the open with their anti-American slogans in a context in which they believed themselves to be, and were, unobserved.

The appeal of casting propaganda plays in the opera style was

536 strong for several reasons. Not only was the entire population
*668 familiar with this style to the point of knowing from memory a
199 large repertory of traditional plays, the splendor of the costumes, falsetto singing and accompanying acrobatics were features in which any audience rejoiced. For that reason not only the local theatre style but also the Peking opera were cannibalized. An Institute of Research on the Peking Opera was founded at Yenan, the function of which was to remould classical operas along Communist propaganda lines. Particularly plays in the tradition of the great novel, Shui-hu (All Men Are Brothers), lend themselves to this type of recasting.

538 The story-teller's tale was also adapted to contemporary
*668 use. Perhaps the most famous of Communist epics in this style
199 is the story of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which was written at Yenan in 1945 by Li Chi. The author is not a poet, but has won himself a name as a Communist theorist since the 1920's. He makes use in this story of the rather freely modulated and crudely rhymed seven-beat line of the popular ballad for a story in which the landlord, who is a bloodhound as well as a lecher, is finally disposed of by Communist soldiers.

Another author who worked in this genre is T'ien Chien. His "Song of the Carter," written in 1946, tells the story of an oppressed, poor peasant who, after having received indoctrination from Eighth Route Army people, succeeds in organizing peasant resistance against landlord oppression, and in the course of this action also gains the allegiance of his sweetheart.

After 1949, the Shen-Kan-Ning region lost its leading place in literature and the arts to the major cities, particularly Peking. The general trend, however, developed during this period and remained influential in all later production (see General Handbook).

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EDUCATION

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EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

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During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

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The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

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The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

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As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

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Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained
[875] lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
794 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
872 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
873 home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnâ-pâramitâ, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[806] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[199] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
177 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946*

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

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*563 Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans
873 was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of
658 Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning.
*175 This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners
871 exclusively.

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(669) A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

*563 the first middle school in this area.
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658 After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy
*175 was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was
871 now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it
*563 became the center of secondary education in the area. The cur-
873 riculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian,
658 Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corres-
*175 ponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy
*563 of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which
871 translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and
*175 provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

*563 and attached to these headquarters was a primary and a middle
871 school. The Moslem Promotion Association, discussed here,
*175 operated a total of eighty-three primary schools, twelve of them senior primary schools. They had a total of 5,300 students and 201 teachers.

*563 The main purpose of the government during wartime, in
658 bringing educational facilities to the Northwest, was to unify
871 and reconstruct the cultures of the ethnic minorities along
*175 Chinese principles with equal emphasis in primary education on citizenship training, language, vocation and hygiene. In secondary education, the Kuomintang government attempted to develop or initiate technical abilities.

During World War II the Kuomintang government showed some interest in the education of the nomadic Tibetans. Chiang Kai-shek induced some tribal leaders to carry a school tent with their tribes. These tents served as primary educational centers. This move was revolutionary, as it was the first type of education, or at least of organized education, to reach the nomadic Tibetans.

Up to 1945 the educational program sponsored by the provincial authorities was as follows:

1. In Chinghai: As of 1943, there were eleven nationality schools operated by the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association. These eleven schools supplemented the forty-four Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Schools already in existence. Following the transfer of the Chinghai headquarters of the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association to Yü-shu in 1943, six more nationality schools were established, of which two were directly under the administration of the association. In addition, the association established two training classes for teachers of Mongolian and Tibetan, one at Ta-t'ung and one at Yü-shu. Hsi-jao-chia-tso, with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education of the National Government, also established a training class for the teaching of Chinese language to the native teachers.

2. In Ninghsia: The educational program of the local authorities received a boost when the Yün-t'ing Educational-Cultural Fund of one million dollars was appropriated. The money, however, was in depreciated currency of the National Government and did not amount to much, but with it the provincial authorities were able to set up twelve Yun-t'ing Primary Schools which had a total of twenty-five hundred students. In Ninghsia the number of mosque schools was much fewer than in Sinkiang. Here there were, up to 1945, only twelve classes with a total of two hundred and forty students. There were two nationality schools, one at T'ao-yueh and one at T'eng-k'ou, one banner school and a teacher training class in the Alashan Banner.

*563 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than
658 in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools
871 and students as of 1945 was as follows:
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Table 4

563 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945
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	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools 12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools 129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu
*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

871 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has
184 been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage
871 of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was
*175 appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

658 schools.
871 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
*175 teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built
[658] up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
658 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one
873 could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
[874] al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

658 or other professions to those who would enter a profession im-
873 mediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training
[874] for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 At the time the Communists took over, there were more in-
874 stitutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai
The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which
[872] served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-
[553] ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

871 The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their
*668 own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as
199 follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

871 rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it
*668 with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-
199 school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

(212) Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

893 In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün
*668 Art College were their major institutions of higher learning.
199 During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

1:* Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology within the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

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III. The Communist Period

A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.

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The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Communists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary" way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.
579 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.
177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people! Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
177 a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
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Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment,
facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a
teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
177 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was
sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

872 2. Higher education
*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
177 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
874 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
The second includes political training institutes. The third in-
*[563] cludes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

873 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students trans-
874 ferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agri-
*668 cultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular
179 college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among
*668 the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have in-
179 creased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand.
[114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might
[875] have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
219 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
177 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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Table 7

Development of Nationality Education in Sinkiang, 1952-1957

	Secondary Schools		Elementary Schools	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
1952 (Report by Saifuddin in Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 8, p. 118)	41*	14,874	1,800	331,870
January 1953 (Report by Burkhan, Sinkiang jih-pao, Jan. 1, 1953)	63	63.5% more than pre-1949	1,700=41% more than pre-1949	58% more than pre-1949
July 1953 (JMJP, July 3, 1953)	51	20,000=100% more than pre-1949		
1953 (JMJP, May 22, 1954)	60	23,000		
1st half 1955 (Report by Burkhan, Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao 1955, No. 11, p. 33)		28,353=almost 200% more than pre-1949		366,637=76% more than pre-1949
1957 (Plan)	77**	48,196	2,198	428,180

* Including one professional school with 557 students.

** Including three professional schools and eight normal schools.

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RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia
- A. Shamanism
- B. Buddhism
- C. The Lamaism of Chinghai
- D. Manichaeism
- E. Christianity
- F. Islam

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China
- A. The Sources of Islam
- B. The Principles of Islam
- C. The Rituals of Islam
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- E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang
- F. The Chinese Moslems
- G. Chinese Moslem Sects
- H. The Salars

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest
- A. Sites of Religious Traditions
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IV. Religion under the Communists
- A. Islam
- B. Lamaism
- C. The Fate of Christianity

Additional Readings

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 795 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toadstool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

[787] [293] [296] [158] [428]

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

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The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 77 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic 171 776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything, no

171 776 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

171 175 77 [756] This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

776 171 771 Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

771 756 171 This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

771 175 171 756 More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

771 Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there im-
175 plored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov,
171 the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggiz, the
756 god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous
756 Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration,
171 Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

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B. Buddhism

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The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Śurvarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chafn of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai
795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
[648] turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
[795] tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
[669] Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [798] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries [423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

792 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong
795 strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 D. Manichaeism
175 Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity
795 From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role
175 in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it ex-
171 erted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalüt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

795 were annihilated by the victory of Islam.
171 When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a
175 Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khaiyan.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Nauruz resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

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795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

799 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

799 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

779 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic
671 foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising
776 monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
leems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction
792 The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam

a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to
783 prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[302] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the
[292] head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
798 and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical
[262] teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

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N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 799 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese secular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

[671] [892]

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

[796]

795 796 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests,
796 powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines,
798 adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The
[798] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults
[769] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in
796 this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the
794 judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land
[423] property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in
692 the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administra-
[799] tion. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is S N [361] the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They S N 795 101 themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. [782] The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 796

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

SN [554]

SN 795 185 [175]

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

SN 795 792 185

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

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S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 798 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

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346 (eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It
778 gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. ~~In~~ Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

778 The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past
[764] emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

778 Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of
823 China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only
[788] depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most
[346] of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

728 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
716 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

791 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

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"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

S 771 795 [575]

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

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These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
* 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.
S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.
S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
[635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yu-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

N 795 *668 177
ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

S 795 668 177
In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

N [793]
Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In
648 April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from
* 668 forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce
177 the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations,
793 they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist
798 the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has
* 668 been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist
177 regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to
798 become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted
*668 the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the
177 enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism,
795 not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslave-
668 ment of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May
*668 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The
177 American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in
795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had
*668 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination
177 over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples
641 of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official
*668 documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Com-
177 mon Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
798 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
*668 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
177 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
795 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial
182 groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
(669) tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, following the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Moslems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

S 795 798 668 177 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's court tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

S [648] [669]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

N 795 792 *668 177 B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair. Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N 795 792 *563 *668 177 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lama series. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
*563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
*668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
*668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956; New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

795 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
798 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
*668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
(799) ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities, they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
*668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
177 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
798 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

795 number of parishes, religious life went on without major inter-
#668 ference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the
179 Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and
798 Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

795 continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tri-
798 bunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading
799 through the city, were the methods most frequently used.
668 In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily, and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbrock of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

000 communities.

795 668 199 The Russian Orthodox Church in Sinkiang had quite a different fate.[1] By 1938 the Vicariate of Urumchi comprised eight parishes and counted fifteen thousand faithful. It was headed by Mgr. Juvenal Kilm, who in the meantime has been promoted to the Archbishopric of Omsk. Archpriest Dimitry Mlodzyanovky is now active in Urumchi, and it is reported that the number of believers is increasing.

1. [In contrast to the Roman Catholic church in Northwest China, see pp. 359-361--Analyst]

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SUBCONTRACTOR'S MONOGRAPH

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ON

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PUBLIC INFORMATION

000 I. Newspapers

II. Periodicals

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PUBLIC INFORMATION

N 175 204 167 N (873) I. Newspapers

During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cultural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937. After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area. With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were supported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian, a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian, organ of the Democratic League.

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Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality. In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was expensive and could be bought in quantity only through government rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect censorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at forbidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages, with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscellaneous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations, little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administration of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 71.)

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After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over all the former government papers. The private papers were discouraged to continue. According to the limited information available, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

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Northwest(discounting wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers):

1. Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (Mass Daily) Sian, Shensi. This was the most important Communist Party paper in the Northwest during the period when the Northwest Greater Administrative Area was in existence. With the abolition of the Greater Administrative Area System in 1954, this paper merged with the provincial paper, Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily). Apparently the Ch'ün-chung jih-pao was built upon the material foundation of the former Hsi-ching jih-pao, the Nationalist Party paper. It delivered the official Party line to the party members as well as to the public of the Northwest.

2. Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily) Sian, Shensi. The Party daily in Shensi with a section on literature. After 1954, it absorbed the original Ch'ün-chung jih-pao.

3. Kuan-chung jih-pao (Kuan-chung Daily), Sian, Shensi. Apparently this is the paper of the local Communist Party in the area of central Shensi.

4. Nung-min pao (Farmers' News), Shensi. A local Party paper published for the peasants in Shensi.

5. Ching-chi k'uai-pao (Economic Express), Sian, Shensi. A paper with emphasis on economics but it has a section for literary work.

6. Ye-nan pao (Yenan News), Yenan, Shensi. A local Party paper in the former Red capital Yenan.

7. Lan-chou Kung-jen pao (Lanchow Workers' News), Lanchow, Kansu. First published on February 7, 1952, apparently by the local trade union, it is a four-page tabloid paper published once every three days.

8. Kansu jih-pao (Kansu Daily), Lan-chou, Kansu. The Party paper in Kansu. Published in Lanchou but its distribution is province-wide.

9. Kansu ch'ing-nien pao (Kansu Youth), Lan-chou, Kansu. An official organ paper of the Kansu provincial committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Published once a week since January 28, 1955.

10. Hsia-ho pao (Hsia-ho News), Hsia-ho, Kansu. The Party paper published by the Communist Party Working Committee in Hsia-ho county of Kansu. First published on April 10, 1952, it is a weekly four-page paper in Tibetan and Chinese.

11. Mu-min pao (Herder's News), the Mongol Autonomous chou, Kansu. A local paper in Mongolian for the Mongols in Kansu, a four-page paper published three times each month since January, 1955. According to the Communist reports, "in the past issues, much space has been devoted to reflect the pastoral people's production, life, and demand in the autonomous area. The newspaper devotes special columns to the study of Mongolian, to cultural and recreational life, and to favorite songs and tales."

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12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

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14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

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Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia.

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Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

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Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

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The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet, guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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Hsin-hua pan Yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly) of March 21st.

One of the unconventional features of these papers is their special use of letters to the editors. These letters are not only published as a safety valve or to reveal public opinion, but are carefully planted "to consolidate the ties between the newspaper and the people." Another way to achieve this aim is the direct appointment of a large number of correspondents from among workers, peasants, students, PLA units and government branches. (Liu Tsun-ch'i, NCNA December 17, 1950.) Liu also hinted at the usefulness of keeping acquainted with constant shifts in the party line, a hint that was well understood and boosted the circulation of the papers.

In appearance these papers are generally very pleasing. Regular newsprint is used again and a clear print. Misprints are few. Starting from January 1, 1956, Shensi jih-pao has changed the setting of types from the traditional vertical lines into horizontal lines. The Sinkiang jih-pao and the Kansu jih-pao are also making preparations for this change.

II. Periodicals

Up to June, 1955, there were 305 different kinds of periodicals in Red China. Among these, 166 were nationwide. In the Northwest, the following magazines were most popular:

1. Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth)
2. Hsüeh-hsi (Study)
3. Shih-shih shou-ts'e (Handbook on Current Events)
4. Hsin-chung-kuo fu-nü (New China Women)
5. Kung-jen (Worker)
6. Hsin kuan-ch'a (New Observer)
7. Shih-chieh chih-shih (World Knowledge)
8. Wen-i-pao (Literature)
9. Jen-min wen-i (People's Literature)
10. Hsin chien-she (New Construction)
11. Jen-min hua-pao (People's Pictorial)
12. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao (New China Monthly), starting from January, 1956, it has been changed into Hsin-hua Pan-yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly).
13. Lien-huan hua-pao (Pictoral Stories)
14. Min-tsu hua-pao (Nationalities Pictorial)

(See China General, Public Information)

According to the advertisements in the local papers, these periodicals are available in the Northwest through the book stores.

Identifiable periodicals edited and published in the Northwest include the following titles:

1. Ch'ün-chung yin-yüeh or The Music for the Masses, edited and published by the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian.
2. Hsi-pei wen-i or Northwest Literature.

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3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)

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5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yueh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

549 668 177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

Uighur	4,018,595	or 50%
Chinese	2,813,019	or 35%
Kazakh	482,232	or 6%
Mongolian	160,744	or 2%
Russian, Uzbek, etc.	562,603	or 7%

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6, 754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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214 3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000
*668 copies.
177 4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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214 Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House
668 had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies.
177 Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

S The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups
N in Red China were given as follows:
214 Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian,
177 Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

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The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Bock Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

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Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

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V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

207 time of 19 1/2 hours per day. Now there are also programs in
*668 Uighur, Mongolian and Tibetan. The political program takes up
179 about 30% of the time; music, literature and drama take up about 60%; other items take up about 10%.

In 1951, the Communists claimed to have 73 People's Broadcasting Stations and the "monitoring net" had covered the whole country. There were 15,200 monitoring stations and monitoring cells, besides 14,260 independent monitoring units manned by one individual. How many of these were in the Northwest, was not reported.

Besides the broadcasts sent out from Peking, the main broadcasting stations in the Northwest are:

Name	Wave Length (kc.)
Northwest People's Broadcasting Station in Sian	8007
Sian People's Broadcasting Station	1280
Lanchou People's Broadcasting Station	7313, 1400
Hsi-ning People's Broadcasting Station	9900
Urumchi (Tihua) People's Broadcasting Station	7050

(Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952, p. 436)

These stations were not used to their full capacity. In 1952, Sian People's Broadcasting Station broadcast only three times a day, from 6:20 to 7:20, from 10:50 to 13:30 and from 17:20 to 22:00. On some days the morning broadcast was omitted. The following are sample programs:

July 2, 1952:

Noon:	12:00 - 12:30	Workers' period: Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the representatives of the workers of Sian celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Chang Yen-po, Deputy-Director of the Department of Organization of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Feng Li-shen, the Secretary of the Enterprise Committee.
	12:43 - 13:15	Songs
Evening:		
	17:45 - 18:00	Youth Period: Introduction to the movie "Sverdlov".
	19:00 - 19:30	Local opera of Mei-hsien and Hu-hsien, "Chao Hsiao-lan".
	19:45 - 20:20	Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Deputy Mayor Ch'en Shih-yü of the People's Government of Sian; Vice-Chairman K'ang Hsin-tsai of the Consultative Committee of the All City All Circle People's

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Representative M ting

20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:

Noon:

12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-te'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.

12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:

19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law

19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.

20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.

20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

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These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monit ring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
177 These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
[674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
*[668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Chüan-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

546 According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January
668 5, 4953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese
177 feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uignur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

563 The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the
575 past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own
872 cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

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LABOR

000 I. "Free" Labor

II. Army Labor

III. Conscript Labor

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [811] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted * 668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border 066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 701 708 668 177 241 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 653 312 668 177 503 464 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water which can be used for irrigation."

An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 241 668 177 464 (248) A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 708 464 668 177 000 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).

III. Conscript Labor

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466 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
177 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
S
[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

S
464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
177 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

464 Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion,
466 i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments,
697 led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The
499 prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were
668 rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to
177 undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took
[648] place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

464 Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that
466 they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Masartagh
697 on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a
668 hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few
177 Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

464 Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years
466 (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise
315 was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence
697 was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk
668 of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000
177

464 prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town
465 Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the
315 Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.
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197 After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast
648 of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

466 A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo)
429 of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who
697 are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

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HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128

I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164

Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563

A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S [272] [263]

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539]

The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272]

The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 262 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink [273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 262 779 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed. The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except [273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However, [369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 779 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem [784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death
754 to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where witchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-massi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were
164 recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
759 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice
756 witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

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S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [199] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 199 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 874 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this 743 provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

* 563 Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, 262 the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, [293] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

*563 164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, [758] this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infections. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

*563 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps
164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
*563 the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
753 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

757 "...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means
*563 an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major
*563 subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

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/75 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not
*563 standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs
N medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a
[787] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescription and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any
N others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through,
[177] few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

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262 A. The Diet of the Chinese

[272] The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food
S are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton
563 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef
262 for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and
[272] millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs
S considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at
N least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook-
[252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N
*563 B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

S Most of the people do not know the different values of the var-
563 ious food products. Although many might wish to improve their
[146] daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so.
S The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no
N
[751]

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
S yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
563 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
751 and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
[772] and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Ills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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364

/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] S 563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

648 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the
874 health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow
743 after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

+668 The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in
177 the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

N 744 *668 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N [759] The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N 743 *668 177 The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S 743 744 668 177 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of var ous nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
658 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region
177 as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
N developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
657 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
171 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innocu-
lation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans
have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's
Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from
other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take
the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this
area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics
have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

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PUBLIC WELFARE

000 I Introduction

II Welfare Among the Moslems

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B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

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PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 735 799 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

794 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves
735 and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds
779 for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an outstanding example for such a merging of state and church functions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation, the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A department of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However, since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

779 Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Benevolence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good), zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed). Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen. Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying a good word are considered also as charitable.

779 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory.
431 Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory
794 charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.
735 Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or, "Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

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charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more highly than those who publicize their gifts.

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9:60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

779 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dâna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

504 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

747 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
797 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
747 standing welfare contribution of the Catholics is their mainten-
797 ance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed
736 three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
648 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

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*668 From the information that we get from the Communist press
177 and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the
745 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
*668 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
177 one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

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745 If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the
*668 workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of
177 how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

855 Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests
*668 on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Com-
177 munist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day
[736] time. Government orphanages were established as well, sup-
737 plementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however,
*668 do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since
177 they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

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ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

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Additional Readings

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

I. The Turks of Sinkiang

186 795 A. The Concept of the Unity of the Moslem World

The Moslems of Sinkiang (Turkic: Türk-e-stan 'Land of the Turks') identify themselves strongly with the rest of the Moslem World. In spite of the many divergencies in national cultures of the various elements which constitute the Moslem world, there is a supernational religious civilization which unifies them all. The feeling and firm conviction of unity of all believers finds expression in the Koran as well as in the traditions and the extensive [208] Islamic literature, and in propaganda slogans which became current since the turning of the century, such as: ittihad ve terakki 'u 'unity and progress', or Muslimlerin hakki birles "Moslim people unite'. The rest of the world is looked at as being apart from the Moslem World - being the domain of war, whereas the area under Moslem jurisdiction is considered the domain of peace.

This feeling may have its roots in the history of the propagation of Islam where political institutions and allegiance went hand in hand with religious institutions and allegiance. The acceptance of the religion of Islam, Din-al-Islam, meant also the acceptance of the Moslem political state. The allegiance with a definite political tinge of many Moslems who do not live today under Moslem control remains with the leaders of the Moslem World. They may feel an even stronger attachment to the Moslem leaders than they do to their own non-Moslem political rulers, as has been the case in Sinkiang under Chinese domination. The allegiance and recognition of the Turks of Sinkiang went to the Ottoman Turkish Empire and later to the leaders of Western Turkestan rather than to their Chinese rulers. It is reasonable to assume that the Moslems of Sinkiang today identify themselves much more strongly with the world of Islam than they do with the Communist block. They think of themselves in terms of being Moslems and not in terms of being Communists. No matter how much indoctrination has gone into uprooting this allegiance to the Islamic world, it will take a whole new thoroughly indoctrinated generation to forget the strong sentiments and attachments to the rest of the Moslem world.

186 208 795

668 B. Turkic Nationalism

Besides having supernational allegiance and sentiments of attachment to the Moslem world, there is also a strong nationalistic movement among the Turks of Sinkiang (called milli tahrik). They consider themselves as being a part of Turkestan as a whole and not as belonging to China. They view themselves as Turks, and not as Chinese nationals. They do not regard their position as a national minority in China as the answer to their national

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 aspirations, but dream of an independent country, some of them visualizing a unified state consisting of Eastern and Western Turkestan, while others think in more local terms. Eastern Turks have strong cultural, linguistic, and religious ties with the other Turkic peoples of Central Asia. The Chinese culture and way of life is totally foreign to them. The history of Chinese and Turkic relations has always been a history of conflicts and rebellions. There has never been an identification with the Chinese nor has there been a feeling for friendship toward the Chinese people. The efforts of the Chinese administrators in Sinkiang to bring the Turkic people close to the Chinese culture and way of life have mostly failed. The Turks have consistently refused to learn the Chinese language and many of them have refused to take advantage of the offerod Chinese educational facilities.

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee, established in exile (in Germany) in recent years, represents a strong nationalistic movement for the unity of the Turks in Central Asia. The following statement was made by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee: "Turkestan, a country situated in the center of Asia, is Turki-Muhammedan and must be considered one single nation as regards language, faith, culture, economy, geography, and history. Up to the time of her subjugation by the Russians and Chinese, the country enjoyed freedom and independence for centuries."

"We are firmly convinced that the people of Turkestan, if fair elections (i.e. without any interference from the side of Russia of China) were granted, would unanimously lay claim to a free and independent Turkestan." (Memorandum presented to the United Nations by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee).

Others, while acknowledging the cultural unity of the Turks do not aspire to create a larger Turkic political unity. Togan, a Turkic nationalist and scholar, says the following on the subject: "The movement for Turkish unity, is not a fancy that all the Turks will ever create a political structure. When we talk of a Turkish world we think of a civilization of Turkish complexion and Turkish spirit." (Togan, Turkistan Today, quoted by Sir O. Caroe in "Soviet Empire, The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism").

There is no reason why we should think that the basic sentiments of the Turkic people have changed within the last seven years, since the Communist "liberation" of Sinkiang. Turkic and Pan-Turkic national aspirations, of course, do not find an open expression under a totalitarian regime, nor do we hear about the desire for independence and free election by the Turkic people of Sinkiang. The Chinese Communist propaganda describes the Moslem national minorities as being extremely happy with their new fate under Communism, but it is difficult to believe that strong national emotions could be forgotten in such a short period.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

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121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the
177 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

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648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relation-
[439] ships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expression in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The
[626] pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
179 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on conformity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
183 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly
192 and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürriyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

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181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
(192) tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
181 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
183 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
668 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
177 and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar', verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

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177 inflict upon itself.

178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite [668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 178 668 The wish for economic and technological change, while in general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el isicsiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their 721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the 779 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

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181 722 777 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 [565] One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

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815 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted
668 with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect,
177 they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future
668 as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a
177 word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the
[439] products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on owner-
668 ship of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural
177 that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national
668 minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political
177 consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

S 563 829

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N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
+[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[192] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

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N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, [178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this [614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and [701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of [554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

N 829 *563 *668 177 [634] [242] In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 563 668 177 [634] [242] ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to S N [361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N 829 *563 III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

S 829 563

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

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712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

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484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up [701] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

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181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

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N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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S 563 642 643 199 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 199 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding N 565 829 181 their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
177 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

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423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. [556] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Ch'inghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 181 183 829 [674] About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and 177 learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent *563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

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*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their [562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open dis- [157] content. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

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I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

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Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

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Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

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During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

175 to defend the Soviet Republic in Kiangsi. On October 16, 1934,
642 the main forces of the Red Army started to evacuate. This was
668 the beginning of a long and bitter journey. In October, 1935, a
669 remnant of a little more than twenty thousand people reached northern Shensi. By the timely help of some native Communists, notably Kao Kang, Mao Tse-tung finally had a breathing spell and settled down at Yenan. His opportunity came when Chang Hsüeh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng captured Chiang Kai-shek on December 12, 1936 in the well-known Sian coup d'etat. Soviet Russia's
175 necessity of avoiding a two-front war in the impending World War II,
642 produced a compromise. To forestall this danger, Stalin wanted
648 Japan to be occupied with a war against China. He realized that
668 Chiang Kai-shek was the only one who could unify China to resist
669 Japan. Thus the Communists won a good bargaining position, and a compromise was reached. Chiang was released and the Nationalists' military campaign against the Communists was halted.
175 Later in 1937 the Chinese Communists declared that they would
642 give up their independent state, follow Sun Yat-sen's doctrine of
668 the Three Principles of the People, stop the policy of confiscating
669 land, reorganize the Red Army into a part of the Nationalist army, abolish the red flag and red star which were the symbols of the Communist revolution and adopt instead the Nationalists' flag and emblem. With this virtual surrender, the Communists gave up their own constitution and accepted the constitutional system of the Nationalists.

Mao Tse-tung had difficulties in persuading his comrades to accept this virtual surrender. Many incidents indicated the true feelings of the Communist rank and file at the time. The following excerpt from an autobiography of a Communist war hero is a good example:

"In 1937...the Red Army was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army. Our flag, our uniform, our cap, our emblem were all changed. When I reported these facts to my mother...she wrote back and demanded an explanation: 'You are the Red Army! Why do you use "the Blue Sky White Sun" flag now?'.... She repeatedly reminded me: 'Remember, your heart is red!'" [Ch'eng Yüeh-ch'ang, "Forever a loyal warrior of Chairman Mao" in Sian Ch'ün-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 1.]

Ch'eng was a division commander in the People's Liberation Army when he wrote this article. Later he was promoted to army commander in Sinkiang. The editor of the newspaper described him as a leading model warrior in the People's Liberation Army.

175 B. Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China for the
642 Tutelage Period.
668 At that time the constitution was the "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China for the Tutelage Period," adopted by the

175 National Conference in May, 1931 and promulgated by the Nation-
642 alist Government on June 1. Under this constitutional system of
668 the Nationalist Government the Communists participated in politi-
cal and military activities in the war against Japan.

After discarding the old Soviet Constitution, the Communists found it advantageous to adopt certain democratic practices which soon attracted the sympathy of western observers. These observers, who were eager to see democracy in China, happily praised the Chinese Communists and unconsciously fell in with the Communist party propaganda. But the Chinese Communists themselves frankly considered all their practices merely as means to achieve other aims. They said as follows: "The change seems to be a backward step in historical and social development. Well, we are making a concession. But this concession is necessary. Our population is only a fraction of one per cent of China. China as a whole does not have any kind of democratic government. If we recede to a lower stage of democracy but do it well, we will stimulate the whole country towards democratic government. A nation-wide democracy will more than compensate whatever may be regarded as our temporary loss." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 16-17 as quoted in Hsü Yung-ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, Geography and Politics, International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1945, p. 43.)

175 The Nationalists, who bore the brunt, were greatly weakened
668 by the Japanese invasion. Taking advantage of the situation, the
669 Communists made every effort to build up their party and their
648 army. In proportion to their successes in building their own strength and in weakening that of the Nationalists during the war, the Communists dissented more and more from the Nationalists.

In September, 1944, when the Nationalists were hard-pressed by the last desperate drive of the Japanese into the Chinese interior, the Communists openly challenged the Nationalist Constitutional system. In Chungking, the wartime capital, at the People's Political Consultative Council, the Communists requested the replacement of the Nationalist Government with a coalition government. On April 24, 1945, when the Communists could claim to have an organized army of 910,000 men and irregular troops of 2,200,000, Mao made his speech "On Coalition Government" before the seventh National Congress of the Communist Party at Yenan. He restated his aim of abolishing both the Nationalist Government, and its constitution. In August, when the Japanese surrendered, the Communists openly rebelled against the Nationalist Government. They destroyed the railways and attacked the Nationalist troops. These actions led to continuous warfare, sandwiched between peace talks.

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C. The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

In the talks, an arrangement of truce and political settlements was once reached, but was immediately violated. Then the Nationalists called the National Assembly to establish the 1947 constitution without the help of the Communists. The Communists went ahead on their own program and intensified their efforts to fight the civil war. In 1949, the Communists had almost completed their conquest of the mainland. In September they handpicked 662 persons to represent the people of China. This group met in Peking as the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. They passed a Common Program as a temporary constitution. Based on this Program, they established the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and elected Mao Tse-tung as its chairman.

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D. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China

On March 1, 1953, the government promulgated the "Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of All Levels." Elections soon were held and the All-China People's Congress met on September 15, 1954. On September 20, it adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

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E. Comparison of the Four Systems

A comparison of the four stages of the Chinese Communists' constitutional system reveals many interesting points.

The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic represented the Communists' ideas in strong words: "Our goal is the establishment of...dictatorship throughout China. It is the aim of this dictatorship to destroy all feudal survivals, to annihilate the might of the warlords of China, to unite China, systematically to limit the development of capitalism, to build up the economy of the state, ...to effect the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat." (point 1, in Fundamental Laws...pp. 17-18.)

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By this constitution, "capitalists, landlords, the gentry, militarists, reactionary officials, t'u-hao (local bullies), monks" were deprived of the rights of election and of political freedom. (point 2, Ibid. p. 18.) On the other hand, all qualified "Soviet citizens" sixteen years of age could vote, (later the age was raised to 18), and special advantages were granted to the proletariat in the elections... by allowing it a greater number of deputies." (point 4, Ibid. pp. 18-19.)

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To the minority groups, it promised: "All Mongolians, Tibetans, Miao, Yao, Koreans and others living on the territory of China, shall enjoy the full right to self-determination, i.e., they may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer." (point 14, Ibid. p.22.)

000 state as they may prefer." (point 14, Ibid. p. 22.)

642 668 666 1977 Coming to the second state, the Yenan period, the Communists retreated to an almost amiable position. The differences were summarized by a friendly observer as follows: "The basic structural change which distinguishes the Border Region from its predecessor lies in the broadening of the electorate. As contrasted with the Soviet election system which was restricted, indirect and unequal, the present system is characterized as universal, direct and equal, and to insure this change the secret ballot is substituted for the hitherto open ballot hand-raising. This means that whereas under the Soviets franchise was limited to workers, farmers and a section of the 'petty bourgeoisie', the new system extends the right to vote to all men or women over eighteen years of age, including landlords and capitalists, except when a person is insane or his political rights have been specifically suspended by court action. The Soviet election was also pyramidal. This means that a voter under the Soviets voted only for delegates to a local soviet, while delegates to an upper Soviet were chosen by the lower Soviets but not by the voter. The new system allows the voter to vote as many times as there are local, county or regional elections for members to the representative body of each grade of geographical division. The segregation of farmer and worker voters and their disproportionate representation under the Soviets are abolished under the new regime and secret or unsigned ballots of citizens of all walks of life in the same territorial unit are counted together without discrimination." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hsü Yung-ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 43.)

Judging by western standards, this was progress toward democracy. But from the Communists' point of view, it was a temporary necessity.

C 642 668 648 When the Communists conquered the Northwest in 1949, they found themselves in a much more favorable position than during the war. Hence their "common program" of this stage brought back a lot of the characteristics of the old Soviet Constitution. The Communists made the following points very clear:

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1) The People's Republic of China is a country led by the Communists. Those who refuse to follow this leadership will be crushed and denied all rights (Articles 1 and 7).
2) The Communists are ready to continue the war to the last, at least until Formosa is occupied (Article 2).
3) The Communists will protect the private property only of qualified people, and at any time they can disqualify anybody (Article 3).
4) China must be tied to the U.S.S.R. now and in the future (Article 11).

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With these basic premises, one may understand the real meaning of the "struggle for the independence, democracy, peace, unification and prosperity of China" (Article 1). They also help one to understand the following analysis.

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In the constitution of 1954, the same premise presented in the Common Program is restated. Under this general premise, the study of the constitutional system in northwest China can be carried out under four sub-headings, namely, the general civil rights, the economic rights, the political rights, and the rights of the minority groups.

The Communists always make a great effort to promote their programs. Before and after the establishment of their Constitution, they mobilized all people available to study the Constitution. To do this, study groups were organized everywhere. Discussions were insisted upon. Millions of copies of the draft constitution were distributed.

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In Northwest China, the Communists' effort to publicize the constitution can be seen in their publications. To reach the minority groups, the Constitution was translated into various languages. It is available in Kazakh, Tibetan, Mongolian and Uighur. So are the organic laws of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Local People's Congresses and Councils.

III. Practices Regarding General Civil Rights

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A. Pledges and Exclusions

According to the Common Program of 1949, "the people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations." (Article 5). This, however, does not mean that all will have these rights. The Communist Party may disqualify anyone. Moreover, since the standard of selection changes according to the ebb and flow of political tides inside the Communist Party, it is hard to guarantee that anybody, including Mao Tse-tung himself, always will enjoy these rights.

In the Constitution of 1954, this fact is even more clear. In Article 19 it is stated: "The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's democratic system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

"The state deprives feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of political rights for a specific period of time according to law; at the same time it provides them with a way to earn a living, in order to enable them to perform thorough work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."

In this article the first part refers to traitors and counter-

641 revolutionary," however, are very vague. It could be a Nationa-
642 list soldier resisting the Communist conquest or the Number Two
668 Communist Party leader, Kao Kang, who lost the political battle inside the Party. By extending the definition of the terms traitors and counter-revolutionaries, there is no real guarantee of civil rights in the constitution.

The last part of Article 19 refers to feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists. These two terms also are not too clear. In the Resolution Concerning the Classification of Rural Elements adopted by the Government Administration Council on August 4, 1950, a landlord is defined as follows: "One who occupies land but does not labor, or who does subordinate labor, not for the purpose of making a living but for exploitation, is a landlord. His main method of exploitation is in the form of land rent, even though he may also exploit people through making loans, or hiring helpers, or doing business...

"Managing the properties of various social organizations and schools is also a form of exploitation through rent.

"Any bankrupt landlord who is not using his labor ability to labor is still classified as landlord if his standard of living is better than that of common middle-farmers.

"Warlords, bureaucrats, land-despots, bad-gentry are the political representatives of the landlord class. They are the worst of all the landlords. Landlords'-managers who depend mainly on the exploitation of the farmers for a living and live better than the common middle-farmers shall be treated equally as landlords." (Hsieh-hsi, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1950, October 1, p. 27.)

By this definition, a person is a landlord when:
1) he owns land and charges a rent for the land he owns; or
2) he owns land and charges people interest for the money he loans; or 3) he owns land and hires helpers; or
4) he owns land and operates business; or
5) he does not own land but manages the properties of social organizations or schools; or
6) he lost his own land and has no work but lives better than the common middle-farmers; or
7) he is a landlord's manager and lives better than the common middle-farmers.

By this definition, numerous people are deprived of their civil rights. "Warlords," "bureaucrats," "land despots," and "bad gentry" are all loose terms which the Communists have used freely against all those of whom they do not approve (as well-illustrated in the slogan "Yu-t'u chieh hao, wu-sheng pu-lieh!" Whosoever owns land is a despot; whosoever is a member of the gentry is a bad one!). Apart from the landlord, the following were prosecuted:
1) those who had links with the non-Communist army in the past;

641 2) those who had been officials in the government in the past;
642 3) those who had been local leaders and
668 4) those who belonged to the class of gentry.

The term "bureaucratic-capitalist" is even more vague than the term "feudal landlord." It has been a weapon used to harass all businessmen, large and small. Whenever the Communists want to take over a private business, a hint of that term sufficed to wrest the property from the owner. Should anyone ignore this hint, he would be designated a "bureaucrat-capitalist" and would lose not only his property but his "political rights" as well.

Article 85 says, "citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." But citizens who incur governmental displeasure can be classified summarily as "traitors," etc. and denied this equality.

Article 87 says, "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration. The state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities." There is no "freedom to strike" clause such as the Communists, during their negotiations with the Nationalists in Chungking, had insisted upon inserting in the Nationalist Constitution. The Communist government does not tolerate any strike within its jurisdiction. The "freedom of thought", promised in Article 5 of the Common Program of 1949, has been omitted. Moreover, the state now must provide "the necessary material facilities" for the citizens to enjoy these freedoms because if has taken control of all "the necessary material facilities" such as newspapers, radio broadcast stations, buildings, land, railroads, roads, ships, trucks, and other means for exercising these freedoms.

B. Freedom of the Reason

Article 89 says, "Freedom of the person of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a people's procuratorate." A people's court, however, is not an independent agency as is a court in the American system. Like the people's procuratorate, it is another tool at the command of the Chinese Communist Party.

C. Freedom of Residence

Article 90 says: "The homes of citizens of the People's Republic of China are inviolable, and privacy of correspondence is protected by law. Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of residence and freedom to change their residence," but ownership of citizen's homes is subject to the sanction of the state. (below), and a citizen can lose his home at any time.

641 "The freedom of residence" and "the freedom to change their
642 residence" again involve the problem of whether the citizens would
668 have a place to reside and whether they would have facilities to
[486] change residence. Strict rulings against free migration, such as "lu-t'iao" (road passes) are practices curtailing these freedoms. Even a guest who stays over-night without the knowledge and approval of the local police station is subject to arrest.

D. Freedom of Religion

641 Article 88 says, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China
642 enjoy freedom of religious belief." Since Communist doctrine con-
668 demns religion as an "opiate for the people," it is not easy for a
771 non-Communist to understand why article 88 is there. The Party rank and file is not convinced that a Communist Constitution needs such an article. There are nume rous indications of such difficulties. A long article written by a certain "Wen Ch'ing," published in China Youth, the magazine of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps, on February 1, 1955, refers to a letter to the editor, which says, "as science keeps on developing in our present day world, there is no place for things unscientific. Religion has still a legitimate status in China... to indoctrinate the people with passive, pessimistic, and superstitious concepts about the universe. Is this not in conflict with the Communist world outlook?" The author admitted that "many questions of a similar nature have been raised."

641 To answer these questions, this Party spokesman first said
668 that religion "reflects in an incorrect way the relationship of man
771 with nature and the relationship of man with man." His analysis was that "religion was born when primitive society developed to a certain higher plane. At that time, man was at the mercy of nature and was helpless against the spontaneous forces of nature....He thought that all things had souls...that there was some peculiar supernatural force existing outside the natural world...when the primitive man met with difficulty in life or encountered danger, he turned to the 'man of the other world,' or God, for help...
"When man entered into a class society, with his productive activity broadened and his productivity developed, he was in a better position to exploit and control the natural forces. But at the same time, there developed a form of social force. This force was opposed to man and had the latter under its rule. Before this force, man was as helpless as was the primitive man before the natural forces. The domination of this force over man resulted in the birth ...of the religious concept that the destiny of man was under the rule of some supernatural forces. Lenin said: 'When the oppressed class had no way to resist the oppressors, they staked their hope on a good life in the coming life....'
"Re ligious worship took shape when man found that he was in no

641 position to resist nature and the social law. God was created by
668 the psychology of fear....On the other hand, when man is capable
771 of dominating the natural forces and eliminating the society of class oppression, religion will be deprived of its foundation... The obliteration of religion is possible only when man has obliterated classes and greatly developed his ability to dominate nature and the social forces." (Survey of China Mainland Press, March 9, 1955, pp. 23-24).

With this kind of analysis, the writer found it necessary to
641 answer another question which obviously was puzzling the young
668 Communists, namely, "Since the Soviet Union has been built into
771 a Socialist society, why is it that there are still religious followers
829 and religion in that country?" He repeated the standard statement: "It is true that the Soviet Union has eliminated the exploiting class and the phenomenon of man exploiting man. Because of the prominent and effective development of advanced sciences in the Soviet Union and the elevation of the cultural standards of the people throughout the country, the Socialist man in the Soviet Union is no longer powerless before the natural and social phenomena. The Soviet Union has destroyed the social root of religion. The Socialist system has liberated the Soviet people from religious belief." (Ibid., p. 24).

Apparently this Party spokesman believed that repetition had convinced the young people that the Soviet Union was still a paradise; he went ahead to admit the undeniable fact: "But in the Soviet society, there are still believers in religions."

He continued; "There is nothing strange in the matter. Though the building of the Socialist society in the Soviet Union was possible because of the overthrow of the capitalist society, yet...the capitalist ideology cannot be eliminated at one stroke....although the Soviet Union is far more capable than the capitalist countries in the domination of nature, it is still in no position to shake itself entirely free from the ravages of natural calamities.... To those who have not shaken themselves free from religion, these calamities help to deter them from giving up their religious beliefs. The Soviet Union is still encircled by capitalism.... During the time when the Great Patriotic War i.e. the Russo-German War from 1941-1945, fought for the defense of the country was on, religious faith of part of the Soviet people became somewhat revived. This is because war is always inseparable from sacrifices, hardships and worries about the fate of friends and relatives. Religion frequently thrives best where there are great hardships which come in the wake of great disaster." (Ibid., p. 25).

In any event, the Party spokesman reasoned, since religion had been an unavoidable fact in the Soviet Union, it was necessary and advisable to tolerate it. Because the Soviet Union, especially Stalin, had tolerated religion, it was justifiable to have article 88

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641 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are
668 many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the
771 spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized,
829 however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law." The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological founcation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

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641 The Communists believe that by turning the young people
668 against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when
771 the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army
N 641 *668 771 795 marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

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641 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist
642 Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his
*668 "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this
C 641 642 668 point.

E. Practices

N Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as
*668 examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First
423 Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the
578 "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls
873 of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsueh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

000 purge took place.
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*668 In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a
798 movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

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668 The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities
423 of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land re-
692 form began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shanshan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

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668 is our own people who are judging and sentencing people." But...
423 we must give the minority cadres concrete help and guidance."
692 The Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, no. 7, reported: "On March 14, 1955, the People's Court of Hsien-yang County in Shensi called a public accusation rally to punish Chao Chu-shih. It reclassified him as a landlord, and confiscated all his land, drafting animals, farming tools and houses, except the part his family deserves to have."

C IV. The Pledges and Practices Regarding Economic Rights
668 In view of this lack of personal security very few people dared
423 to defend their property rights. In the Common Program of 1949, Article 3 stated: "The People's Republic of China must abolish all the prerogatives of imperialist countries in China. It must confiscate bureaucratic capital and put it into the possession of the people's state. It must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership; it must protect the public property of the state and of the cooperatives and must protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It must develop the people's economy of New Democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one." A number of terms in this article are vague; they are presumably to be kept this way to allow for a flexible interpretation.

It is hard to draw a definite line between the "bureaucratic capital" and "economic interests and private property of workers, farmers, the petty bourgeoisie class and the national bourgeoisie." Only after the loss of one's property, he would realize that he was a bureaucratic capitalist or feudal, or semi-feudal landowner. Those who kept their property would have to regard it as a favor rather than a right.

C The present Communist Constitution is more explicit. It has
668 quite a number of articles relating to economic system and rights.
642 These are articles four to fourteen. Besides, there are several
421 more articles to protect the citizens, namely 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, etc.

In these articles the constitution clearly states that the economic system in a socialist nation shall be built on state ownership, supplemented by cooperative ownership, (articles 6 and 7), while they are definitely going to eliminate "rich-peasant economy" (article 8) and "capitalist ownership" (article 10). The protection of the rights of ownership and inheritance (article 12), the property of the individual farmers (article 8) and workers (article 9) is subject to the regulations of law which will be adjusted from time to time to encourage the individual owners to organize cooperatives voluntarily. Protection of private income, savings, housing, and

C 668 642 421 C [651] [461] other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

S 668 423 N *668 423 The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'uh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S 668 423 Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S [518] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N #668 423 474 S 668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:
(1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.
(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.
(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N #668 472 S 668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

N #668 666 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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*668 Communists, it was claimed, would occupy only one-third of the
666 total membership of any administrative organ of the government of any popular organization elected in this way. One-third of the members would go to the Nationalists while the other third would be reserved for non-party people. They called this the 3-3 system. (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 74). The system worked beautifully. The Communists activists together with their "non-party" following were always assured of a comfortable majority.

V. Pledges and Practices Regarding Political Rights

A. Elections

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668 After the take-over, the Common Program of 1949 declared:
642 "The state power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The people's congresses and people's governments of all levels are the organs for the exercise of state power by the people. The people's congresses of all levels shall be popularly elected by universal franchise. The people's congresses of all levels shall elect the people's governments of their respective levels..."

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But before a general election was held, the People's Political
668 Consultative Conference, which was an appointed body, acted as the
666 All-China People's Congress. (Article 13). In the local districts, the appointed All-Circles Representative Conferences acted as the local People's Congress. (Article 14).

On February 28, 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i reported on the way in which the People's Congress of Peking was elected. He said: "The manner of electing the representatives differed according to the situation. In State Enterprises and schools of higher education the voters gathered in their productive or school units to have a direct election. For the farmers in the countryside, the workers, the businessmen, the youth, the women and the districts, the representatives were elected by 'the representatives of the voters.' With the only exception of the schools where people were experienced and literate, all the units elected representatives on a candidate list produced in the meeting by raising their hands. In schools, the elected with secret ballot. I think this is absolutely accurate and necessary... I think not only the People's Congress of Peking...but all the other places... shall follow the experience of Peking to elect their congresses in the similar way ...

"Whenever we mention election, people often think of 'universal, equal, direct and secret ballot.' This old slogan undoubtedly served its propaganda purpose under the reactionary, dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek's regime... But if we request to realize this slogan under today's New Democratic regime, it is not yet very suitable to the reality. Therefore we cannot wholly adopt it." (Liu Shao-ch'i:

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668 "A speech on the third session of the People's Congress of Peking,
666 February 28, 1951," in Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. Iv, No. 1, p. 6.)
Liu's words revealed that with very few exceptions, the elections under the Communists were not supposed to be universal, equal, direct, or secret. Most of the people voted by raising their hands in an open meeting. These meetings were firmly controlled by the Communist Party. Any list of candidates passed by these meetings had been decided on beforehand.

668 B. Electoral Laws
671 The electoral law promulgated on March 1, 1953, reflects
666 Liu Shao-ch'i's directives. Among its 66 articles, the following are of interest:

"Article 3: Deputies to the All-China People's Congress and deputies to the people's congress of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts, shall be elected by the people's congress of the next lower level. Deputies to the people's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district or a municipality not divided into districts, shall be elected directly by the electors.

Article 4: All citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of eighteen shall have the right to elect and to be elected irrespective of nationality or race, sex, occupation, social origin, religion, education, property status, or residence. Women shall have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

Article 5: None of the following shall have the right to elect or to be elected:

(1) Elements of the landlord class whose status has not yet been changed according to law;

(2) Counter-revolutionaries who have been deprived of political rights according to law;

(3) Others who have been deprived of political rights according to law;

(4) Insane persons.

Article 8: Election expenses for the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses of all levels shall be dispersed by the national treasury...

Article 55: The election of deputies to the people's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district or municipality not divided into districts, and the election of hsiang or town deputies to a county people's congress, may be conducted by a show of hands or by secret ballot. Election to a people's congress of and above the county level shall be conducted by secret ballot.

An elector who is unable to write because of illiteracy or infirmity may ask any other elector to record his vote for him.

(The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congresses on All Levels.)

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668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

C
668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
672 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

N C. Political Rights in Practice

631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights
*668 in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

N "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all
631 circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
*668 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Commit-
666 tees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

N "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Gov-
631 ernments in the Northwest region have attached importance to
*668 People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

S "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
631 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All
668 Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

S
631 the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at
668 least three times, and up to nine times...these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the con-
S ference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected
[666] the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

S "In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan:
668 "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial
666 People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

N This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang,
#668 Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It
666 was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The
S nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just
668 in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings
666 of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flurried. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

C
668 A. Constitutional Rights

641 In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Com-
642 munists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:
Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

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668 Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where
641 national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy
642 organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of the respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.
Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:
"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.
Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.
Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."
Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

S B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers
563 1) "Comrade Editor:
423 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
431 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution. The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
(186) who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

668 423 but gave a certain degree of good care to the liberal-minded landlords during the procedure of confiscation. To those obedient landlords we only carried out confiscation but not the struggle. Besides land, other properties were left to them for a while before actual confiscation. Thus we isolated the stubborn landlords, reduced the resistance and increased help. Under the threat of the peasants, the majority of the landlords expressed willingness to be obedient.

"But there were still defects and mistakes...(1) We were not able to build up the poor farmers and hired hands to be the nucleus of the movement as we had planned...(On the contrary), it was the middle farmers who led the poor farmers, and the poor farmers who led the hired hands...(2) Some farmers...gave sympathy to the landlords during the confiscation and dared not accept the land in distribution...(3) During the distribution, there was illustrated a serious domination of the party cadres over the farmers...." (Yang Tseng-wen, "Victoriously concluded the work of the second stage of land reform in Shu-le County" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1953, April 3.)

Some basic facts in this statement can be summarized as follows:

(1) Natives were used to fight against the natives.
(2) Native workers were selected and built up through various devices.
(3) Enemy groups were divided and isolated by discriminating treatment.
(4) Only a few of the most stubborn enemies were selected as targets at one time. Thus most of the people were kept hopeful and cooperative.
(5) Religious groups and the local leaders with great influence among the minorities were handled with care.

668 563 The policy of controlling the minority groups through minority cadres is further shown in the following report: "In the whole special district...of Ili, there originally were 3243 cadres at the hsiang, ch'ü, county and special district level. During 1952...the number increased to 4736. It was a 46.3% increase over that of 1951.... During the past one year,...more than 30,000 common workers and farmers became 'positive elements' who executed the policy and orders of the Communist Party and the People's Government....

"During the past year, 90% of the cadres of the special district received education and drill through the struggles of the suppression of the counter-revolutionists movement, the American Aid-Korea movement, the reduce-rent and anti-despot movement, the land reform movement, the 3-anti and 5-anti movement...and joined the Communist Party and Youth Corps. Some of them became leading workers. According to the incomplete statistics, in the whole special district there were 274 persons promoted from 'positive elements' to become new cadres; 88 persons promoted from cadres to leading

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668 cadres; (among these 17 were at the level of county head, 2 were
563 at the level of division head in the special district, 46 were at the level of division head in the county, 23 were at the level of ch'ü head); 22 persons promoted from servants to be cadres; with a grand total of 384 promotions. Among these, 93% belonged to the minority groups and 7% were Chinese. 84% of those being promoted from 'positive elements' were selected from the workers and farmers." (A report from Ili in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 18, 1953. Cf. Chao Hua-Sheng: "A report on Party construction in the 1st hsiang of Aya ch'ü in Hami Qumul County" in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 24, 1953.)

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*668 With this control of the minority groups from inside, the Com-
*563 munists claim to be promoting the minority autonomy and inter-
S nationality harmony with unprecedented success. The following
[668] are some of the reports: 1) "A report on the life of the Tibetan
[563] minority in the Northwest, 'Improvement of the political, economic and cultural life of the Tibetans in China during the past year,' given by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, Tibetan Vice-chairman of the Chinghai Provincial Government, appeared recently in the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih pao and was released by NCNA from Peking on November 2, 1950, stating:

'In political life, Tibetans now participate in the work of the people's government on all levels and spheres. They take part in local, and national conferences, where they study the work of the government, discuss and adopt government decisions and enjoy the right to vote and to be elected. They also visit other parts of the country to study conditions and exchange experiences. Like all other fraternal nationalities, they have become masters in name and in reality. Any dispute arising among nationalities is solved by ways of arbitration and discussion on the principle of equality, through which they have realized the importance of unity among various nationalities!'"

2) "In the past three years, the people's governments at all levels in the Northwest region have correctly and definitely implemented the nationalities policy, carried out nationalities work, and made great achievements. More than 3000 cases of internationality conflicts were mediated, of which some had not been solved in the past decades or in hundreds of years. Nationality democratic coalition governments have been established in various places. 11 autonomous areas, equivalent to first grade district and counties have been established. Besides, the Yu-shu autonomous area, equivalent to a first grade special district with a dense population of Tibetans, has been established in Chinghai province. About 30,000 cadres of the national minorities have been trained throughout the region to take part in political work, and some of them have become the backbone of the local political work." (NCNA, Sian, May 12, 1952.)

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*668 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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*668 D. Minority Languages
*563 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of
[642] the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of
19 the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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668 languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation
563 of the new written languages.
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So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest
S is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou
19 in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before,
212 but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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S As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other
19 than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu,
212 Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

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STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

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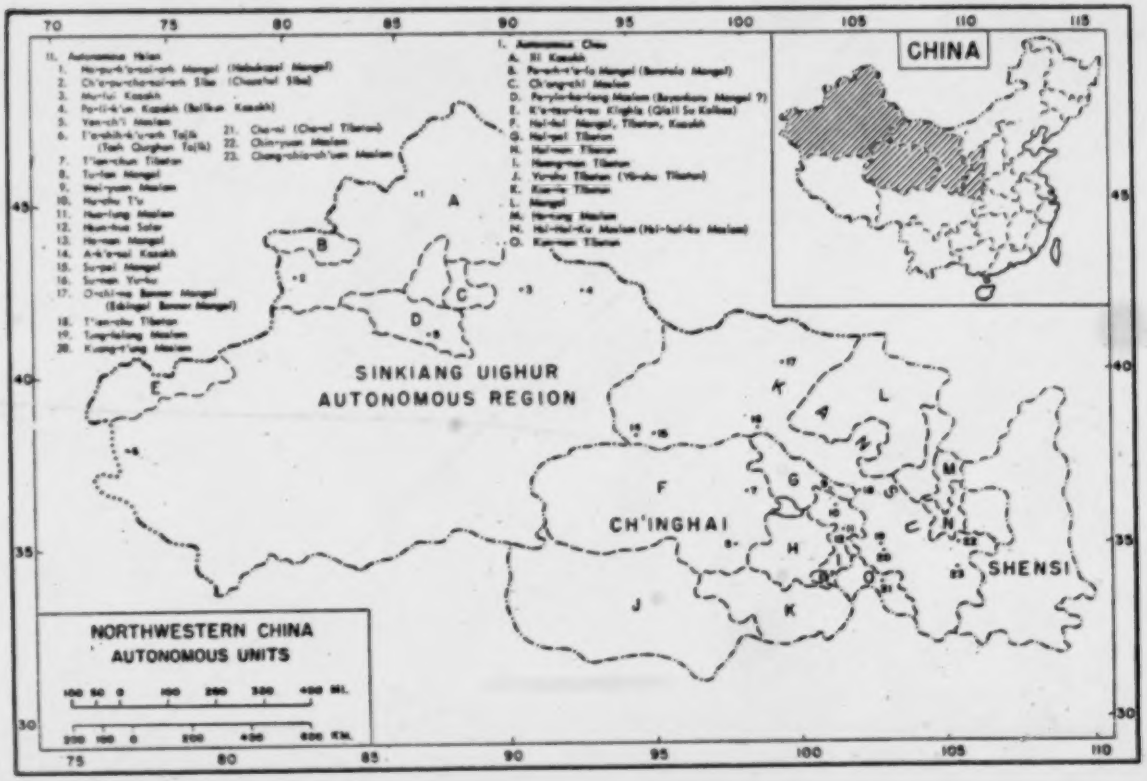
Sinkiang All



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STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

A. Basis of Regions

*175 *668 669 The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central *175 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation *668 into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned 631 areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

B. Organizational Regulations

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1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;

(2) when land reform was completed;

(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

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a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

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b. functions

Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

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After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

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TABLE I

THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL OF NW MAC IN 1952

CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

NORTHWEST MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
Chairman: P'eng Te-huai. Vice-chairmen: Hsi Chung-hsün, Chang Chih-chung
Members: 66 (61 men and 5 women, 1 Mongol, 4 Miao-nien, 2 Tibetans, 2 Uighurs, 56 Chinese, 1 undesignated)
Secretary-general: Ch'eng Li-fu. Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lieh

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
Director: (Not appointed at this time)
Deputy directors: Ch'en Pi-chu, Chi Teh-li

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL AND LEGAL AFFAIRS
Director: Chang Chih-chung.
Deputy directors: Wang Tao-i, Tung Tao-lien
Members: 29 (28 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Ch'eng Li-fu
Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lieh

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: P'eng Te-huai.
Deputy directors: Chia T'o-fu, Pai Jo-peng
Members: 31 (but only 26 appointed)
Secretary-general: Ti Chang-hsiang
Deputy secretary-general: Hao Shih-i

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Tung Hsing-hsien
Deputy directors: Chang Chia-fu, Ko Chang-peng
Members: 30 (27 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Wu Wen-ling
Deputy secretary-generals: A Mo, Wang Chih-jen
Director of Administration Office: Wang Chih-jen

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Ma Wen-jui
Deputy directors: Tang Huang-chih, Shih Tao-cheng
Members: 15 (14 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: T'an Shang-jen

COMMITTEE ON LAND REFORM
Director: Hsi Chung-hsün
Deputy director: Han Chao-o
Members: 23 (22 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Huang Chih
Deputy secretary-general: Niuch Ho-liang

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Wang Feng
Vice-chairmen: Saifudin, Ma Hung-peng, Hsu-pu-chi-ta'o, Ta-i-ma-ch'i
Members: 44 (43 men and 1 woman)

DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL
Director: Wang Tao-i
Deputy directors: Li Chang-ying, Meng Ting-chih

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Director: Wang Tao-i
Deputy directors: Jen Ch'uan, Wu Chih-yüan

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Director: Han Hsi-ch'i
Deputy Directors: Li Ch'i-wang, Ho Ming-ts'

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Director: Yang Tao-lien
Deputy director: Ho Lan-ch'eng

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
Director: Pai Jo-peng
Deputy directors: Lin Ying-ju, Ma Han-fang

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE
Director: Yü Chieh
Deputy directors: Huh Wei-jen, Tung Lin-chu

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
Director: Wang Ta-ch'eng
Deputy directors: Ma Fu-ch'eng, Wu Sheng-hsia, Fu Tao-chun

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION
Director: Ho Wei-ts'
Deputy directors: Lou Lung-cheng, Tseng Chao-wu

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Director: Hsu Cheng-ch'iao
Deputy directors: Pai Hsi-feng, Ts'ai Tao-nan

DEPARTMENT OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Director: Ho Tao-lin
Deputy directors: Chang Cheng, Huang T'ung-cheng, Huang Cheng-ch'ing

DEPARTMENT OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Director: Li Ho-ts
Deputy director: Tung Cheng-wei

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Director: Chao Pu-p'ing
Deputy director: Chao Chao-t'ung

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
Director: Ch'eng Pu-jen
Deputy directors: Wu Wen-lin, Ma Chien-ting, Chang Chi-ch'uan

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Director: Chang Lung-chi
Deputy directors: Liu Ti-cheng, Tung Ch'ing-fan

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Director: Ho Fan
Deputy directors: Tseng Yü-cheng, Chang Chia-i, Ch'u Cheng, Huh Hsu-lan

PRESS BUREAU
(Abolished in July, 1952)
Director: Ch'in Ch'uan
Deputy directors: Ho Chi-wei, Liu Ling

BUREAU OF PUBLICATIONS
Director: Wang Hsiao-t'ung
Deputy directors: Chang Hsing-ch'i, T'an Hsin-yun, Ch'eng Tao-cheng

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Department of Finance;
Department of Trade;
Department of Industry;
Department of Communications;
Department of Agriculture and Forestry;
Department of Animal Husbandry;
Department of Water Conservancy;
Department of Labor;
Department of Cultural Affairs;
Department of Education;
Department of Public Health;
Press Bureau (abolished in July, 1952);
Bureau of Publications

d. drawbacks

With the gradual consolidation of the central government, the all-powerful Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions became less and less desirable, and the traditional conflict between the central and the regional forces became more and more significant. This situation reached a climax on November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution to change the structure and the function of the Military and Administrative Councils. It was stated that the change was necessary for strengthening the leadership of the Central People's Government in its new responsibilities of nation-wide economic and cultural reconstruction. The power of the provincial and municipal governments was to be strengthened, while that of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions was to be curtailed. At that time these decisions were made:

C. Reorganization

(1) to organize all the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions into Administrative Councils. Each council was to function as an agent representing the central People's Government to guide and check the local governments.

(2) to preserve the Administrative Office and the four committees on Political and Legal Affairs, Financial and Economic Affairs, Cultural and Educational Affairs, and People's Control under the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions.

(3) to reduce the original departments to bureaus and offices. Some of these new bureaus and offices were to be put under the direct control of the related ministries of the central People's Government.

This reorganization was to be accomplished before the end of 1952, but the actual reorganization of the Northwest Military and

*175 Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953.
*668 P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the
631 Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assign-
647 ment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

*175 A. Relationship to Regional Government
*668 The provincial governments traditionally have been important
635 links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordi-
nate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the
[691] same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of
63 municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts,
666 hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the
[563] voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are
63 numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the
671 people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible
63 to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

*668 631 includes, depending on its level, the provincial governor and deputy provincial governors; the mayor and deputy mayors ; the county head and deputy county heads; the district head and deputy district heads; the hsiang head and deputy hsiang heads; or the town head and deputy town heads. The number of members in a people's council (head and deputy head included)differs according to level, as follows:

(1) Provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority, 25 to 55;

(2) Municipalities, 9 t 25; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large population, but in no case may exceed 45;

(3) Counties, 9 to 21; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large number of hsiang and towns, as well as a large population, but in no case may exceed 31;

(4) Municipal districts, 9 to 21;

(5) Hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns, 3 to 13.

The term of office of a provincial People's council is four years. It is two years for those councils or municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns.

b. functions of councils

The functions of the people's councils at all levels are numerous. Many of them are traditional, such as collecting taxes, managing conscription, and running the administrative routine. But some are new or have been given new content, such as:

(1) Carrying out economic plans and budgets;

(2) Regulating and controlling the market and the local state enterprises, and directing the socialization of the private enterprises.

(3) Directing the production of agriculture, handicrafts, and mutual-aid cooperatives;

(4) Managing transportation, communications, and public enterprises;

(5) Managing local activities in the fields of culture, education, public health, pensions, relief, and social welfare.

65 631 *668 The nationalization of business and industry has burdened the local governments with much that formerly was done by private parties. Economic plans existed previously, but were limited to a few public works. Now the plans and budgets of the government cover almost every economic activity in the area. Previously, only when an occasional crisis arose did the local governments regulate or control the market. Now it is one of their regular functions. In the past, there were few,if any,local state enterprises. Now, with the program of socialization of private enterprises in full swing, the task of operating local state enterprises is tremendous. The local governments are responsible for the people from before birth until after death, and for controlling and managing almost every phase of their lives.

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 631 182 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 647 635 631 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 647 632 631 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

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(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

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The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

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D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

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*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

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[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

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*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
S Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
668 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the
635 present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

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*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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TABLE II

SHENSI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Ma Ming-fang
Vice-chairman: Chang Pang-ying
Chang Feng-hui
Han Chao-o
Members: 35 (1 Moslem, 34 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Shih I-chih
Deputy secretary-generals: Li Tzu-chien
Ch'i Kuo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Ma Ming-fang
Deputy director: Yang Yü-t'ing
Members: 13

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Han Chao-o
Deputy director: Li Ho-pang
Ts'ui T'ien-fu
Liu Ming-tsai
Members: 12

BUREAU OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Commissioner: Yang Po-lun
Vice-commissioner: Lü Hsiang-ch'en

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Chang Pang-ying
Vice-commissioners: Liu Tzu-i
Chia Huai-kuang

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Yang Yü-t'ing
Vice-commissioners: Feng Shao-hsü
Kuo Ai-cheng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Chang I-ch'eng
Vice-commissioner: Wang Fu-ch'u

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Li Wei-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Ch'en K'ai

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Huang Tzu-ch'iang

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTY
Commissioner: Hsieh Huai-te
Vice-commissioner: Su Tzü-sheng

BUREAU OF LABOR
Commissioner: Chang Yü-ming

BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ching Yen-cheng
Vice-commissioners: Lu Ch'ieng-liang
Feng I-hang

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Ch'en Ch'un-ping
Vice-commissioners: Wang Chi-t'ao
Wei Ming-chung

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TABLE III

KANSU PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Teng Pao-shan
Vice-chairmen: Wang Shih-t'ai
Chang Te-cheng
Ma Hung-ping (Moslem)
Members: 25 (5 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 18 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Ch'en Ch'eng-i
Vice-secretary-generals: Hsieh Ch'eng
Sheng Ch'iu-wo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Shih-t'ai
Members: ?

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Sun Cho-ping
Members: 13 (12 men and 1 woman)

BUREAU ON CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: Li P'ei-fu
Vice-commissioners: Wei Tsu-yu
Hsien Wei-ch'in

BUREAU ON PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Li P'u-shan
Vice-commissioner: Liu Lan-t'ing

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Ma Hung-ping
Vice-chairmen: Fan Ming,
Ma Ch'ing-nien
Members: 18

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Huang Ching-po
Vice-commissioner: Ma Nan-feng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Yang I-mu
Vice-commissioner: T'ien P'ei-ming

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Yu Chien-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Shih Ting-hsin

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Yang Tsu-heng
Vice-commissioner: Li Cheng-h'ua

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: Hsieh Lan-ping
Vice-commissioners: Huang Cheng-ch'ing
Lu Wei-hung
Ma P'ei-lieh

BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
Commissioner: Hsin An-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Ma Chi-ch'uan
Liu Hai-sheng

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Liu Yün-chung

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TABLE IV

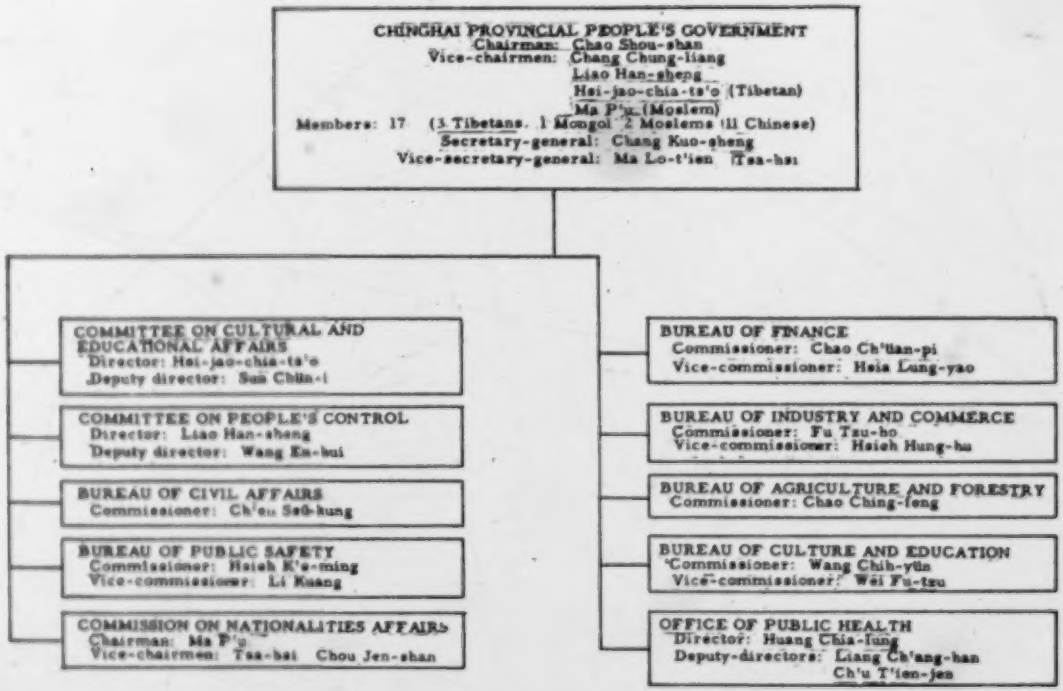

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TABLE V

SINKIANG PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Burhan (Uighur)
Vice-Chairmen: Kao Chin-ch'ih
Saifudin (Uighur)
Members: 30 (only 24 appointed: 12 Chinese, 7 Uighurs, 2 Kazakhs, 1 Uzbek, 1 Tatar, 1 Moslem, 1 Kirghis, 3 unidentified
Secretary-general: Liu Meng-ch'un
Vice-secretary-general: A-pu-tu-la-tao-h'e-erh
Ni Tien-te

- BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
  - Commissioner: A-pu-tu-je-ho-man-mu-lan-t'i
  - Vice-commissioner: Kao Wen-t'ien
- BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
  - Commissioner: A-pu-lieh-tao
  - Vice-commissioners: Liu Hu-p'ing
  - Shu Chih-t'ung
- COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
  - Chairman: Saifudin
  - Members: 19 (18 men and 1 woman)
- COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
  - Director: Wang Cheng
  - Deputy director: Hsin Lan-t'ing
  - Members: 13
- OFFICE OF PLANNING
  - Director: P'u-la-t'e
- BUREAU OF FINANCE
  - Commissioner: Hsin Lan-t'ing
  - Vice-commissioner: Hu Sai-ying
- BUREAU OF COMMERCE
  - Commissioner: Kao Chin-ch'ih
  - Vice-commissioner: Liu Tsu-mou
- BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
  - Commissioner: Mai-pa-ai-a-i'i-hung
  - 2nd commissioner: Mai-mai-ti-ai-sha
  - Vice-commissioner: Ma-chi-t'i
- BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND MINING
  - Commissioner: K'a-yu-mu-pa-h'a-ho-chia
  - Vice-commissioner: E'o-ma-li-ting
- BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
  - Commissioner: T'u Chih
  - Vice-commissioner: Sou-wu-yi-la
- BUREAU OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
  - Commissioner: Ta-hsia-o'e
  - Vice-commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh
- BANK
  - President: Chang Ting-fan
- TRADING COMPANY
  - Manager: Liu Tsu-mo
  - Vice-managers: Che K'ai
  - Wang P'u
  - Ko-ma-li-ting
- COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
  - Director: Tang Li-ch'ih
  - Deputy directors: I-pu-la-yin
  - Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
  - Yu Wen
- BUREAU OF EDUCATION
  - Commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
  - Vice-commissioner: Ma Wen
- BUREAU OF WATER CONSERVANCY
  - Commissioner: A-li-mu-chang
  - Vice-commissioner: Wang Hu-t'ing
- OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
  - Head: Ta-ho-p'u-po-h'e
  - Deputy head: P'u Shih-cheng
- SINKIANG PROVINCE PEOPLE'S COURT
  - President: Burhan
  - Vice-president: Tu-fu

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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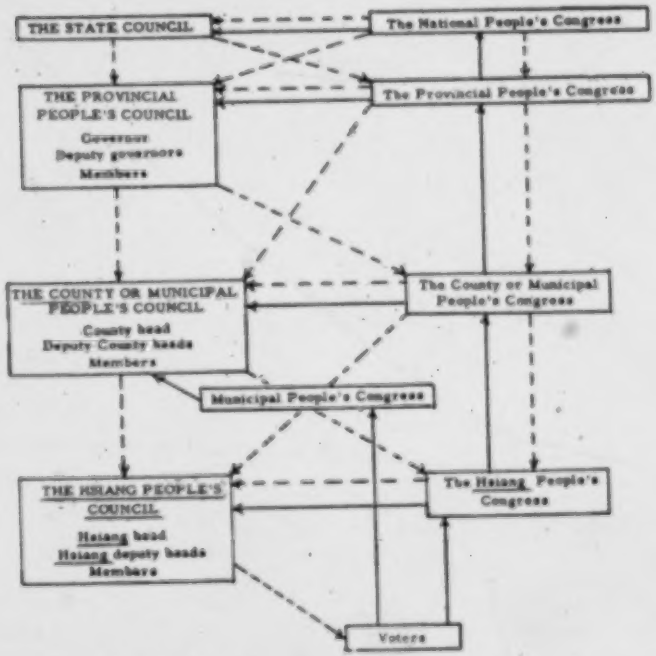
TABLE VI

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



LEVELS:

The Nation

Provinces, including:

Municipalities directly controlled by the central government

Autonomous areas

Administrative districts, including:

Autonomous chou

Counties, including:

Municipalities

Autonomous hsien

Hsiang, including:

Towns

Nationality hsiang

Districts under municipalities

The people

following page 474 (e)

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*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
[633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

N
[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

N
[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

S
[668] (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

[635] Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N
*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 1955, are shown in Table 9.
631
N
*668 After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
631 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
666 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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*668 with the local governmental divisions down to the county level, is
*563 shown in Table 10.
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TABLE 7

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Administration Units in Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Shensi province	Sian	4 municipalities 4 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 8 special districts having a total of 91 counties and 2 districts
Kansu province	Lanchow	6 municipalities 1 county under direct supervision of the provincial government 1 mining district under direct supervision of the provincial government 9 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the special districts there are altogether 80 counties, 9 autonomous hsien (counties), and 1 banner
Chinghai province	Sining	1 municipality 5 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 4 autonomous hsien (counties) 6 autonomous chou (special districts) having a total of 21 counties and 3 autonomous districts at the county level.

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TABLE 8

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province early in 1955:

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NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang province	Urumchi	4 municipalities 1 branch office 10 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the regular special districts, there are altogether 75 counties and 4 autonomous areas at the county level

TABLE 9

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province since October 1, 1955:

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region	Urumchi	4 municipalities 7 special districts 5 autonomous chou (special districts) with a total, under these and the regular special districts, of 74 counties and 6 autonomous hsien[1]

[1] The three special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak), and Altai were combined to make the Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili. On February 5, 1955, all the self-governing special districts were renamed "autonomous chou" and the self-governing counties were renamed "autonomous hsien."

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TABLE 10
Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'ian, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'uan, Chingho, and Po-l...
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-chih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi sha, and Su-fu

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TABLE 10 (continued)

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI PROVINCE	
Tibetan Autonomous chou of Hai-pei	Including the three counties of Ch'i-lien, Hai-yen, and Kang-ch'a, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Hai-nan	Including the five counties of Kung-ho, Hsing-hai, Kuei-te, Kuei-nan, and T'ung-te
Mongol, Tibetan, and Kajakh autonomous chou of Hai-hsi	Including the Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Huang-nan	Including the three counties of T'ung-jen, Tse-k'u, and Chien-cha
Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu	Including the 6 counties of Yü-shu, Lang-ch'ien, Ch'eng-to, Chih-to, Tsa-to, and Ch'ü-ma-lai
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kuo-lo (Kolo)	The southeastern part of Chinghai bordering Sikang and Szechuan; situated east of the Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shou and south of the Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ung-te. It covers 240,000 sq. kilometers, and has a population of more than 110,000 Tibetans. It is to be divided into 4 counties, the names of which have not yet been determined
T'u autonomous hsien of	Formerly Hu-chu county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Hua-lung	Formerly Hua-lung county
Salar autonomous hsien of Hsün-hua	Formerly Hsün-hua county
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-nan	Formerly Ho-nan district

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TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
*668 CHINGHAI (continued)	
631 634 *563 Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan	Formerly Wei-yüan district
Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan	Formerly Tu-lan district
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chü	An area west of Kokonor
KANSU PROVINCE	
Mongol autonomous chou	Including the county of Tun-k'ou and the Alashan Banner
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kan-nan	Including the two counties of Hsia-ho and Lin-t'an and the Cho-ni autonomous hsien, plus an area cut from Hsi-ku, Min, Wu-tu, and Ho-ch'uan
Moslem autonomous chou of Hsi-Hai-Ku	Including the three counties of Ku-yüan, Hsi-chi, and Hai-yüan
Moslem autonomous chou of Ho-tung	Including the four counties of Lin-wu, Chin-chi, T'ung-hsin, and Yen-ch'ih
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chin-yüan	Formerly Hua-p'ing county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chang-chia-ch'uan	Chang-chia-ch'uan
Tung-hsiang autonomous hsien	Su-nan-pa, the eastern district of Ho-chou
Moslem autonomous hsien of Kuang-t'ung	Probably the former Ling-ting county
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chu	Wu-shao-ling

TABLE 10 (Continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
*668 631 634 *563 KANSU PROVINCE (continued)	
Mongol autonomous hsien of Su-pei	Formerly Su-pei administrative chü
Kazakh autonomous hsien of A-k'e-sai	Southwest of Tun-huang
Mongol autonomous hsien of O-chi-na (Edsin) Banner	Formerly Edsin Banner
Cho-ni autonomous hsien	Formerly Cho-ni administrative chü

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POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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attempts of the nat ve peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and
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to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and inter-
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national complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.

2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.

3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.

4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

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These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of poli-
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tics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
175

S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
175 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
631 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
635 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
648 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the
669 Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

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175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

N
A. Top Echelon Officials

#175 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
#668 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
554 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There
635 were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
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554 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
635 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
668 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
554 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's
635 Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

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N Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's
*175 Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's
635 Supervisory Commission.
554 In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between
N the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the
*175 rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was
554 a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
635 Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan.
*668 Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

S B. Parties
175 Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political
668 bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

N In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the
*175 China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang
*668 Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

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TABLE I.

CONCURRENT POSTS HELD BY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1952

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(All Communists, unless specified otherwise)	GOVERNMENT					MILITARY		PARTY		MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MINORITY PARTIES	
	CENTRAL		NORTHWEST								
	ADMINISTRATIVE	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	MAC	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP	NW AND SINKIANG BUREAUS	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST
Chang Chia-fu		1	2	1							
Chang Chih-chung (KMT-RC)	1		3			2				3	1
Chang Chung-hsün		1	1			1	1	1			
Chang Pang-ying			1		2				2		
Chang Tzu-fang (woman)			4							1	
Chia T'o-fu			4		1				1		
Han Chao-o (DL)	1		3		1					2	
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan-NC)			3		2						
Hsi Chung-hsün	2		3						1	1	
Ma Hsi-wu		1	2	1							
Ma Ming-fang			2		1				1	1	1
Ma Hung-pin (CM-NC)			4		2						
Ma Wen-jui			3						3		
P'eng Te-huai	2		3			2	1	1	1	1	
Saifuddin (Uighur)	3		3		1				1	1	1
Wang Feng			4						1		
Wang Shih-t'ai			4				1				
Wang Tzu-i	1		5						2		
Wu Hung-pin (CCM-DL)			1		2					3	1
Yang Ming-hsuan (DL)			1							1	1

ABBREVIATIONS CM Chinese Muslim DL Democratic League NC Non-Communist
KMT-RC Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

following page 490

N
*175 the Northwest under the leadership of the Chinese Communist
*668 Party.

In May, 1953, the Northwest Work Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee was organized with Chang Chih-chung as chairman. Its avowed aim was to coordinate all its branch offices and members of the KMT Revolutionary Committee in the Northwest under the leadership of the CCP and to implement so-called United Front work. It was significant that the conference of the KMT Revolutionary Committee at Sian was attended by high-ranking Communist Party and Democratic League officials, who were there apparently in a supervisory capacity, a fact which may indicate that the KMT Revolutionary Committee had not then gained the confidence of the Communists. Ma Ming-fang, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, expounded on the role of the "democratic" parties during the stage of New Democracy, which he said was "to educate their members to actively participate in political campaigns." Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the Northwest branch committee of the Democratic League, in a speech similar in content with those of the other speakers, declared that it was imperative "to continue the enlargement of the people's democratic united front (and) to get closely united under the CCP and Chairman Mao." (Sian Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, May 26, 1953).

III. United Front Work, 2. The Masses

A. Mobilization of the Masses

The organization of people's governments and the employment of non-Communist political leaders were part of the window-dressing for the organization and mobilization of the masses of the people.
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[175] As early as January, 1950, the Sinkiang People's Government Coun-
[668] cil, in a statement of its policies, declared that one of the primary tasks was "to activate and organize the workers, farmers, youth, women, and other popular bodies so that they would become strong and reliable support for the government in all fields of construction." (NCNA January 8, 1950).

The agencies for the mobilization of the people were, as in other parts of China, the mass organizations, which supplement and bolster the work of the political parties, and were either directly controlled or indirectly manipulated by Communists or trusted agents of the Communists. The following are a few of the organizations of mass control.

The United Front Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: This agency has overall supervision over the other mass organizations and also serves as liaison between them. The chairman, Wang Feng, was also director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
469 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

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*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47
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[175] of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts,
[668] and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

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*175 Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*668 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
[469] to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.
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An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League
[175] in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953,
[668] there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

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*175 Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*668 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
648 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

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N 60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were
#175 from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-
#668 Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-
648 chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-
S presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friend-
175 ship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the
668 following figures show: three million in 1950; 17 million in 1951,
648 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953.
The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Archan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

N B. Elevation of Political Consciousness
#175 Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association
#668 in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign
S in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities.
175 This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or over-
668 lapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

N 175 668 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership S 175 668 in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

S 175 668 Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points: (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people's political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

N 175 792 668 Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions. In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams, monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas. S 175 668 793 346 Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to support the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A

175 mass meeting of 3,500 mullahs in 46 mosques in Urumchi was
668 held on May 20, 1951, and again on May 25, 1953, to reaffirm
[993] their pledge to support Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the Central
[349] People's Government and the Resist-America and Aid-Korea
[995] campaign. Burkhan, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, was concurrently head of the China Islamic Association, which had the responsibility of rallying the Moslems of China under the banner of the Chinese Communists.

"Through the above-mentioned activities," declared Yü Chan-lin, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference, "the policies of the (Communist) party and the people's government ...have been conveyed to the masses of various nationalities and various circles (i.e., political groups), so that the misgivings and the hesitant attitude on the part of certain people were corrected and the masses mobilized... thus enlarging the anti-feudal United Front." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). As for the future, Yü urged further propaganda on "patriotism and internationalism" by means of mass movements, intensification of the mobilization of all the nationalities and all the political groups, and further supervision over the masses.

The Sinkiang jih-pao, in an editorial (June 30, 1953), also expressed gratification with the progress of the mobilization of the masses. "During the past four years, the people of all nationalities and all circles have been educated by repeated patriotic campaigns and experiences in various political activities, thereby increasing their organizational ability and their political consciousness. The general election will further consolidate and unite the people of all nationalities and the ties between the People's Government and the masses, thus enabling the state system of our people's democratic dictatorship to become more perfect."

C. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

668 The efforts of the Communists to herd and regiment the people
669 were not accomplished without considerable resistance. Large
578 segments of the people refused to enter into the Communist fold
175 and their resistance, strong and stubborn, made it necessary for the Communist authorities to launch campaigns for the suppression of the opposition, whom the Communists designate as "counter-revolutionaries."

The "counter-revolutionaries" or "bandits" were, according to Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, composed of the following groups: (1) Former Nationalist forces; (2) local forces under Osman Batur, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan; (3) White Russians; (4) members of secret societies; (5) bandits; and, he added, "all sorts of subversive espionage organizations (which)

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make use of reactionary elements of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism to establish anti-Communist and anti-Soviet bases of operation." (JMJP October 1, 1950).

The extent of opposition to Communist rule may be seen in the news dispatches issued by the Communist authorities on the results of their relentless crack-down of the counter-revolutionaries:

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Item: September, 1950, liquidation of 58,000 bandit troops who refused to disarm and continued to resist.
Item: November, 1950, arrest of 6,249 Kuomintang agents and seizure of 208 special service cells and 275 radio stations.
Item: February, 1951, capture of Osman Batur and Jamin Khan and escape of Yolbars Khan to Formosa. April, 1951, Execution of Osman Batur.
Item: 1951. Revolt of workers in the Yen-ch'ang Oilfield, Shensi.
Item: December, 1950, Suppression of the Taoist secret society, the I-kuan-tao, which claimed to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia. Members of the organization were charged to have infiltrated into farmers' associations and sabotaged the land reform and peasant organization work.

Despite the savagery of the suppression, the Communists were unable to snuff out the opposition. Kan Ssu-ch'i, director of the Department of Public Security of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, pointed out that in the province of Kansu alone, the counter-revolutionaries killed and wounded 2,117 native cadres resulting in a profound demoralization of the people. "The people blame us," he said, "for having only government and no law. We must...by means of accusation meetings, exhibitions, public trials and forums, mobilize the broad masses to partake in the work of suppressing the counter revolutionaries:" (NCNA, April 7, 1951).

The alibis for the failure to wipe out the opposition in the Northwest was attributed to many causes. T'ao Chih-yüeh, deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military District, charged that "hidden enemies are utilizing old relations, old friendships and all opportunities for winning over and buying over a few backward elements." Ma Hung-pin, vice-chairman of the Kansu provincial people's government, warned the people to renounce their old friendships. "All counter-revolutionaries," he said, "be they your relatives, your friends and your neighbors, or even your family members, must be denounced." (NCNA, April 7, 1951). Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, charged that "the imperialists" were fanning the fires of "narrow nationalism" by spreading rumors and fostering animosity among the minority peoples and they have seized upon pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as their weapons." (JMJP, October 2, 1951).

The admonition and the threats by the officials had no effect

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
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175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were established for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
S 175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.
668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.
Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).
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[563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

S 175 668 871 [563] graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N * 175 * 668 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at N * [563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by S 175 668 873 [563] provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist S 175 668 874 873 Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

N * 175 * 668 871 * 563 The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

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As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
#175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
#668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
#563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
175 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
668 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
563 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.
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Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

N The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
#175 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
#668 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
#663 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
162 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
631 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
S counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
175 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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N in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*175 January 8, 1952).
*668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
*563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[804] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

N A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*175 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
*668 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
578 cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-N nghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

#175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
#668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse non-proletarian ideas have infiltrated into the party," he said, "and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the muni-
[681] cipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
[651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

*175 arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes. (Nan-fang jih-pao,
*668 June 9, 1950). P'eng Te-huai, chairman of the Northwest Mili-
578 tary and Administrative Council, declared that bureaucratism and commandism were the greatest dangers to the Communist administration of the Northwest and that the cadres in general showed marked tendencies of ostentatiousness and averagism.

3. Friction between party cadres and non-party cadres: The old cadres, men who had lived through the dark years of privation and danger during the war with Japan and the civil war that followed, were jealous of their prerogatives as veteran party members and as victors, and they regarded the new cadres as interlopers and the people of the Northwest as a conquered people. As a result, there were widespread clashes within the ranks of the cadres. At the conference of cadres in August, 1951, Wang Feng, director of the Department of United Front Work, chastized the cadres for their haughtiness and their indifference to the alliance with non-party workers by saying: "Some of our cadres in the party, having inadequate understanding of the new situation and the nationalities and classes in the immense new areas of the Northwest, and having acquired a self-complacency and arrogance through victory, are not warm-hearted enough to the large number of non-party cadres and so there arose certain discords in our work. On the other hand, non-party cadres, working for the first time with the Chinese Communist Party members and having inadquate understanding of various policies, cherished suspicions and adopted an attitude of self-preservation entirely incompatible with the attitude that a master of a new country should adopt."

This situation, he said, was caused by the fact that "In the past two years, the United Front Work within our own party has not been sound enough and we have not sufficient knowledge of United Front Work in our government organs and the education of party members within the government organs has been poor." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, October 11, 1951).

*175 4. Friction between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres: The age-
*668 old antagonism between the native population and the Chinese in
578 the outlying regions of the Northwest persisted and was further
*563 aggravated by the arrival of the Communists. The party cadres, who were arrogant and overbearing, treated the native recruits with contempt. As early as 1950, General Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang, expressed concern with the animosity between the Chinese and the non-Chinese population. The Chinese party cadres, he said, were still under the influence of Great Hanism and the local national minority cadres still suffered from the influence of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism. As a result, he said: "Certain of our cadres, failed to pay adequate attention to national differences and failed to consult with the minorities. They resorted to commandism and

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*175 bureaucraticism and isolated themselves from the masses. Various
*668 national minorities adopted narrow nationalism as a means of pro-
578 tection against the ruling race (i.e., the Chinese)" (JMJP October
*563 1, 1950).

The conflict between Han Chinese cadres and national minority cadres, became so serious that in September, 1953, following the promulgation of four documents on the policy towards national minorities, the Government Administration Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a joint order to local party committees to investigate the implementation of the nationality policy and to cadres to carry out self-criticism and mutual criticism. The Jen-min jih-pao in its editorial (on October 10, 1953), also inveighed against the ideology of Great Hanism among the Han Chinese cadres and the "ultra-nationalism" of the minority cadres.

C. Cadres Reforms and Purges

*175 The remedy the situation, the Communist high command insti-
*668 tuted a series of reindoctrination conferences, the screening of
661 government personnel, and wholesale arrests and purges to improve
578 the quality of the cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün headed the panel of Chinese Communist Party and government speakers who harangued the cadres at mass meetings, held in May, 1950, in August-September, 1951, and in May, 1952, castigating them for bureaucraticism, commandism, incompetence, and corruption. The conferences of cadres were convened upon instructions from Peking. Following the speech of Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1951, urging Communists to take the lead in rallying non-Communists and Han Chinese cadres to check their growing tendency toward "Great Nationality ideas," the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party, at the conference of the cadres held in August-September, 1951, adopted a program for the reform of the cadres, to be in three stages. Stage one, to begin September 21, was for a two and a half month study of Chinese Communist and Soviet Communist Party documents; stage two, beginning December 6, forty days for the registration, re-examination and selection of cadres on the basis of their qualifications; and stage 3, to begin January 16, 1952, thirty days for the reform of branch organizations. (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

This was the occasion for the screening and dismissal of large numbers of cadres. But more drastic action was still to come. At the fourth plenary session of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, November 22-29, 1951, the program of party reform was merged into the campaign for production and austerity. Article 5 of this program was "to simplify and retrench the

*175 government structure and to promote work efficiency," and article
*668 6 was "to strictly enforce austerity, to develop the struggle against
578 corruption, waste, and bureaucratism." (NCNA December 2,
661 1951).

The announcement of the "simplification and retrenchment" program was the signal for the purging of additional thousands of cadres, but this was still only the beginning. A month later, in January, 1952, Hsi Chung-hsün convened a conference of the Production and Austerity Committees in government organs throughout the Northwest, attended by cadres above the rank of deputy chief in the party, the government, and the military district. At this conference, Hsi Chung-hsün made a blistering speech charging that the campaign in the Northwest was not satisfactory, not penetrating, not broad enough, not directed to the main target and did not have concrete results. The leaders were sleeping, he ranted on, and the masses lacked leadership. The middle and minor officials were guilty of corruption, waste and decay. The top officials, he concluded, should assume responsibility and proceed actively in a militant attitude. (NCNA January 10, 1952).

The result of the purges, known as the Three-Anti Movement (anti-graft, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism), which was launched throughout China in 1952, and which, with its companion campaign, the Five-Anti Movement directed at businessmen, became a reign of terror unprecedented in magnitude and in horror. Untold thousands of cadres, Communists as well as non-Communists, and officials in the middle and lower grades of government, were arrested, tried and convicted in "people's courts," and executed while thousands more were jailed or condemned to corrective labor camps.

However, terror and persecutions did not accomplish the desired end of bringing the cadres in line. By spring of 1954, the demoralization of the cadres and the friction among them became so serious that a series of conferences was convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party at Sian. They were convoked upon orders from Peking, following the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in pursuance of its "Resolution to strengthen party unity." The speeches of the leaders all indicated that the demoralization of the cadres was worse and the differences and clash of interests between Communist and non-Communist cadres and between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres had increased. The cadres in general were charged with "conceit, departmentalism, dispersionism, exaggeration of seniority, boasting of achievements, concealing of defects, and suppression of criticism." (NCNA April 25, 1954), and the party cadres, in particular, were charged, at a later party conference, with "bourgeoise individualist ideas, conceit, sectarianism, parochialism, dispersionism and egotism." It was stated that "the low level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
[661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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*175 V. Political Structure and Political Progress
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A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

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While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)
County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)				
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties			
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities			
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities			
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.			

*175 The line-up of the Northwest Military and Administrative Coun-
*668 cil and the provincial people's governments in 1951 shows that the
635 responsible officials were either Communists or hold-overs from the previous governments who were approved by the Communists. In cases where the former governors were retained, as in Kansu and Sinkiang, one or two of the vice-governors were Communists.

*175 To cater to the desire of the minority peoples for a voice in
*668 government, many of the native representatives were elected to be
*563 members of the people's councils. But they were mainly permitted
631 to serve in the lower levels of the administrations, the Chinese practically monopolized the upper levels of government. Table 3 shows the number of chairmen, vice-chairmen, and the members of the councils.

It should be noted that the term "Chinese" refers to those of the Han race and that the term "national minority" includes also the Chinese Moslems, a people once known as Dungan and now as the Hui, or Moslems. In the Linhsia Administrative District in Kansu, for example, although the number of Chinese and Hui county magistrates were the same, the Chinese still predominate. Numbering 52 per cent of the population, they had 56 per cent of the seats in the district people's council, while the Hui, who numbered 48 per cent of the population had only 55 per cent of the seats.

*175 These local people's governments or people's councils had
*668 little authority. Their principal responsibility was the transmis-
631 sion of the decisions and orders of the Government Administration Council in Peking. Military and financial matters were subject to the decisions of the Central Government (cf. Organic Law of Regional Governments, December 16, 1949).

*175 B. Regional Autonomous Areas
*668 The training of an army of national minority cadres had as its
631 basic purpose, not only the staffing of the lower levels of the ad-
*563 ministration, but also the preparation of the ground for the establishment of regional autonomy for the minority peoples in the outlying regions of the Northwest. "The nucleus of work in the promotion of nationality regional autonomy and nationalities democratic coalition governments," stated the Jen-min jih-pao in an editorial (March 22, 1951), "lies in the universal and large-scale training of the nationalities' own cadres. It is only after the nationalities are provided with their own revolutionary cadres that their political, economic and cultural development can be further assured."

The nationality autonomous governments which were first set up in the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, were prepared by "the construction work of political and military cadres," (NCNA, May 17, 1953), who did the work of propaganda and organization of the people. (NCNA December 19, 1953). For example, the [illegible]-

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*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'an-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

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175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

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175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N #175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

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N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 1[illegible] 6[illegible] 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu	12,929,000 (including Ninghsia)		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü) level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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175 C. The General Election of 1953-54
668 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China,
666 were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
641 tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

*175 Communists. On paper, the people were permitted to nominate
*668 candidates from the floor, but such practices were discouraged.
666 "Through the method of small group discussions and appraisals now adopted...individual nomination will gradually be standardized and consequently should not be subject to any restrictions." (Wang Shui, "How to nominate candidates for election" JMJP June 11, 1953). Thus the electoral procedure followed the Soviet practice of presenting single lists of candidates. The nominees were shifted by means of a process of "consultation and agreement" and after the list of names were agreed upon, the voters go through the motion of approving it.

[171] This manner of voting bears close resemblance to the system in the USSR and is a far cry from the system adopted by the Chinese Communists in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region sixteen years before. (See Table 5).

In preparation for the election, large numbers of cadres were given training to qualify them to serve as chairmen of basic level election committees and to guide, conduct and supervise the elections. The number who were assigned was one cadre for every 2,000 persons and one technical cadre for every 500 persons. In the months before the election, the people were screened during the process of census-taking, and the qualified ones were registered. They were subjected to a barrage of propaganda and indoctrination in the form of meetings, forums, discussion groups, and through the media of books, pamphlets, films, radio broadcasts, and exhibitions. Mock elections were held where the cadres taught the voters how to conduct themselves, how to discuss the list of candidates and how to cast their ballots. Prior to the real election, experimental elections were held in a number of selected locations. These were the straw votes to give the Communist authorities an idea as to how well the cadres and propagandists have indoctrinated the people, how well the machinery operated, and what were the reactions of the people.

In Shensi, the experimental elections were held during the months from May to October, and the places where they were held included: the counties of Lin-tung, Nan-cheng, Pao-shan, Tao-shui, and, surprisingly, the wartime capital of the Communists, Yenan. As the results were satisfactory, the real elections were permitted to take place in October, and they were expected to be completed by the end of April, 1954.

In Kansu, due to the mixed population, the preparations for the elections were the reverse of those in China Proper.[4] While in North China, in preparation for the elections, 67,727 hsiang were merged into 20,000. In Kansu, the 3975 hsiang were increased to 5650.

By March, 1954, it was reported the basic elections were nine-tenths completed in Ninghsia with 90 per cent of the people

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Table 5. COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[635]

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

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*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
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175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
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*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
178 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives; the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

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[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

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175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45.62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
S tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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*175 To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*668 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
166 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

000 northwestern provinces during 1955.

S 175 668 166 Thus, even from incomplete sources, the number of people sent out to the Northwest came close to 30,000. Of this number, the bulk were destined for Sinkiang. The influx of this horde of Chinese into Sinkiang was to safeguard Chinese Communist interest and Chinese ascendancy prior to the granting of autonomy to the native peoples of Sinkiang. As early as the summer of 1953, Burkhan had sought to prepare the ground for the invasion of the Chinese. In a speech, he said, "It has been due to the great help rendered by the Han Chinese cadres from other provinces and the People's Liberation Army during the past three years since the liberation that achievements of the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang in their construction work was possible. Therefore, after the enforcement of regional autonomy, autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres to take part in work." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

N *175 *668 178 C. Expansion of the Communist Party

Along with the assignment of cadres to the countryside to carry out the work of collectivization and the transfer of workers and cadres from China Proper to the Northwest, there was also an expansion of the membership of the Communist Party in the Northwest. The induction of men into the Chinese Communist Party and into its auxiliary, the New Democratic Youth League (Communist Youth League), had been active from the beginning of Communist rule. In 1950, out of the 3,600 national minority cadres trained in the short-term classes, 560 joined the Chinese Communist Party and 1,000 the New Democratic Youth League; in 1951, out of the 1044 graduates of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party Sub-bureau Cadre School, 88 joined the Communist Party and 726 the New Democratic Youth League.

In May, 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued instructions to strengthen the work of party expansion, and ordered the directors of the Organization Departments of local party committees to convene and to work out methods for party expansion. "In rural areas where land reform has already been carried out, we must recruit more new party members and build up our party organizations so that we may vigorously promote mutual aid and cooperation of labor in production," stated a Central Committee directive (JMJP May 4, 1952). In 1954, the announcement of the General Line for the transition of the state to socialism brought a further acceleration of the work of party expansion.

Shensi: From June, 1952 to the end of 1954, a total of 3,625 basic level (hsiang) party branches were established, increasing the number from 60 per cent to 86 per cent, and 36,833 new members recruited. Up to the end of 1954, the majority of the new

*175 party members were from the urban areas. In 1954, 4,000 work-
178 ers were admitted into the party, a 14-time increase over 1953,
*668 and in the city of Sian, 40 per cent of the new members were workers. However, the bulk of the party men were in the government where they made up 23.6 per cent of the administrative personnel. In 125 factories, mines, and government enterprises there were no party branches, and in 63 industrial units there were no party members.

In the rural areas of Shensi, up to March, 1955, less than 0.6
*175 per cent of the party members were farmers. Of the 845 hsiang
178 in Shensi, 156 had no party members and in 15 per cent of the
*668 agricultural producers' cooperatives, notably those in Yenan (the
474 old Communist capital), Han-ch'eng, and An-kang, had no party members. In the remaining 85 per cent of the cooperatives, the only party members were the members of the cooperatives and heads of the mutual aid teams. In Yenan Administrative District,
[476] for example, out of the 106 new members inducted into the Communist Party in 1954, 82 were members of the agricultural producers cooperatives and 24 were heads of mutual aid teams, and in Ch'ang-an county, 93 per cent of the 358 new party members were from the cooperatives.

*175 The focus of attention during 1955 was the recruitment of
*668 party members from the factories and from the farms. Out of the
178 38,300 new party members to be recruited in 1955, 28,000 were to be from the rural areas, 5,600 from the factories, 3,300 from government agencies, and 1,400 from the schools. In the first batch of 6,000 new members recruited in spring of 1955 included 4,000 model farmers and 1,200 model factory workers. The total party members up to March, 1955 was 95,000.

Kansu: Party organization was stronger here than in Shensi. In 1954, 3,400 "advanced" peasants joined the party and there was a total of 3,938 rural party branches in 70.54 per cent of the hsiang. 16,200 party members held positions in the cooperatives and mutual aid teams. In 1955, 20,000 new members were recruited, and plans call for the recruitment of 120,000 Chinese Communist Party members and 480,000 New Democratic Youth League members by 1958.

Chinghai: By the end of 1954, there were 3,121 party mem-
* [563] bers in Chinghai, 732 of whom were recruited from the 3,471 national minority cadres. Out of the 190 cadres trained in the Shun-hua Salar Autonomous Area, 61 joined the Communist Party. Since it was reported that there were party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang, party leadership is spread very thin. Of the three thousand party members in Chinghai, only 93 native party members were employed in party headquarters, and 865 assigned to rural areas. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were at the end of 1955, 9,328 members.

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
178 at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
668 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
179 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
563 larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
668 of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
642 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
[563] Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and nationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563] Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).
563 On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's
[666] Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the
new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomus Region (the names of the members
have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the
erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang
Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned
and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The
vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman,
and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
414 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and
[575] the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 counter-revolutionary activities." He said that they were carrying
668 on "rumor spreading, sabotage, and the deception of the masses in
669 an attempt to undermine our revolutionary unity." (Sinkiang jih-
578 pao, February 25, 1955). Consequently, he went on, only "legal"
795 religious activities would be permitted by the people's government.

[798] By spring of 1956, as the heavy hand of Communist rule was intensified, the counter-revolutionary activities of the people also
668 increased. Su Chen-yung, deputy director of the Bureau of Public
669 Security in the Kansu People's government, revealed the extent of
578 popular unrest in the Northwest when he said: "The counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly waged their destructive activities against the socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With the purpose of impeding the work of peasants joining the cooperatives and sabotaging the agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants and Taoist leaders to cheat backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings. Counter-revolutionaries hidden in factories, mines, and basic construction projects resort to such base acts as sabotaging technical reforms, stealing government secrets, and purposely committing errors of work in order to proceed with their destructive activities. Counter-revolutionaries also hid themselves in religious circles. Under the cloak of religion, they proceeded upon various kinds of destructive activities." (Kansu jih-pao, March 18, 1956).

This revelation of popular opposition to Communist rule almost six years after its establishment in the Northwest shows that the age-old conflicts of culture and ideology, which in the past have divided the region, and the stubborn recalcitrance of the people, which makes government difficult, still remain despite the efforts of the Chinese Communists in centralization and domination, in indoctrination and repression, which were unprecedented in their severity and ruthlessness. The divisive nature of the region and the discontent of the people are intrinsic conditions and cardinal factors in the political life of China's Northwest. Even the Communists themselves, in their public statements, have candidly acknowledged the difficulties and foresee greater resistance from the people as the program for socialism gets under way.

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

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1. Ch'ing Dynasty
2. Post 1911.

B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

II. Communist Administration

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Additional Readings

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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

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1. Ch'ing Dynasty

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

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In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, S [177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to S N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. [671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol [674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that 681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted 184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much 674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a S N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); [565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: 681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit 184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is 674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II: Communist Administration

*668 A. The System in General
625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

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REGULAR POLICE SYSTEM IN NORTHWEST CHINA

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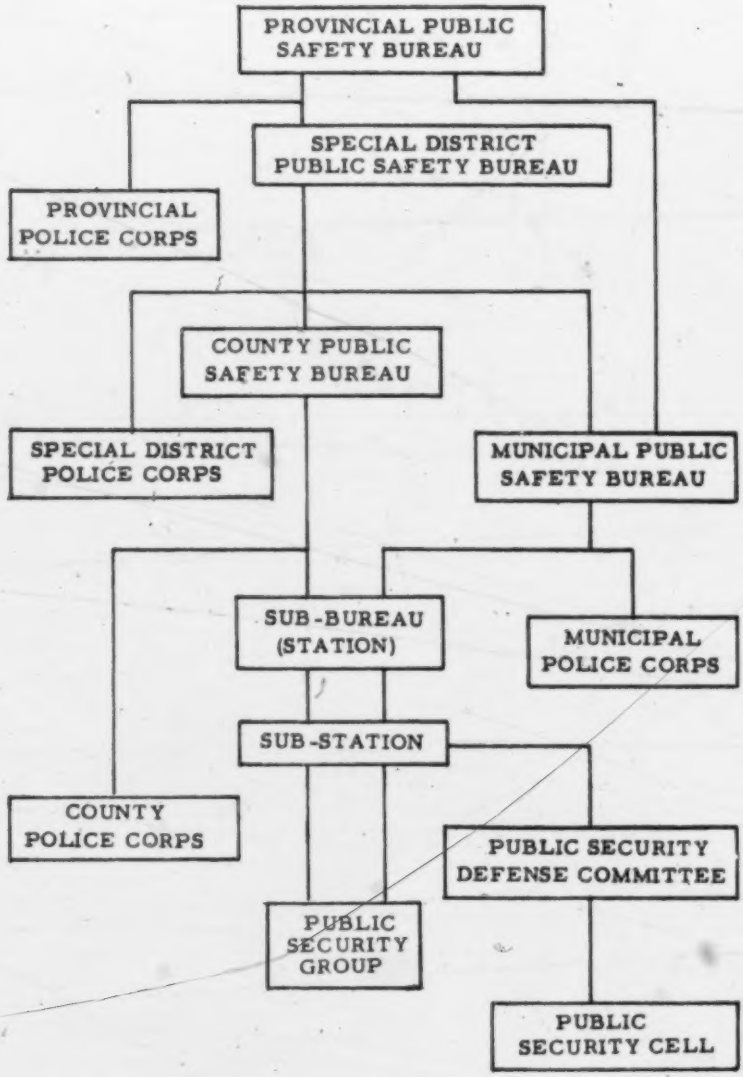

Following page 535

*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's executive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

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*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Government Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

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The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into foreign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

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*668 625 708 726 The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

areas.

*668 625 Although there are so many different branches in the whole police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

*668 625 649 Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Start- [631] ing with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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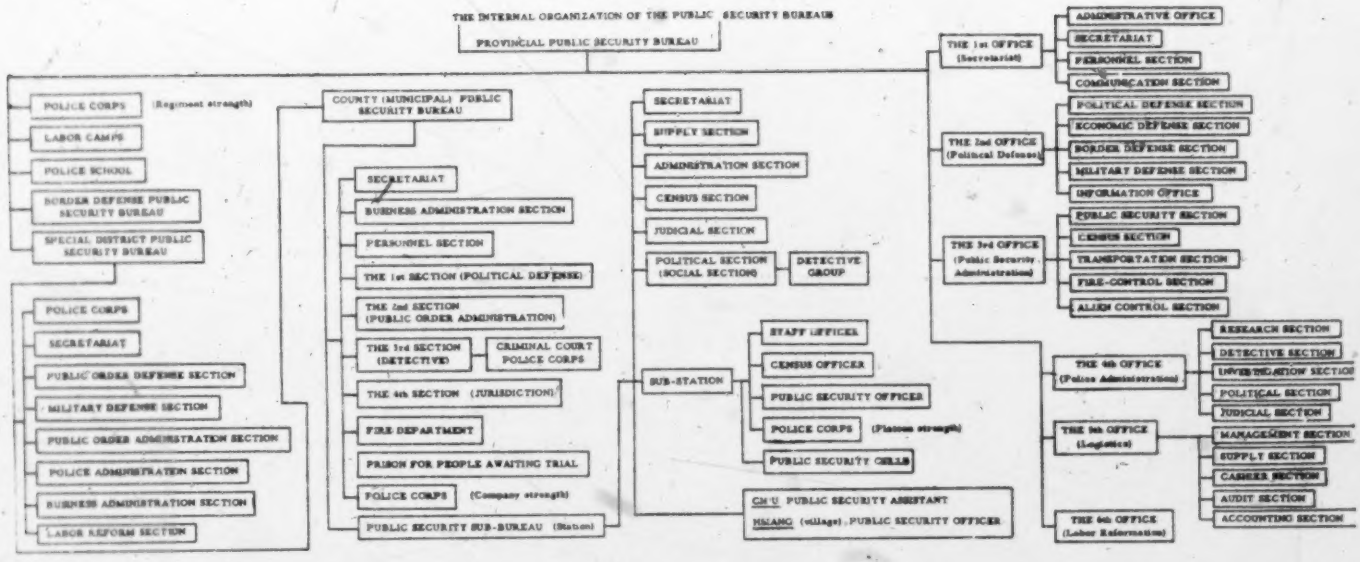
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAUS



625 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However,
*668 in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight
178 against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major section in the internal organization of the police offices. To
673 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes
*668 can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

3. Committee of residents

625 In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also
*668 organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

1)...Arresting and rugning over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.

2)...Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but...have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.

3)...Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but...have no power to

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*668 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

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*668 These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime com-
[674] mitted now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up
[873] for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

174 Because of the tight governmental control of news and the dis-
*668 tance which separates northwest China from the outside world,
[656] very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed
*175 more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are
579 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one
*668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the
669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counterrevolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nation-
*175 alities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un-
563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese
*668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings
669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsiem and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow...is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
*668 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the
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*175 Chien-cha district in Chinghai province. It is a place in the wooded
*668 mountains on the west bank of the upper stretch of the Yellow River,
669 where over 8,000 Tibetans dwell together. After the liberation of
579 Chinghai province, large numbers of the KMT remnant bandits under Ma Pu-fang fled to the Chien-cha district, and instigated Hsiang Ch'ien, chieftain of the tribe, to oppose the People's Government, obstructed the communication lines in the adjoining districts, successively assaulted with force the Tibetans and people of other nationalities in the border regions of Kweiteh, Hwalung, Shunhwa, and Tungjen, and several times attacked the PLA.

"With a view to peacefully solving the problem of the Ang-la tribe, as early as October, 1950, the Chinghai Provincial People's Government appointed Hsiang Ch'ien as a member of the Consultative Conference. From September, 1951, to April, '952, the provincial people's government dispatched personnel 17 times to persuade and convince Hsiang Ch'ien. Chairman of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government Hsi-jao-chia-tso, Vice Chairman of the Consultative Committee Drashi, Deputy Secretary General Ku-chia-sai; Ta-erh-ssu-fa-t'ai-hsia-jung-to-pu, member; Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs; Sang-je-shia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education; Keng-teng, deputy magistrate of Kweiteh hsien; Ch'ueh-chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien; T'ung-ch'u-hu, magistrate of Haiyen hsien; Pa-meng, Vice Manager of the Chinghai Trading Company, and other prominent figures of the Tibetan nationality went in person to persuade him...

"In February and March 1952, Hsiang Ch'ien thrice instigated more than 1,000 persons to invade the border region of Kweiteh and other hsien, and attacked the PLA forces at the locality. Furthermore, he dispatched personnel to infiltrate into Tungteh, Hsinghai, Tulan, and other hsien with the intent of instigating and expanding the rebellion...

"In early May, under the assistance and cooperation of the Tibetans and the people of various nationalities, the PLA of the Chinghai Military District carried out an annihilation campaign in the Chiencha district. Most of the reactionary armed forces surrendered at the locality, while Hsiang Ch'ien himself fled and hid in the mountains, bringing along a small number of persons and horses....Hsiang Ch'ien's family was protected by the PLA...

"Chou Jen-shan, director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Chinghai Provincial Committee, Sang-je-chia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Nationalities Affairs, Yu-chia-sai, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial Consultative Committee, and Ch'ueh Chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien also went to comfort them...

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

S 175 668 674 who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and military and government officials of the former Chiang government still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engaging themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

N *175 *668 829 12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National Congress:

"'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

N *175 *668 669 *563 787 "' Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be destroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

N *175 669 *668 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there appeared

"An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

S 14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
175 that
669 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases
668 of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incomplete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

S The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturb-
[674] ances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

N The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
105 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
*668 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speak-
625 ing, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

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FOREIGN RELATIONS

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IX Sinkiang under the Chinese Communists

FOREIGN RELATIONS

I. Strategic Importance of Sinkiang

175 648 439 [487] Sinkiang has been one of the most strategic areas of China in imperial and modern times. Ever since the area first came under Chinese control during the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), it has been for China a key position for the control of central Asia. The two caravan routes to the north and south of the Tien-shan range linked China with the steppes of western Turkestan and with Europe and the Near East. The control of the oasis cities along these caravan routes gave China not only a dominant position in the trade, but also a check over the states of central Asia that profited from this trade. In the times of the empire the Chinese control over tribal groups in central A ia was strongest when the corridor of trade was safely in Chinese hands.

175 648 Full Chinese control over Eastern Turkestan was maintained, however, only over limited periods in imperial history. In the period of division and chaos that followed the Han period, Turkestan was lost to China and became a contested area between rival tribal states. Chinese control was reasserted in T'ang times by a Chinese dynasty which itself was partly of Central Asian origin. The area was included in the Mongol empire when the Mongols established their rule over China. Lost again under the Ming dynasty, Chinese Turkestan was finally reconquered by the Manchus in the eighteenth century and has been recognized as a part of China since the time when the modern West came in contact with the Chinese world.

The strategic role of Chinese Turkestan has become somewhat modified in modern times. When Czarist Russia expanded her frontiers across the Asiatic continent towards the Chinese border, the Inner Asiatic frontiers of China were threatened by a new type of attack by a modern Western state. The Russian expansion across Asia found its counterpart in the British conquest of India. From that time on the British regarded the high plateaus of Asia as potential basis for an attack on India through the mountain passes of the northwest. Chinese Turkestan became an area of conflicting British-Russian policies, and at the same time an anchor of the whole Chinese defense of Central Asia against Russian and British invasion.

Of the two powers, Russia was by far the more dangerous to Chinese control. Through her move into Asia, Russia became China's neighbor along a frontier of 3,000 miles. Her pressure was exerted in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as in Turkestan. The British-Indian border with China was shorter and the high mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Karakorum provided a

175 648 much greater physical barrier than existed on the Turkestan-Manchurian-Mongolian border with Russia.

II. Russian Advance in Sinkiang

In the middle of the last century when the Western powers, including Russia, opened treaty ports along the coast and in China proper, Russia had combined this coastal penetration with an inland advance. In the Treaty of Kulja of 1851, which was made public in 1861, the Russians secured the right to trade in Northern Turkestan by the establishment of trading centers in the Ili valley at Kulja. In the Treaty of Peking in 1860 Russia also secured the right to establish a consulate at Kashgar in southern Turkestan.

175 648 669 The Russian-British pressure on Turkestan came to a head in the 1870's when Chinese control was temporarily thrown off by the rebellion of Yakub Beg. This was the period when major rebellions were taking place within China, and the revolts against the ruling dynasty spread to the northwestern border. The Moslem rebellion began in the Northwest region of China and extended to Chinese Turkestan where one of the former ruling Moslem families which had been driven out by the Chinese administration into western Turkestan attempted to re-establish its power. Its leading military figure was Yakub Beg who soon took over the rebellious movement and attempted to set up an independent government over the southern and nortnern parts of Chinese Turkestan. During his stay in power, he negotiated treaties with both Britain and Russia. The British recognized Yakub Beg and permitted him to secure arms through India. A British envoy signed a treaty with his government at Kashgar in 1874, a treaty which was formally ratified by the government of India in 1876. In this treaty Sinkiang was opened to trade with India, and a British trading company was formed with the assistance of India. Through India, Yakub Beg established contact with the Sultan of Turkey in a Moslem religious alliance. At that time, the British believed that Yakub Beg would be able to maintain himself and hoped that Chinese Turkestan would become an independent or at least autonomous area, a buffer between India and Russia.

The Russian reaction to Yakub Beg's rebellion was a direct attack on the territory of Chinese Turkestan. When Yakub Beg had occupied Urumchi and moved towards the northwestern border area, the Russians moved troops across the border and occupied Kulja and the territory of the Ili valley in 1871. In 1872 they forced Yakub Beg to conclude a commercial agreement which opened Eastern Turkestan to Russian trade. In 1874-75, Russia concentrated troops on the border of southern Sinkiang. But unrest in Russian Turkestan prevented them from further military action. In 1876, they forced Yakub Beg to surrender the strategic moun-

175 648 669 tain passes west of Kashgar to Russian control. The Russian government had thus used the unrest in Turkestan for military expansion into Chinese territory, although it declared at the time that the occupation was only a temporary move for the protection of Russian commercial interests and that the area would eventually be given back to China.

This Russian attack gave the Turkestan rebellion an even more dangerous character in Chinese eyes. What was at stake now for china was not only the subjection of a rebellious leader but the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asian position. China's realization of this danger became very clear in the discussions that preceded the Chinese military compaigns to reconquer Turkestan. Two views were expressed at that time on the importance of that area to China. One was represented by Li Hung-chang, who had come to power as the leader of the Anhwei army, one of the regional forces that had been established to suppress the Taiping Rebellion. In this campaign Li had had his main base at Shanghai and had come to control the financial resources of the central coastal region. Later his army had been used in the suppression of the Nien Rebellion in Anhwei and Shantung and after this successful campaign he had become governor-general of the capital province of Chihli and was the leading military figure in the north. Li Hung-chang was willing to abandon China's position in Central Asia in favor of strengthening coastal defenses. According to him the expenses of a Sinkiang campaign would seriously endanger the coastal defense, so important for holding the capital.

III. Policy of Tso Tsung-t'ang

175 648 In contrast to Li's regional view on the importance of China's coastal area, Tso Tsung-t'ang, then in charge of the suppression of the Moslem Rebellion in the northwestern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, saw the control of Sinkiang as a vital part of the defense of the whole Chinese Inner Asiatic frontier. According to Tso Tsung-t'ang, "The reason why great weight should be given to Sinkiang is the protection of Mongolia. In protecting Mongolia, one ensures the defense of the capital. When the fingers and forearms of the West and North work in unison and the topographical position is continuous then there is no break in the country's defenses. But if Sinkiang is not strong, then Mongolia will not be safe. Not only the border provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi would be constantly open to invasion and it would be difficult to defend them, but also Northern Chihli and Shanhaikuan would not have a day of rest or sleep." (Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'üan-chi, chüan 50, pp. 76a, b.) Tso argued that the defense of Sinkiang would be less expensive in the

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long run than would be an inland defense of the northwest, if the Sinkiang passes were lost. The defense of Peking depended on the Chinese military garrisons at Kalgan, Uliasutai, and Kobdo in Mongolia; the defense of Mongolia depended on the control of Sinkiang; the defense of Sinkiang depended on the passes at Kulja and Chuguchak. He did not believe that there was a real military threat to the Chinese coasts because in his opinion the Western powers were interested in commercial privileges rather than in military conquest. When at that time the British minister to Peking intervened in support of Yakub Beg and suggested that the imperial government should allow the rebel leader to maintain his rule over Turkestan as an autonomous area under Chinese suzerainty, Tso Tsung-t'ang sent a memorial to the throne stating that the status of Yakub Beg was purely a domestic question, and that "if Britain wished to create a buffer state in central Asia she was herself well able to furnish the territory." (Arthur W. Hummel Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, 1944, vol. II, p. 766.)

Tso Tsung-t'ang's main concern, however, was the Russian military invasion. It was his avowed strategy to use such overwhelming force in the defeat of Yakub Beg and to make the reconquest of Turkestan so convincing that Russia would have to live up to the promise which she had given at the time of the occupation in 1871 and return the Ili area to Chinese control. But the diplomatic negotiations between China and Russia which followed did not bring the results for which Tso Tsung-t'ang had hoped. In the draft treaty concluded in St. Petersburg in 1879, Russia returned only the city of Kulja and the eastern part of the Ili valley but retained the western part of the Ili area including the valley of a tributary, the Tekes, and most important of all, the strategic mountain passes of the Altai and related ranges. This treaty aroused a storm of indignation at the court in Peking. The government refused to ratify it and imposed a death sentence on the returning envoy who had negotiated it. The sentence was not carried out, but a new envoy signed another treaty at St. Petersburg in 1881 with somewhat more favorable conditions. While Russia retained some of the territory she had occupied, she returned the Tekes valley and the strategic passes to China.

After it had reasserted its authority over almost all of the Turkestan area, the Chinese government carried through an administrative reorganization in order to strengthen the ties with its outlying region. In November, 1884, an imperial edict made Turkestan into a Chinese province under the name of Sinkiang ("The New Territory"). Urumchi (the Chinese Ti-hua) became the provincial capital and the province was divided into more than twenty districts. Thus, while Chinese political control

175 648 was re-established, economic penetration from Russia and to a lesser degree from British India continued. In the treaty of 1881, Russia had established consulates at Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan. The treaty also stipulated that consulates should be established at Urumchi, Hami (Qomul), and Ch'i-t'ai, if the development of Russian trade warranted it. England arranged in 1884 for the stationing of a British trade agent at Kashgar.

In the following period the Chinese political position in Sinkiang was not threatened again by either Russia or England. Chinese control created, in effect, something of a buffer area for the conflicting expansionist interests of these two powers. Towards the turn of the century, attempts were made to delimit Russian and British areas of expansion in order to diminish chances of conflict. In 1895 the two powers agreed to delimit their respective areas of expansion in the Pamirs. In a decision of the Pamir Boundary Commission the two powers agreed to set aside a narrow corridor of Afghan territory which would extend from Afghanistan to the Chinese province of Sinkiang. This corridor would prevent a direct Russo-British-India frontier. The Anglo-Russian tensions came to a new height during the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. When the war was over, Russian and England came to settle all their conflicting interests in the Triple Entente of 1907. By that time the neutralization of the central Asiatic area of possible conflict had already been recognized for so long that Turkestan was no longer mentioned in the agreement.

IV Policy of Yang Tseng-hsin

175 648 635 The Chinese position in Sinkiang entered into a new phase with the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The Revolution changed the relationship between the province and the new types of central governments that succeeded each other in China. In imperial times the Chinese governors were a part of the imperial bureaucracy, and the court had been able to appoint and recall governors more or less at will. It had also given the provincial administration a yearly subsidy of over two and a half million taels (a tael equals about 1.28 U.S. dollars). With the revolution, the central control over the province was greatly weakened. No more subsidy was forthcoming from China and the governors had to base their power and position almost entirely on local support. Yang Tseng-hsin, the Chinese governor of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928 gained such support by giving the non-Chinese population groups greater economic autonomy. At the same time he maintained good relations with Russia by permitting Russian economic activities which had considerably increased since 1905. The Russo-Asiatic Bank had its branches at Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, and Kashgar with the right to issue paper currency. These branches played a large role in the local trade.

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648 The isolation of Sinkiang from the Chinese government became even more pronounced as a result of the events in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave the Mongols the opportunity to declare their independence from Chinese control. This move was in part inspired and supported by Czarist Russia which established itw osn control over Outer Mongolia. Though Outer Mongolia remained nominally a part of Chinese territory, Chinese control ended and Outer Mongolia became in fact a Russian protectorate. The loss of Outer Mongolia changed the position of China in central Asia and greatly affected her hold over Chinese Turkestan. Tso Tsung-t'ang had described Turkestan as the key position for the defense of Mongolia, which in turn was important for the security of north China and of the capital. Now Turkestan itself was outflanked by the Russian position in Mongolia. From Mongolia, Russian forces could at any time cut the corridor that led from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. Sinkiang, formerly the central basis of the Chinese military position in Inner Asia, now became an exposed advance position which could only be held in the long run if a new and safe connection with China Proper could be found.

Of still greater importance for the power sturggle in central Asia was the change brought about in Russia by the October Revolution. The new Soviet Russia soon resumed the Czarist policy of expansion in central Asia. But to the economic and strategic interests which had been the morivating force behind Czarist advance there was now added the Communist aim of infiltrating the neighboring area with its ideological and political organization. This Soviet advance began slowly and accelerated with the growing strength of the Soviet government. During the early years of the civil war in Siberia, Soviet Russia was in no position to resume an aggressive policy in central Asia. The Russian position in Outer Mongolia was also temporarily lost and regained only in 1922, when after the defeat of the White Russian leader, Ungern Sternberg, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet satellite.

[167] The outcome of the red victory in the civil war in Siberia had the immediate result of bringing a stream of White Russian refugees to the central Asiatic areas. In addition to smaller groups, two White Russian armies retreated into Sinkiang in 1920 and 1921. The number of these troops has been reported as 30,000 to 40,000 men, a much stronger force than the Chinese army of governor Yang Tseng-hsin. In Outer Mongolia, White Russian forces retreating at that time had been able to take over the government, but the Chinese administration of Sinkiang managed to bring the Russian influx into its territory fully under control. Most of the Russian troops let themselves be disarmed and were interned at Kuchengste. Other troops which had retreated to the Altai border region of Russia and Outer Mongolia retained their arms.

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648 The Altai region has been an area of conflict all the more critical because of the potential value of its mineral resources. In imperial time some control had been exerted over part of the area by the Imperial Amban in Kobdo in Outer Mongolia. The border between Chinese and Russian territory was also not clearly delineated, and the Chinese claim that the highest mountain ridge formed the border being at times contested by Soviet Russia. The area was mainly inhabited by Kazakh tribesmen who were closely related to similar groups at the other side of the border in Russian Turkestan. During World War I a number of Kazakhs from the Russian side had moved over into Chinese territory to escape the draft for labor conscription, and no control had been
[563] exerted over these groups. Of all the Turkic people of the province of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs were the most nationalistic and unruly. The attitude of the Kazakh people played, therefore, an important role in the relations between Russia and Chinese Turkestan.

At the critical time, in 1920, when the White Russian influx became a problem, the Chinese governor negotiated with the Soviet authorities an agreement which established friendly relations across the border but at the same time enabled the governor to deal successfully with the problem of White Russian immigrants. He gained a Soviet promise of amnesty for all those White Russians who wanted to return to Russian territory and encouraged as many as he could to go back to Russia, while others continued their journey to China proper. At the same time, he asked for Soviet support in removing the armed White Russians from the Altai region and strengthened the Chinese position in that area by dividing it into regular Chinese districts and sub-district administrations. Connected with this political agreement was a trade agreement in which the Ili valley area was opened to Soviet economic activities. Two soviet consulated were established in this area, in contrast to the seven consulates which the Czarist government had maintained in its last years in Sinkiang. In exchange for the Soviet consulated the Chinese administration was permitted to maintain two consulated in Soviet territory. These consulates were to be established at Semipalatinsk and at Verkhenevelinsk on the border of Outer Mongolia. The agreement also abolished extraterritoriality, and in opening economic relations with the Soviets, Governor Yang gained Soviet release of the property of Chinese merchants in Russian territory which had at first been confisfacted by the new Soviet regime. Through this agreement of 1920 Chinese-Soviet relations were established in Sinkiang long before the beginning of official relations between the government at Peking and the Soviet government and even before the arrangement of Soviet support to Sun Yat-sen at Canton. The agreement of 1920 was broadened by the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1924, signed at Peking, which provided for the opening of additional Soviet

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consulates. Soviet consulates were opened at Chuguchak, at Sharasume in the Altai region, and at Urumchi and at Kashgar in exchange for the opening of Chinese consulates at Tashkent, Andijan, Zaisan, and Alma Ata.

The Chinese administration under Governor Yang thus maintained a very cautious policy of friendly economic relations with the Soviet Union. This policy was continued even after the leaders of the Kuomintang had broken with the Chinese Communists and had sent the Russian advisers home. The economic relations between Turkestan and Soviet territory remained close; the Chinese consul at Semipalatinsk was quoted by Izvesta as stating that Sinkiang had nothing in common with central China and that the commercial as well as the political relations between western China and the friendly republic of the USSR remained unchanged. Even after Governor Yang accepted the nominal authority of the National Government at Nanking, this policy did not change.

From the side of the National Government, however, the first attempts were now made to strengthen the physical link with Sinkiang. These attempts were later to be renewed during and after the years of World War II and led to the building of new communication links, a policy to be continued later by the Chinese Communists.

In 1928 the Sven Hedin expedition was sent by the National Government to explore a new road connection from Inner Mongolia to Chinese Turkestan as well as to investigate the possiblity of using older caravan routes to the south of Qomul. The expedition was treated politely by the Chinese administration but was closely supervised and restricted in its movements. Even so the routes which the Sven Hedin expedition investigated would not have provided a road between Nanking and Sinkiang which would not have been in easy reach of Russian forces based on Outer Mongolia.

V. Foreign Relations under Chin Shu-jen

While Sven Hedin's expedition was still in Sinkiang, the Russian influence was greatly increased when the Chinese administration of the province was changed. Governor Yang was assassinated, and the former chief of the Political Department, Chin Shu-jen, assumed power. The assassination was carried out by Fan Yao-nan, the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, at a feast at which the Soviet consular officials and several other Russian guests were present. The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs was in turn seized and executed by troops under the control of Chin Shu-jen, who himself then became governor. Under Chin's governorship there was soon an opportunity for great expansion of the Russian influence. In 1929 the Russians reputedly began building up Communist Party cells in

175 648 Sinkiang. In 1930 the completion of the Turksib Railroad in Russian Turkestan along the Chinese border enabled Soviet Russia to intensify the exploitation of the Sinkiang economy. Ever since the Russian development of central Asia, the weight of Russian influence had increased and the Chinese National Government lagged behind in its attempt to answer this threat by a new development of the communications between Sinkiang and China.

175 648 669 The greatest increase in Russian influence came as the result of the revolt of the Chinese Moslems, the Tungans, in 1931, who called in as their leader Ma Chung-ying, a Moslem from Kansu who came close to capturing the provincial government. Governor Chin's administration was saved by Soviet Russia, which gave him arms and military support under the pretext that some Japanese had been on Ma's staff, implying that Japanese schemes were endangering Soviet interests in the province, although no proof has ever been brought forward for such Japanese activities. In order to get Russian support, Chin concluded in November, 1931, an agreement with Soviet Russia which was kept secret from the National Government. By this agreement, eight Soviet trade agencies were set up at Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kulja, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Yarkand, and Khotan; the tariff for Soviet products was reduced, and telegraph and radio communications were established with Soviet territory. Chin Shu-jen did not succeed, however, in suppressing the rebellion, and according to one account by a Mr. Tshumabay, then chairman of the GPU mission in Sinkiang, the Soviets, in order to weaken the Chinese military forces, did not at first provide the military support they had promised. When a Moslem force reached the outskirts of the capital of Urumchi, Chin turned over the defense to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, an officer of Manchurian origin. Sheng was placed in command of Chinese troops from Manchuria who had in their fight with the Japanese retreated on to Soviet territory and had been transported by Soviet Russia to Turkestan. Thus from the outset Sheng derived his military power from Russian support. He was substantially supported by another military force recruited from the White Russians living in Urumchi and neighboring cities. Within the ranks of this force could reportedly also be found Red Russian soldiers. When asked about this comradeship-in-arms the White Russians stated to members of the Sven Hedin expedition that there was no difficulty in working together for a common purpose. The equipment of both these forces was provided by the Soviet Union.

With these troops Sheng succeeded in driving off the Moslem attackers. In April, 1935, a coup d'etat by these Russian troops forced the retirement of Governor Chin, who fled to Russian territory and from there returned to China. Sheng Shih-ts'ai became governor and, with the help of Russian war materiel, including

175 648 669 military planes, succeeded in destroying the Moslem forces of Ma Chung-ying who was eventually driven to Kashgar from where in June, 1934, he fled to Soviet territory. All the three leading figures in the struggle for power, Chin Shu--jen, Ma Chung-ying, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai were thus in different ways under Soviet control. Chin had been supported and at the same time handicapped by the Russians who finally permitted him to return to China through their territory. Governor Sheng, his successor, depended from the very beginning on Russian support for his power. And Ma Chung-ying, the defeated aspirant for power, who might have established a closer link with the National Government, entrusted his fate to the Soviet regime. He was reportedly seen in Moscow at the beginning of 1936, but from that time on his fate has remained unknown.

VI. Policy of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175 648 From the outset Sheng Shih-ts'ai was strongly under Russian dominance. Soviet Russia did not only have influence over the locally recruited Russian forces and over the Manchurian troops of Sheng, both equipped with Russian weapons; it also sent a special tank regiment of 3,000 men, the so-called "Altai Volunteers," to be stationed near Komul on the main caravan route from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. This force was stationed in a strategic position ostensibly to guard against any Japanese advance from Inner Mongolia. In practice it also could interfere with any attempt of the Chinese National Government to re-establish its authority over Urumchi. Soviet military advisors supervised the training of the Chinese as well as the Russian troops, and through their influence communists were reputedly introduced also into the officer and private ranks of the Chinese forces. They also trained political commissars for the indoctrination of the Chinese forces. In addition to this control of the forces the Soviet government had a hold over the administration of the province. Two Russians, a Mr. Yuravlev and a Dr. Lapin, held high positions in the civil administration of the province and Russian advisers under the direction of the Russian consul-general had decisive influence in all important departments of government. Many of the Turks employed in the administration were recruited from West Turkestan or Turkic groups living in the Soviet Union. According to Chinese reports (see article by Yolbars Khan "Sinkiang Under the Control of Chinese and Russian Communists," Chung Hua Nien Pao, vol. 4, 1954, pp. 52-55), Governor Sheng was told by the Soviet consul at Urumchi that he had to follow Party orders. This was the time when, after the Sian kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, a united front had been established in China proper for the war of resistance against Japan. During the time

175 648 when this united front continued in operation, in 1937 and 1938, a number of Chinese Communists were brought in who seemed to have worked in close cooperation with the Soviet advisers.

When he came to power, Governor Sheng was given a Soviet loan of five million rubles for reconstruction. For the plans of reconstruction he was provided with Soviet technical advisers. In 1937 Sheng introduced a three-year plan of reconstruction for which he received a further fifteen million rubles in Soviet loans; a second plan was introduced in 1940. These funds were used to build motor roads, among other things, and to introduce a large fleet of Soviet trucks. It was reported that 1,350 miles of telephone lines were installed by 1941. By 1939 twenty factories had been set up in the province and over four hundred tons of Soviet machinery had been imported for the exploitation of oil resources and the establishment of an oil refinery northwest of Urumchi. In november, 1940, Governor Sheng concluded a secret agreement with the Soviet Union which included permission for Soviet Russia to prospect for and exploit tin and other mineral resources in Sinkiang, and which gave Soviet Russia control over the mineral resources of the province. (The text of this agreement was published in 1950 in Formosa and appeared in 1954 in the American Journal of Foreign Affairs, and in November, 1954, in the German newspaper, Ost-Probleme.")

175 648 669 While extending their military and economic influence over the government of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet government attempted to deal separately with a group of Kazakhs in the Ili and Altai regions who had begun in 1940 to work for an autonomy of their region. When some of their leaders were invited to Urumchi and arrested there at the beginning of 1940, the Kazakhs rose in revolt in February of that year. A truce was concluded on May 15, 1940, in which the insurgents agreed to cease fighting provided that no more Russian troops would be brought into their area. But fighting soon broke out again and the Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, succeeded by the end of 1940 in establishing a provisional government in the Ili and Altai region which was called the National Republic of East Turkestan. A Soviet attempt to deal with the government of Osman Batur failed. Osman Batur turned down the Russian offer of arms which was coupled with a request to withdraw his forces from the Altai region and move them to the Ili area. In September 1941, the insurgent leadership split. Abdulaziz Kasim, a leader who was a Soviet citizen, concluded an agreement with the Soviets, while Osman Batur and his followers continued their fight against Soviet troops as well as the forces of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai. At the beginning of 1942, the Soviets brought 23,000 troops into the Altai area but the critical situation in the war with Germany forced the Soviets to discontinue their campaign and to concentrate on the protection of a few bases in Sinkiang.

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648 In the meantime Governor Sheng attempted to end his dependence on Soviet Russia and to turn instead to the National Government. When the pressure of the German advance forced the Soviet government to withdraw most of its forces from Sinkiang, it attempted to maintain its position by disorganizing the Turkestan administration. Aside from the negotiations with the Kazakh rebels, the Soviets made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Governor Sheng when they feared he would seek cooperation with the Chinese National Government. This Russian move precipitated a switch of Sheng's administration to the Chinese side. Sheng drove out his Russian advisers and arrested large numbers of his staff who had been cooperating with the Russians as well as with Chinese Communists who had been brought in through Russian support.

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668 The cooperation between the Soviet representatives in Sinkiang and the Chinese Communists during this time seems to have been close. While the Russian representatives conveyed the policy line as determined in Moscow and provided the military and political power behind it, the Chinese Communists infiltrated Sheng's staff and helped to work out many of Sheng's administrative measures. For instance a currency reform instituted in 1938 was claimed to have been the work of the brother of Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-min who had come to Turkestan with the Chinese Communist group under Russian protection. The Communists also established the Fan-ti-hui, or Anti-Imperialist Association which was used for propaganda and intelligence. When Governor Sheng broke with the Soviets and turned to the National Government, he attempted to eradicate this Chinese Communist group. Mao Tse-min and a number of others, including Governor Sheng's secretary, were executed, and many were imprisoned.

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648 VII. Chinese Nationalist Attempt to Reassert Nationalist Influence

The new active interest which the National Government took in Sinkiang was related to the military situation of the time. The Russian withdrawal was the result of the military defeats brought on Soviet Russia by the Nazi armies which threatened Moscow and forced a concentration of all available Russian troops at the European front. The Chinese National Government could not count on any further Soviet support in its war against Japan, and the further developments in Soviet Russia were uncertain. Even if Soviet Russia could hold out, this seemed an opportune time to eliminate the dangerous Soviet control which was no longer compensated by any military advantage.

The Chinese situation had become still more desperate after Pearl Harbor and the Japanese conquest of the mainland of southeast Asia. Cut off from the supply routes which could bring in

S 175 648 support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Government searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942 on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the N *175 *648 491 supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as a communication link over which large commercial caravans passed for many years, even after the war. This development S 175 648 brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner-Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

S 175 648 While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Chaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand S [167] Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943, and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

175 648 completed by March 1943. Soviet Russia not only withdrew its military forces but also retreated from its economic expoitation of Sinkiang. The Soviets capped the main oil well north of Urumchi and shipped back to Russia all the movable machinery from the oil refineries and the gold, copper, and iron mines which they had set up in Ili, Chuguchak, and in the Altai area, and from the factories they had built in Urumchi and other cities.

This Russian retreat was, however, far from complete. The Soviets maintained their consulates in all the larger cities of Sinkiang with a staff of several hundred people. At these consulates the Russians left military guards. At Urumchi a company of Soviet infantry with a strength of at least four hundred men was left behind to guard the consulate. Other consulates were guarded by units of ten to fifty men each. Other units were left behind to guard the gold, copper, and iron mines in the Ili and Chuguchak regions as well as the oil wells at Wusu and at Urumchi where the valuable machinery that could not be removed was protected by these troops. Soviet troops also continued to guard the airfields at Kulja, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Turfan. In each Soviet consulate the biggest department was the propaganda section. 175 648 208 These departments distributed among Turks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Mongols pamphlets printed in Soviet Russia. Agents of the consulates traveled throughout the province giving out these pamphlets and explaining the contents to the illiterate. The pamphlets gave favorable accounts of the Turkic people within the Soviet Union and contained material on methods of agriculture, irrigation, and animal husbandry. Altogether, the Soviet consulates concentrated more than before on the support and protection of the nationality group who had started to fight the Chinese administration. Although the Soviets did not establish Communist Party cells among these nationality groups, they attempts to infiltrate their leadership. And since Chinese policy aimed at the suppression of this nationality movement, the nationality groups depended on the intervention of the Soviet consulates with the Chinese administration for the protection of the lives of their leaders. In several cases the Soviet representatives prevented execution and in other cases secured the release of imprisoned nationality leaders. As a result the Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs, and Mongols, had to accept the orders of Soviet agents in their dealings with the administration of Governor Sheng.

175 648 VIII. Soviet Efforts to Regain Power in Sinkiang.

By 1944 the defeat of Nazi Germany enabled Soviet Russia to return to an active policy in Sinkiang. The Soviets supported a [669] Kazakh uprising which broke out in the Ili valley on November

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic." These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih=chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor, Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
[563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 648 Turkestan resources by proposing an open trade agreement in November 1946 remained unanswered by the Soviets.

The Chinese attempt to regain control by Chang Chih-chung's policy of negotiation was based on military measures aimed at strengthening the strategic position. Along the whole route from Lanchow to Urumchi, blockhouses were maintained at distances of about twenty miles. And at the same time a new effort was made to open up the route from Ching-hai. The new Moslem governor of the province, Ma Pu-fang, received Nationalist support in his [491] efforts to build a road from Sining along Lake Kokonor towards the Tarim Basin. This road had been driven well past the Kokonor before the Communist victory in 1949. The National Government [701] had also strengthened the military force in Sinkiang. In addition to the six divisions which Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai had left behin, four divisions of Nationalist troops had been sent to the province and two divisions of Ma Pu-fang's cavalry from Chinghai had also been brought in, bringing the total of Chinese forces up to twelve divisions, or about 100,000 men, which have remained there since the Communists took over.

In spite of this military force, Governor Chang Chih-chung did not succeed in transforming the agreements concluded with the Kulja group in 1946 into a working arrangement. He demanded that the reorganization of the forces of the Kulja area should be preceded by acceptance of Chinese control. He also wanted the approval of the Sinkiang Nationalist leaders for the railroad to be built from China into Sinkiang and the acceptance by Sinkiang of the Chinese Nationalist currency. The Sinkiang Nationalist leaders refused these conditions, and in May 1947, Chang Chih-chung resigned as governor and was succeeded by an Uighur, Masud Sabri, who was a compromise candidate acceptable to the Chinese National Government. In July 1947 the Kulja nationalists broke with Masud [669] Sabri and maintained their own autonomous administration under Akmedjan. The situation remained in a deadlock and the Kulja group was reportedly receiving aid for its troops from Soviet Russia. The Kazakh leader, Osman Batur, who had formerly joined the Kulja group, had broken with it on account of the Soviet support and had withdrawn with his own forces to the Altai border region.

To overcome the deadlock with the Turkic Nationalists, the National government agreed in December 1949 to the appointment of one of the Nationalist leaders as governor of the province. This was Burkhan who was by origin a Russian Tatar and a man with whom the Kazakh nationalists were willing to cooperate. In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung flew once more to Sinkiang to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty. But all these moves by the National Government to appease Soviet Russia by economic concessions and to appease theRussian-supported Kulja Nationalists

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
(635) ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in
[668] September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

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648 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and
669 Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists.
668 While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

175 counter-revolutionaries, and pan-Turkestanists" and demanded
668 that the "people of various races" be taught" the spirit of patrio-
669 tism and internationalism." Simultaneously, a large-scale
661 purge was undertaken to liquidate most of the original revolutionary leaders in the three western districts who had not perished in the airplane crash of 1949. These leaders were replaced by Chinese Communist cadres. The new policy was carried through with great bloodshed. According to a statement by Burkhan in January 1952, over 120,000 "people's enemies" had been liquidated. About 60,000 people attempted to flee from Turkestan, of whom only about 35,000 survived and reached safety in other countries. Large number of people were arrested and used as forced labor among the construction works introduced by the Chinese Communists under Russian guidance. Bollowing this purge, a re-education campaign was carried on by "friendship delegation from Peking, and in the words of the New China News Agency: "It was only after all this that the entire Kazakh people returned to the fold of the fatherland." (See Allen S. Whiting, 'Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang," Far Eastern Survey, January 1956, vol. 25, no. 1.)

175 This policy was carried through with the backing of Russian
648 troops as well as the Chinese Communist troops of the First
668 Army Corps which had moved in after 1949. At the time of the
669 Korean war, some of the Chinese troops were withdrawn
661 for Korea, and the Russian forces were reportedly increased from 50,000 to 70,000 men. They were garrisoned along the northern route at each important point.

These Russian troops have thus helped substantially in the suppression of the Turkic nationalism which Soviet Russia had formerly built up and equipped against the Chinese Nationalists. Once before, in 1942, when Soviet Russia partly withdrew from Sinkiang, these nationalists had been left at the merch of the Chinese administration. Many had been arrested and executed, although the Soviet consular officials had continued to intervene on the behalf of some of these nationalist leaders. In 1949, however, the movement was crushed and its very motivation was attacked. Only those leaders survived who were willing to cooperate fully with the new Communist line.

175 Although the Russians gave full support to the Chinese Communists
648 in their reconquest of Sinkiang, the potential remained for Sino-
668 Soviet rivalry over control in Sinkiang. For the economic development of the province, the Chinese Communists remained dependent on Russian equipment and on Russian technicians. In the Sino-Soviet treaty of February, 1950, the two governments agreed on the establishment in Sinkiang of joint Sino-Soviet stock companies for exploitation of oil and non-ferrous metals in the province. The Soviet control of these companies indicated the political importance of

175 the Soviet economic stake in Sinkiang.
648 Over the next years, the strength of the Chinese Communist
668 government increased within the Soviet-Chinese relationship. The treaty of 1950, concluded by Mao Tse-tung in Moscow after lengthy haggling, was replaced in December 1954 by a new treaty concluded at the occasion of a visit of Krushchev and Mikoyan in Peking. Among other concessions, this new treaty provided for the liquidation of the Soviet shares in the former joint stock companies. Nevertheless some element of Soviet control remained since the Soviet shares were to be repaid through deliveries of raw materials and other commodities from Turkestan. The whole industrial and communications development of the province which was to be rapidly expanded under the Chinese Communist Five Year Plans depended also on Soviet economic and technical assistance. Most important, Soviet Russia has reportedly kept possession of the atomic energy center at Mirgrad in the T kla Makan Desert and has through the maintenance of military forces full control over the exploitation of uranium deposts in the Altai region where a large number ofRussians, estimated by one observer to be as large as 80,000, has been reported.

648 On the other hand, a recent British correspondent (New York
668 Times, August 13, 1956, p. 9) has reported that throughout the region "up to the Soviet borders, the direct control of the Central Government on development plans and on political life is everywhere apparent. There are Soviet advisers and experts and plenty of Soviet machinery, but no more than in other parts of China, and the over-riding impression is that China is in complete charge.

"Peking's orders stretch into the remotest villages, where the ever-present cadres and Party members are kept in constant touch with the capital through provincial committees. Nowhere is there any external evidence ofSoviet influence outside the technical sphere."

This observation of a Chinese Communist administration directed from Peking does not necessarily exclude consideration of Russian military and economic decisions for Sinkiang by the Chinese policy-makers in Peking. Nor does it exclude the possibility of conflict in the districtuion of the Turkestan resources between the Soviet and Chinese Communist economies, especially in the case of the uranium exploitation at present obviously in Soviet hands. The railroad from Lanchow to Aktogai in Russian
[496] Turkestan, which in 1956 has been pushed beyond the Yumen oil fields in Kansu, is the most important physical link between the two economies but is also a highway for a vast and growing stream of young Chinese immigrants who are brought in to work on the oil fields, the railroads, and the construction of new towns and factories. This movement, which is aimed at filling up the

648 thinly populated area with a Chinese population, is the most
668 important factor in the reassertion of Chinese control. The Chinese link with Turkestan is also not limited to the railroad under construction which will run along the old caravan route via Qomul, Urumchi, to the Soviet border. In addition the
[491] Chinese Communists follow the policy of the National Government
[496] in the construction of road and railroad connections through the Tsaidam Basin. This area is reportedly also to be developed by Communist China into a new key industrial center in central Asia. Oil and mineral resources are claimed to exist in abundance. The Tsaidam region is farther away from the Soviet or Outer Mongolian border than is the main railroad line and it provides a position in depth in the Chinese Communist connection with Sinkiang. In its advance into central Asia, the Chinese Communist regime seems to follow the main strategic considerations which had been observed by previous Chinese governments

With the shrinking distances and the means of modern industrial development, the importance of Sinkiang with its rich natural resources has vastly increased. There is at the moment no indication of any hitch in the Soviet-Chinese cooperation in the province. But should any conflict evolve between these Communist organizations, Sinkiang must, by the very reason of its geographic location and economic importance, become one of the decisive areas of conflict.

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SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

*175 669 The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition *175 *668 648 that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

*563 578 In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

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175 Moslems were rising in China Proper, a descendant of the Khojas
669 was able to move from Khokand eastward into Sinkiang. By 1865
648 he ruled Kashgar and Yarkand. Soon, his chief of staff, Yakub
668 Beg, replaced him and conquered the rest of Chinese Turkestan. Helped by foreign aid and diplomatic recognition, Sinkiang remained independent and under Moslem rule for over a decade. After the death of Yakub Beg in 1877 and the recapture of Sinkiang by Tso Tsung-t'ang, the dream of a great Turkic Empire, extending from the Caspian to the western frontier of China, continued to exist. Turanism (Pan Turkism or Pan Turkistanism) gradually came to acquire the ideological formulations of modern nationalism.

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175 A Moslem uprising of proportions dangerous to the Chinese
669 government broke out in 1931 under the leadership of Ma Ch'ung-
648 ying, who led an army of Chinese Moslems from Kansu into Sinkiang. His defeat in 1934 by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was partly due to the aid of Russia. It regarded Ma as a collaborator and advance scout of the Japanese whose invasion of Central Asia seemed imminent.

S
175 The most recent example of an anti-Chinese uprising culmin-
669 ated in 1944 in the establishment at Kulja of the "Eastern Turkistan
668 Republic." Unlike previous purely Moslem uprisings, the Kulja movement was an expression of "coalition nationalism," and it
S attempted to unite all the non-Chinese of Sinkiang. The Kulja
[646] government was headed by a council made up of an Uighur, a Kazakh, and a "White" Russian. In the years that followed until the victory of the Chinese Communists, there were alternate periods of fighting, negotiations and near co-existence between the National Government and Kulja. The insurgents' chief demand was for autonomy and self-government, rather than for complete independence from China. Agreements, guaranteeing cultural freedoms and substantial independence in the administration of the local government, were made but were never really carried out. In 1947, Masud Sabri, a wealthy Uighur landlord, became Chairman of Sinkiang, the first non-Chinese to hold that position. But as he was considered by many members of the Kulja Government to be an agent of the C. C. Clique and the National Government, the movement split for and against him, and a new deadlock was created. In December, 1948, Masud Sabri was replaced by Burkhan at a time when no assembly was in session to accept or reject him. It is difficult to know to what degree the Kulja Government had been swayed by Communist or Soviet Russian influence. Only one thing was certain - the government was strongly anti-Chinese. But with the Communist victory, the entire provincial government of Sinkiang turned to the new regime and a completely new situation emerged.

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*668 Thus, there have been two major types of independence movements in the Northwest, one purely Moslem and the other seeking

*668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yenan, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

*668 177 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime

With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[167] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced, [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

*668 cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously
177 caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated.
[166] Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities
669 While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

*668 and are closer to the Chinese capital. Thus they are more easily
669 controlled than Sinkiang with its largely non-Chinese population and its remoteness which always have posed a greater problem to Chinese administrators. It is probably safe to say that a certain amount of subversion does exist in the Northwest and that a certain amount of truth underlies the Communist accusations.

In their methodical way, the Communists have divided "counter-revolutionaries" into five groups: former Nationalist forces, local forces under Osman Batur, Mohammed Imin Bogllah, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan, White Russians, members of secret societies, and bandits. Aside from the more basic incompatibilities between
*668 Communism and the traditional ways of life, the present situation
578 gives rise to continual cause for complaints and disappointments.
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1. "Great Hanism" and "narrow nationalism"

Apparently, the old grievance against Han domination in the affairs of the Northwest has not been remedied. The Communist Party of Sinkiang, for instance, is still headed by Wang En-mao, a Chinese who has held this high position for many years. (CNA No. 113). On the next lower levels also, cadres holding responsible positions usually are Chinese. It has been estimated that only one-third of the people working in the Party Committees are native born and the rest are Chinese (Ibid.). In the field of trade and commerce, in the agencies handling the exploitation of local products, about 63% of the employees are Chinese.

668 The Communist leaders have continually condemned a policy encouraging "Great Hanism." However, they are still more afraid of "narrow nationalism"- a nationalism that eventually may lead to a separatist movement. In an article written by Burkhan, Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, this theme is elaborated at great length. The ideas of Pan Turkestanism and Pan Islamism are shown to be completely imperialist. Discussing the differences between progressive and reactionary national movements, Burkhan comes to the conclusion that Pan Turkestanists and Pan Islamists are reactionary "in that they were all lackeys of American and British imperialism and the traitors." However, the Kulja movement, "formed a part of the general movement of the revolution of the Chinese people, being arrayed on the side of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union." He concludes that "at this juncture, any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese People's Republic for independence will be reactionary, since, objectively considered, it would undermine the interests of the various races and particularly the foremost majority of the race concerned, and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism.... for any movement, the prerequisites, time and locale should be coordinated, and what has been regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time." Thus it

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

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*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
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*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

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G. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

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*668 Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
669 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.

[668] 2. Formosa

[669] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Com-
[648] munist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

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PROPAGANDA

I. The Aims of Propaganda

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The power of the Communist party, in China as elsewhere, is built upon numerous factors, but three are outstanding, namely, its organization, (including its secret police), its military forces, and its propaganda. Propaganda is used to promote military conquest as well as organizational expansion, while both military forces and organization are used to back up propaganda. Every Communist Party member is required to do his share of propaganda. Little propaganda is not originated and directed by the Party organization.

Before the Communists assume political control, propaganda is used to infiltrate and soften the spiritual fortification of the Party's enemies. After conquest of an area, propaganda is used to promote the Party's governmental program and policies. Propaganda is part of the program to maintain voluntary discipline. Positively, it is necessary to propagate and explain the policies and opinions of the Party to the public; negatively, it is necessary to stop and hit back at the "propaganda and rumor" that are "mistaken and reactionary."

Furthermore, in the effort of building a propaganda network, the Communists expect to have accomplished something other than just propaganda. The party requires the propaganda workers to set good examples for the public. It also expects the propagandists to train more people to carry on its propaganda program. Theoretically, a good propagandist shall believe in what he says, and a good believer shall be a good man of action to carry out what he believes. By the continuous training and growth in the number of the propagandists, the Party gets more and more of its work done.

II. The Propaganda Organization

A. The Reporter

The network of propaganda is built around the Communist Party. At each level of the Party organization, from the province down to the ch'u (district below county), a responsible member, many times the Party secretary, is assigned as a reporter. He is responsible for making constant, systematic reports of current events, Party policy, work assignments and work experiences. At least once every two months, each reporter makes a political report to mass meetings and to the representative meetings of the local people. The title and the outline of contents are decided or approved beforehand by the Party secretary at the related level. The result of the report also is reported to the same secretary. Some of these reports are selected and published in local newspapers by

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the related provincial or local Party committees.

B. Propagandists

1. Selection and methods

Besides the official reporter, every branch of the Party organization selects a number of Party members, youth corps members, model laborers and other revolutionary activists to be propagandists. These propagandists should have the willingness to lead in labor productivity and other work as well as the ability to promote propaganda. They may choose one or several of the following methods to carry out their work:

1) personal conversations
2) passing around information
3) reading newspapers for others
4) receiving and spreading People's radio broadcasts
5) writing and painting propaganda pictures, articles, etc.
6) editing wall newspapers.

The appointment of the propagandists is checked by the Party branch committee and approved by the Party organization at the level higher. Party and Youth Corps secretaries, committee members who have working relations with the public (such as: labor union workers, cooperative workers, village workers, school teachers, staff members of public educational institutions, wall newspaper editors (etc...) all should be propagandists.

2. Activities

At least once a month, the propagandists of a Party branch gather together to receive guidance from above and to discuss current work. They should also reflect the conditions of the public. This kind of meeting occurs not more than once a week. Once a month, the county (or city) Party committee calls a joint meeting of the Party branch secretaries or a representative meeting of the propagandists or a rally of all the propagandists in the area. The Party secretary of the county (or city) makes a report on current events and missions. Then he leads the group in checking the propaganda work of the past month and in discussing the future propaganda work of the coming month. In case of difficulties of transportation, this kind of meeting may be called by the district Party committee which directs the branch Party propaganda work. In the rural areas, the district Party committee establishes the system of propaganda transfer stations. By this system, the district Party committee members regularly, but separately, call in the propagandists or representatives of the propagandists of several Party branches to the stations where the contents and methods of propaganda are taught. There they also distribute and explain the propaganda materials.

3. Instruction and program

The Party committees of all levels constantly furnish the propa-

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gandists with instructions and materials. Party newspapers and publications at all levels regularly publish discussions about the propagandists as well as about their work. The Party schools and training classes at all levels offer courses on propaganda. When possible, they establish short courses to train propagandists.

Since the Party formulates the whole propaganda program, it organizes and utilizes in the program all the so-called democratic parties and people's organizations as well as the workers in the People's government, People's Liberation Army and cultural, educational and artistic circles. The provincial and city Party committees, according to local conditions, plan a definite program of propaganda once every half year. Upon the approval by the related central committee sub-bureau, this program is put into practice and checked regularly.

C. Basic Organizational Units

1. Outlets

The basic organizational units of propaganda are:

1) newspaper reading groups
2) blackboard newspapers
3) radio receiving groups
4) megaphone units
5) propaganda groups
6) propaganda teams
7) current event study groups.

Above these basic units, the work of an area is supervised and coordinated by a committee; in rural areas, it is the cultural and educational committee; in the city, the propaganda committee; in the factories and mines, the labor union's cultural and educational committee; in the schools, the propaganda and educational committee of the students' association. These committees, together with the secretary of the local Party branch committee and the Party propaganda head, are used as nuclei around which is built the local propaganda net, which absorbs all the local school teachers, propaganda workers of the local government and people's organizations.

2. Committees

The missions of these committees are threefold: first, they guide the local propaganda activities according to the program decided by the Party. Secondly, they insure accuracy in the political interpretation of the propaganda. Thirdly, they help the organization and consolidation of the propaganda groups among the masses. In order to achieve these purposes, these committees need to build the necessary working system of meeting, report, investigation, appraisal and criticism. According to incomplete statistics, in December, 1951, there were 85,000 propagandists in northwest China.

III. Functions of Propaganda System

*668 208 A. Sounding Board

This propaganda network has another important function. It also checks public opinion and relays it to the Party. Every propagandist is supposed to report back not only what he has said but also what the public has said to him. Since the Communist Party has control of all newspapers, radio broadcast programs and other means of public information, there is no other way of knowing the true feelings of the people. Thus, the propaganda machine is utilized to sound out public opinion, in order to better deal with the public.

Furthermore, the propaganda machine is fluid and can be used as a weapon in every field. (For the details, see the Propaganda section of the General Handbook).

B. Work with National Minorities

*668 659 *563 1. "Central People's Government Mission to National Minorities of Northwest"

Besides the regular propaganda organizations, special groups and teams have been sent at various times to different areas. For instance, in 1950 the Communists sent a "Central People's Government Mission to the National Minorities in the Northwest." The chief of the mission was Shen Chun-ju, the deputy chiefs were Sa K'ung-liao and Ma Yu-kwei. The mission visited Panchan Lama on November 1, at Kumbum monastery in Chinghai. There they also attended a welcome meeting of 12,000 people of all the nationalities in Chinghai. The Panchan Lama presented Shan, Sa and Ma with katag, consisting of silk woven portraits of Buddha, the most precious gift to the Tibetans (obviously these were specially made, usually there is no portrait of Buddha), and expressed his profound respects for, and gratitude to, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "At the welcome meeting to the mission at Sining city on November 2, representatives of seven nationalities in Chinghai submitted to Chairman Mao a katag consisting of a silk banner more than 10 geet in length, inscribed with words in the Chinese, Arabic and Tibetan languages, stating: "Most Respected and Honored Chairman Mao; under your glorious banner, we have achieved equality, mutual assistance, love and unity." On the top of the banner there were attached 8 national flags of China and the portrait of Mao, at the bottom were paintings of the people of the seven nationalities in the province. (NCNA, November 4, 1950).

Of course, these activities greatly impressed the local people. This same mission in different groups visited Ninghsia and Sinkiang.

*668 658 In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest. Many of those so indoctrinated were organized into groups and sent

*668 658 to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to factories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

*668 658 *563 a. To minority areas

There was another form of propaganda team which included well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the Northwest Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by Hsia-jih-tseang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien, Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang, offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the [576] Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu, were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of Labrang. Similar organisations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

*668 658 *563 484 Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minority groups, the local minority people were also organized and transported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits. There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationalities: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien, Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
*563 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
794 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

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4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

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The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

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A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

*668 796 656 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

B. Guided Tours

*668 484 648 618 *563 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 208 876 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:

"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'unchung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

*668 208 The subject changes as the Party moves from one campaign to another. For instance, in Northwest China the first stage emphasized the destruction of organized resistance and the establishment of the Communist Government. About the time that the editorial of Jen-min jih-pao, Peiping, November 14, 1950, declared that "a comprehensive and far-reaching propaganda campaign should be carried out beforehand so as to enable the masses to gain a true understanding of the significance, functions and the way of the convening the chu people's representatives' conference" in Sining, Chinghai, "the Central People's Government Mission to the Northwest...convened three forum meetings of representatives of Tibetan, Mongolian, Turk, Moslem, Salar and Kazakh nationalities, and personages of all circles in Sining, and visited the mosque at the East Gate of Sining and the Chinghai Nationalities House..."

2. Resist-America, Aid-Korea and related movements

After the Communists participated in the Korean War and when the U.N. was discussing the case against Red China, an anti-Austin (chief U.S. delegate to the U.N. at the time) Rally" was held at Sian, Shensi. It promoted the Resist-America, Aid-Korea movement as well as the three self (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) movement of the Chinese Christian churches. In January, 1951, there came the first wave of attacks against the religious group I-Kuan-Tao. In 1952, there were the three anti and five anti-movements. About the same time, a movement for production-increase was launched.

3. Agricultural tax campaign

*668 651 When the new agricultural tax system came into force in June, 1952, the propaganda gave unreserved priase of the new tax and cursed the old regime. It is a good example of the Communist propaganda:

"New minimum tax rate is 7 per cent. For the majority of peasants, the rate will range from 11 to 15 per cent. Exemptions or tax reductions will be given those having economic difficulties arising from calamities, lack of manpower or disabilities and to families of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea and Chinese People's Liberation Army men. The new system is based on average annual agricultural income of every member of a family.

This new tax system is in sharp contrast to multifarious taxes under the Kuomintang regime. At that time peasants on an average paid from 30 to 60 per cent of what was left to them in taxes to the Kuomintang government after paying 50 to 80 or even 90 per cent of their harvest to landlords as rent." (NCNA, Peking, June 20, 1952. See section Agriculture of General Handbook for an evaluation of the actual tax burden.)

Judging by the above paragraph, the peasants under the Nationalists (Kuomintang) paid as high as 90 per cent of their harvest to

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*668 the landlord as rent and 60 per cent of what was left to the government as tax. If these figures were true, then the peasants were
651 receiving only 4 per cent of what they harvested. Furthermore, at the most, the Nationalist Government had taxed the peasants only 6 per cent of their harvest while the minimum tax of the Communists is 7 per cent of the farmers' total annual agricultural income.

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*668 4. Achievements of Communist government

After the Communist government had existed for a while, the propaganda emphasized the achievement of the Communist regime. A good example is the article written by Liu Ke-p'ing, Deputy-Director of Commission of Nationalities Affairs of the Central People's Government, concerning "The achivements of the Nationality works during the past three years." In this article he listed the following achievements:

1) The establishment of the autonomous districts
2) The participation of the minorities in the government
3) The training and education of local cadres
4) The sending of Chinese cadres to work among the minorities
5) The establishment of state trading agencies in the minority areas
6) The gradual promotion of land reform among the minorities
7) The gradual change in the feudal relations between the owner and helpers among minority herdsmen
8) The improvements in public health among the minorities
9) The establishment of schools in Sinkiang and other areas where the minorities live
10) The help given to the minorities to create or improve their written languages
11) The printing and distribution of books and periodicals in minority languages
12) The radio broadcasts in minority languages
13) The study and improvements made on the traditional dances and music of the minority groups
14) The organization of the Chinese Islamic Association to honor the customs, habits and religious faith of the minority groups
15) Visiting groups sent to the national minorities from the Communist government and those organized among the minorities to visit Peking and inland China. (The Great Achievements in the People's Republic of China during the Past Three Years, (Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-he-kuo San-nien-lai-te Wei-ta Ch'eng-chiu, Jen min Ch'u-pan-she, ed. Peking 1952, Dec.) p. 37. The article was written on September 13, 1952.)

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668 Propaganda along this same line can be found in Burhan's articles on "The great achievements made in People's Sinkiang during the past three years" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953

S 668 and "The achievements in political and judicial work in Sinkiang in the past five years," also in Sinkiang Jih-pao, September 30, 1954, and numerous others.

N +668 5. Other campaigns

Besides the above, special propaganda campaigns as well as routine ones have been launched throughout the years. In the Northwest, at least the following campaigns took place:

1) "The march to wipe out illiteracy" in July, 1952
2) The three anti- and five anti- movements in 1952
3) The start of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953
4) The calling of People's Congresses and the establishment of the Constitution, 1953-54
5) Finishing the land reform missions in agricultural areas of Sinkiang, 1953
6) The practice of minority autonomy, 1953
7) The increase of production and the austerity movement, 1953
8) The strengthening education as a whole and training minority cadres in particular movement, 1953
9) The denunciation of the U.S.-Chiang Joint Defense Pact (over Formosa) in 1955
10) The criticism of capitalistic ideas among the peasant Party members in Shensi in 1955
11) The signature movement against the use of the atomic bomb, in 1955
12) The suppression of counter-revolutionary movements at various times
13) The killing sparrows movement in 1955 (Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien pao, December 24, 1955. Because of the extreme shortage of food, the Communists started to pay attention to all birds, rodents, insects and worms that might consume food. They singled out a few, including sparrows, as targets of campaigns. In this case, the movement started in Kansu and spread to the whole nation.)

S 668 533 539 B. The Content

The flavor of the contents can be sampled in the following paragraphs:

1) A praising song used by a Sinkiang group:

You, Giant Mao Tse-tung,
Brought freedom to the people
You, Hero Mao Tse-tung,
Brought brightness to the people
You, Father Mao Tse-tung,
Saved the suffering people.
In the past we were ill-treated
And had no interest to produce;

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Now we have emerged to be honored,
And happily we produce;
From now on we will never be suppressed by the enemies again.
In the beautiful garden there appear the dawn and spring,
The sun appears in the east;
The people blessedly sing:
With only one heart and only one will,
To follow the Communist Party forever.
(Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1953, No. 15, p. 27.)

2) Another song for the minorities:
When my heart thinks of Mao Tse-tung,
The sun turns red at midnight;
When my eyes see Mao Tse-tung,
The dark mountain paths open wide;
When my mouth talks about Mao Tse-tung,
My fatigue gone, I work day and night;
When my fellow-travellers mention Mao Tse-tung,
My thousand-pound burden suddenly becomes light. (Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 2, p. 30: "All the Nationalities sing about Chairman Mao".)

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VI. The Effect and Influence of Propaganda

A. Factors Contributing to Success

As a whole, the propaganda program of the Communists has been successful. The success is mainly due to the fact that the Communists have completely shut off all other sources of information. They are the only ones to provide news. Moreover, the repetition, the persistency, the thoroughness and the dead seriousness of the Communists make it hard for people to disbelieve. This is especially true of the youth. The effect of the Communist propaganda is clearly illustrated in the following examples:

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1) My name is Ahbuduzheyimu Tsake. I am a Young Pioneer of Uighur nationality. I am 14 years old and attending the first grade of the No. 2 Teacher's School in Tihua. My father is a blacksmith. Before the liberation my family was so poor that we could not get enough money to buy food or clothes...when Sinkiang was liberated the sunshine of the era of Mao Tse-tung began to illuminate every town, every village and every pasture north and south of Tienshan Mountain. My father became much more enthusiastic about his work and life in our family became better and better.... In January, 1950, several schoolmates and I were admitted to the ranks of the Young Pioneers. From then on I made up my mind to study hard, to build up my body and to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. (New China

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through her children's eyes, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953, pp. 49-50.)

2) In the 2nd district of P'i-shan County in Sinkiang, there were a large portion of the farmers thinking that since the land they received from the Communists before was taken back by the Communists for redistribution in the land reform, there is no guarantee that the land they received this time will not be taken away from them at a later date. Hence, quite a number of them were not anxious to prepare for the spring ploughing. After the propaganda work of the members of the Party and the Youth Corps, these peasants learned that the lands they had received before were only given on a temporary basis. The lands they got through land reform are really theirs now. This propaganda dissolved the peasants' mistaken thoughts and doubts.... For instance, before the doubts were dispelled, peasant T'u-ta-a-hung slept in his room all the day long instead of going out to cultivate the land. Now he is working hard on his land and even refuses to rest at noon time. (Sinkiang jih-pao, April 8, 1953.)

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B. Factors not Contributing to Success

1. Sporadic nature of campaigns

However, these successes do not indicate that the Communist propaganda program has been carried out without exceptions. As early as 1949, some writers who were responsible for manufacturing propaganda found it difficult to praise the new regime. Then when propaganda became a part of the huge Party machine in the newly-conquered mainland, it developed other problems. At first, the movements were sporadic and geared to deadlines. Whenever the Party leader decided to promote a certain program, the rank and file had to work day and night to promote the theme. Once the interest changed, the whole program would be abruptly dropped and a new program would be rushed to fit the new propaganda purpose. This was criticized by the Communists themselves:

"In September, 1953, Mr. Jen....wrote a short article ridiculing several bureaucratic persons who did not consider seriously letters sent in by the people. He mailed it to a newspaper... After one month, the newspaper editor returned his manuscript with the following comment:

'The central propaganda mission concerning the serious handling of people's letters is over now....Therefore we sent your honorable manuscript back to you...'

To the surprise of the editor, on November 4th, Jen-min jih-pao published an editorial: 'Push one step forward in the work of handling letters sent in by the people'. Then all of a sudden the editorial department of that newspaper wrote to comrade Jen,

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

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2. Over-repetition

No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

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"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

*668 533 545 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing, We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16, August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 536 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine. The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 178 VII. Conclusion

A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

The situation resembles an
*668 old Chinese story which was translated recently by the Chinese
178 Communists:
589 "There was a man who made shields and spears. 'Buy my shields,' he would say. 'They are very strong. Nothing in the world can penetrate them!'
He also lauded his spears, saying: 'My spears are the sharpest in the world. They are so sharp they can pierce anything!'
One day someone asked him: 'If we use one of your spears to pierce one of your shields, what then?'
The man from the land of Chu could find no answer." (China Reconstructs, December, 1955, p. 25.)

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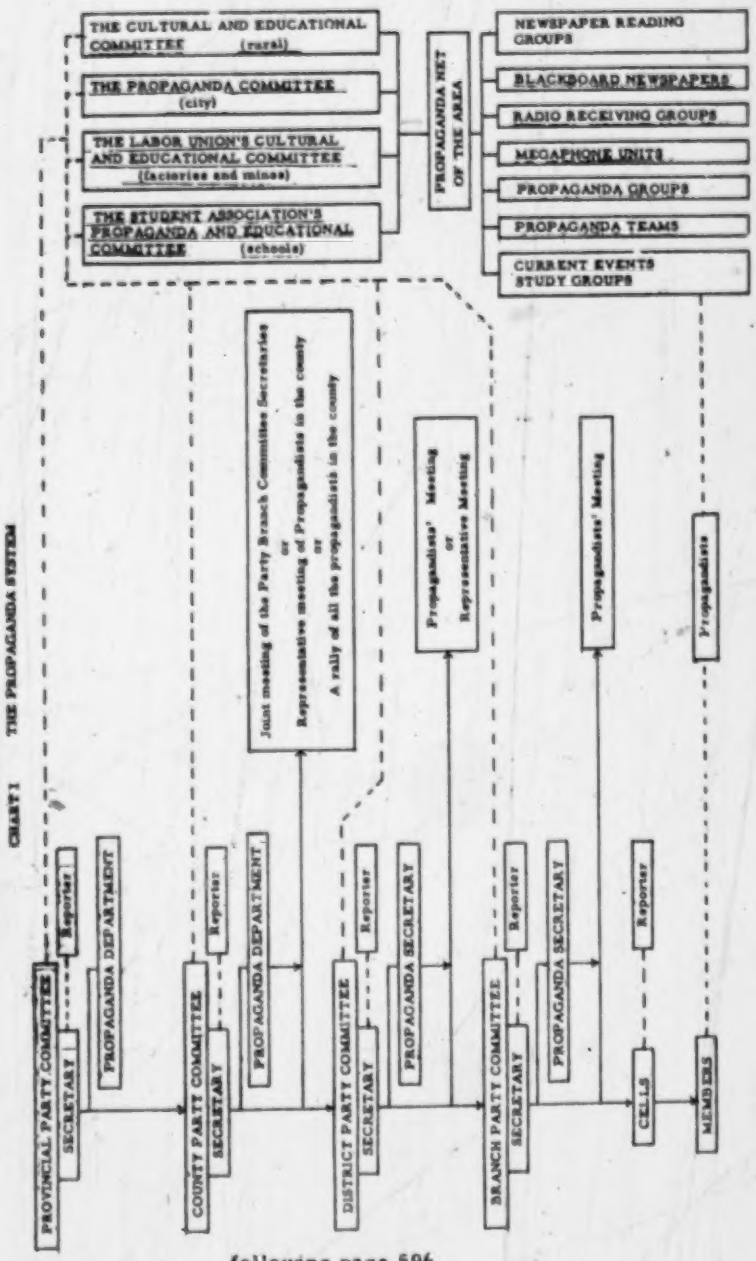

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Sinkiang AI1

BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

Burkhan Shahidi
Chinese name: Pao-erh-han

159 Burkhan was the last governor of Sinkiang under the Nationalist Government, and the first governor of Sinkiang under the Communist regime. He is a Uighur, born in 1894 at Aqsu, Sinkiang. In 1912 he went to Berlin, Germany, and in 1916 was graduated from the University of Berlin specializing in economics and political science. Following his return from Germany, he took different positions in the local government in Sinkiang. Under the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen (1927-1933) he was in charge of foreign affairs. Later he was sent to Germany again to investigate political and economic conditions. Under the administration of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, for some time, he served as commissioner in the Altai (A-shan) region. In 1937 he was appointed by the Nationalist Government as the consul to Saizan, Soviet Central Asia. When he returned home the next year he was accused by Governor Sheng as a German spy and was imprisoned for seven years until the end of 1944, when Governor Sheng was relieved of his governorship.

159 669 631 In the early stages of the Sinkiang disturbances, which lasted from 1944 to 1949, Burkhan played a rather insignificant role. Under the administration of Governor Wu Chung-hsin, 1944-1945, he served as deputy commissioner for civil affairs, and later as the political commissioner of the first region. When the Sinkiang disorders developed to such an extent that the Central government had to send a special representative, General Chang Chih-chung, to Sinkiang with the hope of settling the differences between the rebellious tribes in Ining and the so-called Youth Corps of Eastern Turkestan, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as Governor of Sinkiang in 1946, and Burkhan was appointed as one of the lieutenant governors.

The Sinkiang situation continued to develop from bad to worse. Unable to solve the complicated problem, Chang Chih-chung in 1947 recommended Maksud Sabri (Mai-ssu-wu-te) a member of the Kuomintang and a minority leader in Sinkiang, for governor. In May 1947 the Central government appointed Maksud in the hope that he, being a native, could better handle the situation. Rebellious forces, however, aimed their attack at Maksud. At this crucial time, Burkhan suggested to Chang [648] Chih-chung, who was still political chief for the Nationalist Government in the Northwest, that the only possible way to settle the Sinkiang problem and improve relations between Sinkiang and the Soviet Union was to remove General Sung Hsi-lien,

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159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
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[458] become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of economic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.
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159 In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
668 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
669 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalis-
631 simo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

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In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
*[668] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist gen-
[669] eral, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

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159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
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[643] 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.
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159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist
159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

159 Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.
*668
631 Chang Chia-fu

Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung

See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist

A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader

[565] A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to cooperate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League

Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

159 Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in
#668 Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one
631 of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Pang-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

[701] Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade in the 133rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected as alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army under P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In 1950 she became a member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, the People's Supervisory

159 Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.
*668
631 Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party
A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official
Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery.1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official
Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

159 Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer
*668 Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated
701 from a surveying school; joined the army and became a com-
631 manding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng, Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A., joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

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159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

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159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
*668 Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
631 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

S
159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
668 Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
631 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi, member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

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Feng Chung-ju: Communist

A man of Shensi Province. Served as commanding officer of supplies of the People's Liberation Army; 1949-53, mayor of the People's Government of Sian, and member of the People's Government Committee of Shensi Province. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and mayor of Sian. 1954, member of Shensi Provincial Government Council.

Han Chao-e: Third Party member, politician

Born in 1890's in Shensi Province; graduated from Peiping Normal University; a teacher for some years. 1936, served Yang Hu-cheng and was involved in the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian; magistrate of Ch'ang-an County in Shensi. 1937, personal representative of General Sun Wei-ju to Chungking; member of the Political Consultative Conference; member of the Democratic League. Fled to Hongkong in 1948. 1949, chairman in charge of party reorganization for the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party in Peking; delegate of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party to the People's Political Consultative Council in Peking, appointed member of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Central People's Government. In the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, in which he was a member, he served on the Political and Legal Commission and was vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission. Since 1951, he was also vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi and director of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Shensi People's Government, positions he retained even after the elections of 1954.

Although not a member of the CCP, Han has served the Communists well by his efforts in furthering Communist line and policies in the mass organizations. He is a reserve member in the executive committee of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party.

Han belongs to one of the many small third parties which took part in the Communist regime in Peking. Hence his prominence in the new regime is chiefly because he is a member of a third party. Since the Communist Government is a coalition government in theory, Han's role in such a government is emphasized. Another reason for Han's success in acquiring a high position in the People's Government was that the Communist policy planners emphasize the use of natives in the local government. Thus it is only logical for Han, native of Shensi, to become a vice-chairman of his provincial government.

Hou, Wai-lu

See China General Handbook

Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist

159 Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Commun-
*668 ist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged "soldier
631 rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shansi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of the Constitution Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to be commander in chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer

159 Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding
*668 officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun
701 under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy com-
631 mander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1941, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

159 Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Govern-
*668 ment of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the
701 lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abol-
[631] ished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

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*668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered
[792] one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.
159 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Cen-
*668 tral Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

159 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-
*668 jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to
792 editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of
554 Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

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Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a tribute from Communist authorities.

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Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer

A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

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Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother, Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

[631]
Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

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Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official

Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

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159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
[70]
[631] Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member
S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
*668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
[656] tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma
Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the im-
648 portance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the
669 Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense
[631] of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

159 701 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the [648] Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 635 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia. 159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining [579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind [701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur- [648] rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 669 * 668 When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

159 munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in
*668 Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Adminis-
631 trative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the
*668 local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

159 Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this
614 area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei
635 and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[70] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[2076] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
771 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment
635 toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
701 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways
631 in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at
635 the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that province. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

159 Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley,
631 comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thou-
635 sand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this re-
[185] gion he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs; to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

159 His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally
669 ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

159 Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the North-
631 west Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's
635 Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

159 Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to
*668 the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

159 The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United
*668 Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
[635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

159 At the same time the Pei-t'a-
669 shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian
635 invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began
668 their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopeless-
(648) ness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist
648 A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940,
669 opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

S 159 648 669 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the government of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

N 159 Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period, 1937-1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

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When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

N 159 631 Pai Ju-ping: Communist

A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

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159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was transferred as ambassador to India.

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159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

159 trative Council, he became vice-chairman of the council. In the
668 province of Sinkiang, he was from 1950 to 1955 vice-chairman of
631 the provincial People's Government, director of the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Provincial People's Government, and commander of the Fifth Army. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the first session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee, which did the ground work in preparing the establishment of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region. In October 1955, when the SUAR was formally inaugurated, he was elected the chairman, but after a month, for reasons unknown, he resigned and Burkhan Shahidi again became chairman.

Saifuddin's membership in the Chinese Communist Party was disclosed in 1950, but he may have been an undercover agent before. He served as the fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP (later reorganized as the Sinkiang Committee) from 1950.

In the mass organizations, Saifuddin is chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and he was also a member of the national committee of the China Peace Committee, an organization formed to carry out the Resist-America-Aid-Korea campaign. Since December 1954 he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

159 Saifuddin's rise to recognition started from the revolt at Ili
668 in 1944 when the so-called People's Committee for the Republic
[669] of Eastern Turkestan was organized in opposition to the provincial government of Sinkiang and also to the Nationalist Government. Saifuddin was appointed Minister of Education at that time and was also in charge of the Youth Corps. By January 1945 the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally established. Saifuddin was one of the lieutenants of Akmedjan Kasimi, a leader in the Ili coalition, who in 1948 organized his supporters into the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, and became editor of its organ, The Progressive Daily. When Akhmedjan and two others were killed in a plane crash en route to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September 1949, Saifuddin assumed the leadership of the Sinkiang League which, in 1950, was renamed the Sinkiang People's Democratic League and which furnished seventeen thousand experienced minority cadres to staff the government agencies in Sinkiang. Through their efforts, the Ili region in Sinkiang forged ahead of the rest of the province in land reform, in collectivization, in the recruitment of activists into the ranks of the cadres, and in meeting the requirements for the establishment of regional autonomy.

How trustworthy and loyal are the members of the Sinkiang League to the Communist cause is, however, still a question. The fact that many of them still entertain separatist opinions

159 668 may be seen in the speeches of Saifuddin and Burkhan, exhorting them to abandon their opposition to Chinese rule and forswear their pan-Turkanistic and pan-Islamic views, which were denounced as reactionary. Although Saifuddin has climbed high in the Communist heirarchy and holds concurrent positions in the central government, the regional and provincial government and also the Communist Party, his power rests upon his following, and the fact that he was unsure of them may have been a reason for his resignation as chairman of the SUAR a month after his election.

159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai

One of the most important modern figures in the political arena of Northwest China during the more recent years is Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Sheng was born in 1895 in the district of K'aiyuan in Liaoning Province in Manchuria, of a middle-class farming family. After he was graduated from an agricultural middle school in Mukden he went to Shanghai to attend the Chinese School of Public Affairs, Chung-kuo kung-hsueh, at Wusung (Woosung), majoring in economics and political sciences, and was graduated in 1915. Unwilling to take part in the civil service examinations under the administration of Yüan Shih-k'ai, he went to Japan to pursue further studies. Shortly the question of Shantung came up in the Versailles Conference, and Sheng was sent back to China as a representative of overseas students to take part in the movement against the transfer of territorial rights to Japan. After the movement was over he joined the Military Academy of Kwangtung at Kukong. His military career began when he served as a second lieutenant in the army of General Kuo Sung-ling in Manchuria. Because of his good record in the army he was chosen to be sent to Japan's Military Academy. In the year of 1925 when Kuo Sung-ling resisted Chang Tso-lin for the latter's pro-Japan attitude, Sheng came back to join Kuo's side. When Kuo was defeated by Chang, Sheng went back to Japan to continue his military training. Chang Tso-lin complained to Japanese authorities and Sheng Shih-ts'ai was ousted from the Military Academy. Thanks to the assistance of Sun Ch'uan-fang, Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) and Chiang Kai-shek, Sheng was able to complete his training.

He came back to China in 1927, just in time to take part in the Northern Expedition launched by Chiang Kai-shek. When the expedition was finally successful he served for a short time in the office of the chief of staff as a section chief. Then he began to seek opportunities in the border areas.

159 669 In 1930 he was invited to Sinkiang where he served first as chief of staff in the office of the commander of Frontier Defense. But his real opportunity came when the Moslem rebel,

159 669 Ma Chung-ying, attacked Qomul (Hami) and Barkol (Chensi) from Kansu Province. Sheng was appointed chief of staff to the Pacification Commander in the eastern region of Sinkiang. Sheng's military training and his experience gained in the Northern Expedition proved him superior to the rebels. When the rebels were defeated, Sheng was promoted to the chief of staff in the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In 1932 when the revolts among the Moslems started again in the eastern region of Sinkiang, Sheng was appointed as Pacification Commander in that region. He put down the disturbances in Qomul, relieved Urumchi (Tihua), besieged by the Moslems, and recovered a number of cities such as Turfan and Fu-kang. His reputation and prestige were soon recognized by the peoples of Sinkiang. Finally in 1933, a conspiracy broke out to oppose the administration of Governor Chin Shu-jen. Taking this opportunity, Sheng joined forces with the "revolutionaries." As a result, Governor Chin fled and Sheng was appointed as the Provisional Commander-in-Chief of Frontier Defense. In September of the same year, Sheng was officially appointed as the Frontier Commander of the Central Government in Nanking.

159 669 648 The immediate tasks facing this new leader of Sinkiang were the quelling of insurrections led by General Chang P'ei-yuan of Ili and the rebel Ma Chung-ying of Qomul. To consolidate his newly acquired power, Sheng had to obtain outside help to suppress his internal troubles. So in October 1933, Sheng sent his representatives to Soviet Russia to negotiate with the Russian government for the Red Army to enter Sinkiang and help him. The Soviet Red Army entered Sinkiang in 1933, and by June 1934 the whole of northern Sinkiang was pacified. After the successful conclusion of this military achievement, Sheng Shih-ts'ai allied himself further with Soviet Russia by signing the first secret agreement with the Russian government, on May 26, 1934. The main terms in this secret treaty included the loan of five million rubles to Sheng by the Soviet Union and the employment of Russian advisors and technicians by the Sinkiang government.

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643 159 64 During the next ten years, 1933 to 1942, Sheng became absolute ruler of Sinkiang with the full support of the Soviet Union. Immediately after he took over, Sheng proclaimed his eight-point policy: (1) racial equality, (2) freedom of religion, (3) agricultural relief, (4) financial reform, (5) political reform, (6) promotion of education, (7) self-government and (8) improvement of the judicial system. In 1935 he made known his famous "six policies" which would be followed as the guiding principles of his "reconstruction of a new Sinkiang." These six policies were: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) kinship with the Soviet Union, (3) racial equality, (4) peace, (5) honest administration and (6)

159 reconstruction. Following these proclamations and policies
64 Sheng made some drastic changes, such as the employment of minority groups in the government offices, appointments of Communists from Yenan (then headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party), and the use of Russian advisors and technicians. In the military maneuvers, Sheng invited the so-called Eighth
[669] Regiment of the Red Army to Sinkiang to help in the suppression of another rebel, Ma Hu -shan, of Khotan (Hotien) in 1937. Thus Sheng Shih-ts'ai finally put both the southern and northern parts of Sinkiang under his rule, and the whole of Sinkiang, during these ten years, was under the influence of the Soviet Union.

159 The year 1941 marked another turn which ended the rule of
648 Sheng Shih-ts'ai in Sinkiang and restored the normal relationship between Sinkiang and the Nationalist Government. Sheng severed his tie with his Soviet ally. This decision was obviously not accidental. There were several factors which forced Sheng to his drastic action. First and most significant was the gradual encroachment of power by the Soviet agents and the rumored "conspiracy" initiated by the Russian military advisors and aimed at Sheng. The second was a series of murders carried out by Soviet agents against Sheng's associates, including his own brother, Sheng Shih-ch'i. The third factor was the international situation. Hitler's armies in Europe were deep in Soviet Russia, and Japan was reported to be preparing for another front against Russia in Siberia. Thus the position of the Soviet
159 Union, Sheng's ally, was at its lowest ebb. The fourth factor was a series of visits by representatives from the Nationalist Government, including Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and their arguments. When Sheng made his decision, he sent notice to the Eighth Regiment of the Red Army stationed at Hami to evacuate Sinkiang. In the meantime he began to get rid of the Communist officers in the local government. In the early spring of 1943, a group of government officials sent from Chungking arrived in Urumchi. By the end of 1943 the turn-over was completed, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai once again threw himself into the embrace of the central government.

In August 1944, however, when the news of the defeat of the Germans by Soviet troops reached Sinkiang, Sheng staged another incident. He charged the group of officials sent by the central government with pro-Communist activities and put them in jail, then reported to the central government in Chungking. Fortunately, this time the situation was completely under the control of the central government. A few days later, on August
[645] 29, 1944, the central government appointed Sheng Shih-ts'ai as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and sent a special plane for him. On September 11, Sheng, accompanied by General Chu Shao-liang, regional commander of the Northwest, and Hsu En-

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159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

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[645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

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159 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League
631 Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member
159 A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to
*668 the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia.
631 Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N
159 Sun, Tso-pin
631 In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government
[635] Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

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159 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer
631 A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao
701 Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

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159 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a
701 very important position in the army. His rise to fame began when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in

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159 Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist
669 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army,
668 T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinkiang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N
159 Teng Pao-san: Army officer
*668 A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy
701 commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Construction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

159 position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member
*668 of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was
701 made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

159 Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

159 In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the North-
669 west, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

N 159 669 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand S [669] secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and N [554] southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu N 159 Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S [648] Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg S in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien- 669 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats 648

N 159 S 669 648 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frustrated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 S 635 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike foresight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek élan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned S 159 668 648 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945, organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

S 159 668 648 in Europe, while his National Turkistanian Unity Committee, in which he is president, has, unofficially, the support of such countries as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries, with the exception of Iraq, the committee has a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish tribe of East and West Turkistan. Among his many activities, Vali Kajum-Khan has also the supervision of the political and ideological education of exiled Turkistanian youths. He publishes various Turkistanian newspapers and maintains important contacts with his native country.

N 159 *668 S 159 668 Wang Chen (1908-): Army officer, Communist Party member

Born in 1908 in Hunan in a poor farmer's family. Studied in grade school for three years. Railway worker, member of railway workers' union, 1924; joined Communist Party, 1927; member of the Executive Committee of Communist Youth, 1928; secretary of Communist Party at Liu-yang, Hunan; political commissioner, First Independent Division of Hunan and Kiangsi, 1932; political commissioner, Sixth Division, 1934; chief of staff to General Li Hsien-nien, 1937; since 1952, first secretary in the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Communist Party; in 1950-52, commander, First Field Army, Acting Commander, Sinkiang Military Area. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang Chen's outstanding status in the Party is due partly to his long membership in the Party and partly to his excellent record and achievement both as an army officer and as a worker. He participated in the Long March, 1935-36. He won fame in the army when he led a vanguard unit which marched from the Yellow River down to Kwangtung Province, hailed as another "long March." When he was stationed at Yenan, the capital of the Communists, he was given the task of utilizing the soldiers to do production jobs, and the result was that the army became a self-supported team which not only got no help from the government, but paid taxes to help support the government. When the military campaign of the Communists began, Wang Chen played a rather significant role by taking over the whole of the Northwest territory. First he received the surrender of Kansu on September 23, 1949; then on October 21, 1949, he flew to Sinkiang and took over that province.

In Sinkiang, Wang's first job was to crush the opposition, whom he denounced as counter-revolutionaries. His troops took part in destroying the forces of Osman Batur and in pursuing the fleeing Kazakhs to the border of India. In his capacity as first secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP, a post he held for only a year, he helped further the so-called united front of the workers and farmers.

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159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N
159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
*668 Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
[631] partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the North
*563 west. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N
159 Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
*668 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
631 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of
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159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the
[466] railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
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159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the
*668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai.
[648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated
[554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League
*668 A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-
631 chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming
*668 to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader

159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang

159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[593] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

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159 Yang Tzu-lien: Democratic League member, government
631 official

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950-1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

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159 Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and gov-
701 ernment official
631 Chinese name: Ching-fu

A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

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AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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000 oases. A trade road, looping around the desert, links the oases
133 like beads on a string, forming a U with the open end toward the
491 east.

131 Dsungaria is in northern Sinkiang, between the Tienshan and the Altai mountains which mark the frontier between Sinkiang and
132 Western Mongolia. Precipitation here is slightly higher, and
137 steppe vegetation makes pastoralism possible. Northern Dsungaria
233 was the avenue of migration followed by the Mongols in their west-
[487] ward conquests.

2. Pastoral nomadism

233 In 1943, there were 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels, totalling 14,230,000. In 1947 the province reported 12,266,000 sheep and goats, 1,659,000 cattle, 1,027,000 horses, and 85,000 camels, a total of 15,037,000. The total has remained somewhat constant over a period of time, probably due to the fact that pasture land is poor and care of the herds inadequate. Most of the livestock are in Dsungaria, pastured in the steppe land by nomad Kazakhs or Mongols. There are many variations to the techniques of herding animals since cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on different kinds of pasture. The problem is to devise the best combinations of animals to be maintained and to select the appropriate pasture, decide how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how.

3. Oasis agriculture

241 There are two kinds of oases in Sinkiang: those in the south,
312 which are sharply isolated from each other by desert stretches and the oases of the north, which have fringes of land in which rainfall farming prevails. When irrigation was introduced, it seems to have been practiced first on the lower courses of the rivers, where the soil was soft and the engineering problems required only the digging of simple ditches from the banks of the streams. In the course of time, as knowledge of engineering developed, the tendency was for the oasis to move upstream toward the boulder slopes at the edge of the foothills, but not back into the gorges where the problems were far too great.

Oasis engineering is extremely simple. The basic pattern is a main canal from the river, branching into smaller canals which branch in turn into ditches which deliver water to the fields, all arranged so that water flows by gravity from level to level, without the pumping or bailing devices which are widely used in China and in Soviet Turkestan to lift water from lower to higher levels.

In volume of discharge, the rivers of the Tarim system are
[133] far behind the two great rivers of Soviet Inner Asia, the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. The total discharge of all streams in Sinkiang is about 3400 cubic meters per second, of which about seventy per cent is in the Tarim Basin. In irrigation engineering

241 312 it is calculated that a discharge of one cubic meter per second should irrigate over 6,000 acres, whereas in Sinkiang the figure is estimated at 2,530 acres. There is a lack of drainage to provide for washing out the salt deposited by irrigation and of storage lakes and reservoirs and even small scale tanks. As a result, it is estimated that from a third to a half of the potential supply runs to waste.

One of the most important irrigation practices is the käriz or qanats, a gently sloping tunnel which leads along the axis of an alluvial fan, bringing ground water for irrigation from the upper slope to the surface lower down. The slope of the käriz is somewhat more gentle than that of the fan, and the käriz may be miles in length. A line of wells is dug at intervals and connected at the bottom by a continuous tunnel, three or four feet in diameter. Near the mountains, the käriz may be fifty feet below the surface. As the foot of the slope is reached, the shafts are more shallow, until at last the water emerges into the open air. In this way, ground water at the base of the mountains is tapped and brought to the surface of the plain. When the tunnel caves in or fills with sediment, a distant oasis may need to be abandoned.

241 312 471 454 The construction of käriz involves a heavy capital expense. Some forty years ago, Aurel Stein estimated the cost of a single long käriz in Turfan at over 300 pounds. The risk of failing to find water deters peasants from joining together to dig a käriz, and construction is usually undertaken by wealthy landlords who hire labor. Their reward, when successful, is a monopoly of the water, which they sell to the peasants in return for a share of the harvest. This form of enterprise is so profitable that some landlords sell all their land and invest entirely in käriz.

312 241 Springs and subterranean flows are supplementary sources of water in some oases. Small pits are used for storage of drinking water in some oasis towns. If these reservoirs are silted and new ones not constructed, the oasis will sooner or later have to be abandoned.

311 312 241 The farms surround the oasis, and the utilization of land is determined by the proximity of irrigated land to the middle of the oasis. Land nearest the market places for farm produce receive most of the fertilizer, in the form of night soil, and intensive garden cultivation of vegetables and fruits is practical on this land. Within this zone some cash crops such as apricots and other fruit are usually grown for the market. Beyond this inner area, the amount of fertilizer applied decreases rapidly. Two other zones follow where practically no fertilizer is used and hardier crops such as millet, kaoliang, and potatoes are planted. This land must be fallowed. Beyond this zone there is usually no water and the desert begins abruptly. The fringe area may sometimes be used for grazing, particularly of sheep.

161 About two-thirds of the total area of Sinkiang is uninhabited.
311 In 1946 the number of farm households was 344,000 and the average number of acres per farm was around 7.1. (Cressey, Land of the
[114] 500 Million, p. 105. This figure, according to other sources, is rather high.. These sources give a figure of from 0.5 to three acres per farm.) The total amount of cultivated land was 2,455,000 acres or roughly one per cent of the total acreage of the region. The greatest concentration of population is south of the Tienshan, or more precisely, in the southwestern corner of the province near the Soviet border. These are the districts of Khotan, Aksu, and Yarkand which contain over two-thirds of the population of the whole province. North of the Tienshan, the greatest concentration is in the Ili valley.

243 According to the figures supplied by Owen Lattimore, the
433 annual wheat crop of Sinkiang before the Communist conquest was about 253,000 tons, about forty-four per cent of the total crop of grain, beans, and seeds. Corn reached 331,000 tons or twenty-eight per cent, Rice was about 71,000 tons or six per cent, and sesame, rapeseed, and linseed accounted for 71,000 tons or six
[244] per cent. Barley, kaoliang, sorghum millet, beets, and peas amounted to 119,000 tons or ten per cent. Millet, soybean, and green beans totalled 71,000 tons or six per cent. Total agricultural output was 916,000 tons. (Pivot of Asia, p. 167.)

243 Winter wheat is grown north of the Tienshan where, in spite of the cold, the seeds are protected by the cover of snow; only spring wheat can be grown south of the Tienshan, where lack of snow cover exposes the seed to being frozen in the ground. Wheat is tending to be displaced by rice in oasis fields because the fields are highly alkaline. But the yield of rice is lower than that of corn, because the Uighur farmers do not transplant the young rice
[461] shoots as Chinese farmers do. Although the amount of labor
[433] expended on a unit of land is about the same in Sinkiang as in China Proper, the yield is somewhat less.

248 Cotton is the most important commercial crop in Sinkiang. It was grown in Turfan as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618 - 907). Two varieties are raised: the native and the American. In 1943, 100,000 acres of cotton were planted, seventy-three per cent with native cotton and twenty-three per cent with seed
288 of the American varieties. Silk is also an ancient crop of com-
433 mercial importance. Its production reached 350,000 kg. in 1942 but fell drastically to 100,000 kg. in 1943.

592 The family group, living together under one roof, is the basic
241 producing unit in oasis agriculture. It often includes married children, which makes it slightly larger than the average farm family in China. While farms in the Tarim Basin average from
[423] 4.5 to six acres in size, larger than the 3.5 acres given for China Proper, because the family in Sinkiang is larger, there is only

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592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
134 that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 311 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only, used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen, Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hillland is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

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AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP (Maize, barley, oats, etc. excluded)	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 lb)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
KANSU	WHEAT	8,055	8,359	8,434	8,330	8,247	10,331	9,424	8,953	8,411	9,077
	COTTON (lint)	123	141	167	202		37	41	51	57	
	RICE (not glutinous)	50	66	72	69		127	152	141	157	
	MILLET (excluding proso millet)	2,326	2,126	1,967	1,947		3,667	2,949	,510	2,817	
	SWEET POTATOES	116	182	184	184		1,399	1,273	1,236	1,214	
NINGHSIA	WHEAT	337	360	379	396	409	394	558	514	522	594
	COTTON		7	8	8			1	1		
	RICE	79	83	91	95		104	108	77	102	
	MILLET	220	198	227	226		341	329	341	359	

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AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 LB)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
CHINGHAI	WHEAT	2,444	2,356	2,319	2,427	2,409	3,501	4,096	3,030	3,641	3,797
	MILLET	260	273	215	231		254	447	205	285	
SHENSI	WHEAT	14,853	15,827	16,642	17,034	18,060	28,134	23,908	22,057	16,876	23,373
	COTTON	3,895	3,187	3,671	3,590		997	882	670	945	
	RICE	1,090	1,026	887	789		3,236	3,212	1,965	1,960	
	MILLET	3,363	2,975	2,698	2,678		3,879	4,163	3,226	3,658	
	POTATOES	353	342	336	337		3,759	3,132	2,818	2,530	

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following page 642 (a)

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T.H. Shen, pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	5	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally [136] called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought [731] years 1928-1931.

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J.L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 175 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [429] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
429 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 429 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 429 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	21	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

429 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [175] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK (UNIT 1,000 HEAD)(CHINA HAND BOOK-1937-1945, TABLE 22. p.442)

	PROVINCES	OXEN	HORSES	MULES	DONKEYS	GOATS	SHEEP	HOGS	CHICKENS	DUCKS	GEESE	WATER BUFFALO	TOTAL
1942	NINGHSIA	14	8	4	31	106	186	34	175	6	2	...	566
	CHINGHAI	35	32	24	44	224	367	79	250	3	3	1	1,062
	KANSU	583	96	94	536	1,378	2,459	760	2,431	165	43	11	8,556
	SHENSI	839	84	113	256	...	277	751	2,558	158	16	2	5,054
	TOTAL												15,238
1943	NINGHSIA	14	4	3	34	93	159	30	187	8	2	...	534
	CHINGHAI	36	26	28	50	155	274	55	192	5	1	...	822
	KANSU	626	115	112	565	1,495	2,594	663	2,545	145	34	5	8,899
	SHENSI	887	89	112	239	340	245	740	2,688	150	15	7	5,512
	TOTAL												15,767
1944	NINGHSIA	28	8	5	57	140	234	41	176	9	3	...	701
	CHINGHAI	43	36	26	42	170	211	51	139	9	2	2	731
	KANSU	623	138	105	594	1,522	2,768	614	2,470	116	28	2	8,980
	SHENSI	808	83	114	254	313	203	669	...	120	13	6	2,583
	TOTAL												12,995

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427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T.H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

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236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
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Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power.. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
(438) able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
(435) tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers
(433) of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of
433 resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 474 476 433 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricultural and livestock production of the Northwest through cooperativization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 311 185 *668 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 185 *668 288 439 [248] Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 *474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from [177] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

N
241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres them-
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest.

S
175 1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
474 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
241 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
668 and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with
[476] roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S
241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[474] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S
242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang All

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[199] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number to 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

planted in these tracts.

We have cited some of the achievements that have taken place and the general direction of agricultural development. We must be careful about accepting all figures and recognize that many targets are not met but often revised midway through the year until they can be met. When one looks at the entire scheme of development taking place it is important to remember that each group in this scheme has certain commitments to meet as set by the plan for that year. Survey teams are supposed to provide definite information about the amount of land to be reclaimed each year. If their information is not accurate, (and there have been complaints to this effect) then those units which reclaim the land are put off schedule, the proper cultivation and sowing cannot be done, and the intended output is not realized. Such intricate planning can lead to grievous bottlenecks in the attainment of planned goals.

Further defects that have been reported are as follows: there has been inadequate hydrographic and meteorological data for farming and animal husbandry. There has not been the correct coordinated activity between State and commercial enterprises to supply the necessary producer and consumer goods for the agricultural and pastoral co-ops. The People's Bank has been unable to give the needed credit and credit cooperatives and credit groups still have to absorb idle capital and halt usurious practices among the peasants, which still seem to prevail six years after "liberation." The Communists report that rich peasants, and so-called counter-revolutionary elements are still causing trouble by "sabotage" and the spreading of rumors which obstruct Communist policy.

According to observations made by some agricultural stations in Sha-ya County the peasants in many districts placed emphasis only on the summer harvest, and neglected the cotton, mazie and rice crops that are reaped in autumn. This meant that the peasants were devoting more of their attention to harvesting a wheat crop, a food item, and neglecting other farm crops that the state was so urgently emphasizing. In Kuerhlei County there were complaints that the peasants were not picking the cotton at the appropriate time and their delay in doing so had allowed much of the ripe cotton to fall to the ground and rot. This occurred in many of the villages throughout the county. Again the Communists complained of the peasants' lack of care for their farming tools and that damage frequently resulted from mechanical troubles and carelessness.

The principal difficulty to date has been the acute shortage of technical cadres in the province and among the local minority nationalities. To solve this problem, several agricultural institutes have been erected to train indigenous groups. But this

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*175
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*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output
for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels).
An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil
bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing
crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures
give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939.
Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this
will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant
increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per
cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little
over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-
fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reserva-
tions. However, because the base year (one million) is so low,
it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen
engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S.
$266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass
for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter
and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season.
It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of
cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite con-
tributions in support of the industrial construction of the State.
At the same time, these activities served to educate the people
in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to
185 develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange
for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and
planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be
taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes.
It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913
acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires
greatly reduced.

*668 241 185 *175 Because Chinghai is a dry region and irrigation works are needed the Communists planned for 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) of land to be brought under cultivation in 1955. Five teams of irrigation workers arrived at selected places to help extend the area of irrigated land. The plan for 1955 involved improving the irrigation canals, servicing 4,600 hectares (11,367 acres), and the setting up of two pumping stations. The Communists claimed that by the end of 1954, fifty per cent more land was irrigated than before the "liberation."

*668 185 Chinghai's problems are similar to those that prevail in Sinkiang. Production plans are not fulfilled, especially those plans for oil bearing crops and the improvement of sheep breeds. This is supposed to reflect a lack of responsibility on the part of the cadres toward the State's plans but the real problem undoubtedly lies with the difficulties of intricate planning and the insufficient number of trained, skilled cadres. Excessive spending and waste were attacked and these were blamed on the weakness of ideological leadership. The report by Chang Kuo-sheng goes so far as to say that workers are honest and loyal but it is the cadres who still retain "bourgeois" thoughts, and are to blame. Thus, it appears that the peasants are not being criticized for planning and organizational defects for fear of antagonizing and isolating many of them from Communist rural organizations.

*668 185 241 It seems fairly self-evident that as the work of planning in the agricultural areas becomes more complicated and detailed in nature, the number of technicians will have to be increased. In addition to being skillful accountants, agro-technicians, etc., they will have to be ideologically trained so as to faithfully carry out the State's plans. The Communists, then, have a twofold job: to train members of the various nationalities to be technicians and at the same time to turn them into good Communists. The speed at which they are attempting to turn out a large number may mean poorly trained technicians. This will complicate and hinder agricultural planning even more.

*668 578 Hsijaochiatso, the Vice-Governor of Chinghai, delivered a speech on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress on the progress made in Chinghai, which differed greatly in content from other speeches given by nationality leaders of the various frontier regions of China. While most of the other speeches to the National People's Congress dealt with concrete advancements made in the nationality areas, Vice-Governor Hsijaochiatso's report was devoted largely to acts of sabotage and resistance to socialization in Chinghai. A quotation will serve to point this out. "Because we are carrying out our construction plans very satisfactorily, the enemy both within and without the country has resorted to mad acts of sabotage in various forms. Very recently, in some pastoral areas, the rumor spread to the effect that the organization of cooperatives in pastoral areas is a disguised form

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization: among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: [474] whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 185 433 [240] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be [313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing *668 the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of 185 all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer [474] co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also [241] to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

ooo So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

#668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to
668 have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
669 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The
578 "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

#668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now,
248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
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#668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

#668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[365] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
#668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.4% per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

#668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. If hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organising uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far. [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

*668 241 231 433 to the soil by planting grass, resodding, etc., and encouraging the production of livestock. The reason for Chinese Communist policy could be that wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops (these are the only three types of crops ever mentioned in Chinese Communist statistics) have priority over everything else as these crops are urgently needed in other parts of China as well as to sustain population increase and industrial construction in the Northwest.

*668 241 433 It is difficult to forecast prospective agricultural development in the Northwest. The Communists have demonstrated that they are intensely interested in developing the region and they have provided capital, when available, and vast amounts of labor to reclaim land, construct irrigation systems, and build water reservoirs. However, one gets the impression from reviewing past achievements and future goals that the Communists are depending largely on organizational changes in agriculture to bring them the desired output increases. When new targets are established, they are to be realized not by state financial or technical assistance, but through greater exertion on the part of the peasantry, more closely organized planning, better utilization of resources, and through cooperative endeavor and labor emulation.

At this stage of development, the State has few resources that it can divert to the Northwest to aid in the development of agriculture. It is forced therefore to rely solely on the production relationships already existent there and reorganize these relationships when able, to make for increased productivity. We have already cited the difficulties the Communists have encountered in their attempts to reorganize agriculture. And it has been strongly suggested that as planning becomes more intricate, and as more technicians and planners are required, the problems will multiply. One link in the entire chain of planning has only to break and large sections of the economy would be disrupted. When output increases are as vital and necessary as they are now, and the demand for greater food supplies increases, the burden on agriculture will become heavier.

It is questionable whether any increases in food production, i.e., wheat, rice, maize, barley, millet, will be of an amount sufficient to be exported to China Proper. Instead, output increases will be required to feed the expanding population of the Northwest; the recent efforts to expand the production of cotton and oil seed bearing crops by bringing additional land under cultivation for the planting of these commercial crops, may, over a period of time, yield quantities sufficient to supply the textile processing mills the Communists are planning to construct. There is a possibility also that livestock increases and the by-products from livestock, i.e., wool, meat, etc., will be of sufficient supply to be exported to other parts of China. However, consider-

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able time will have to elapse before there can be the proper processing and handling of such by-products.

During the next five to eight years, at least, it is questionable whether the Northwest, from an agricultural standpoint, can contribute significantly to the industrialization program being enacted on the Chinese Mainland. The big problem will be whether the Northwest can contribute agricultural surpluses toward its own future economic development, and the answer depends on the success of cooperativisation of agriculture and the maintenance of a constant outflow of food and agricultural raw materials. So far, we are only able to point out the trends in agricultural management and the stress on production of certain commercial crops and food staples. The problems the Communists have encountered and will continue to meet have also been mentioned. But it is still too early to venture an opinion as to the success of Chinese Communist policy in developing the broad base of agriculture in the Northwest.

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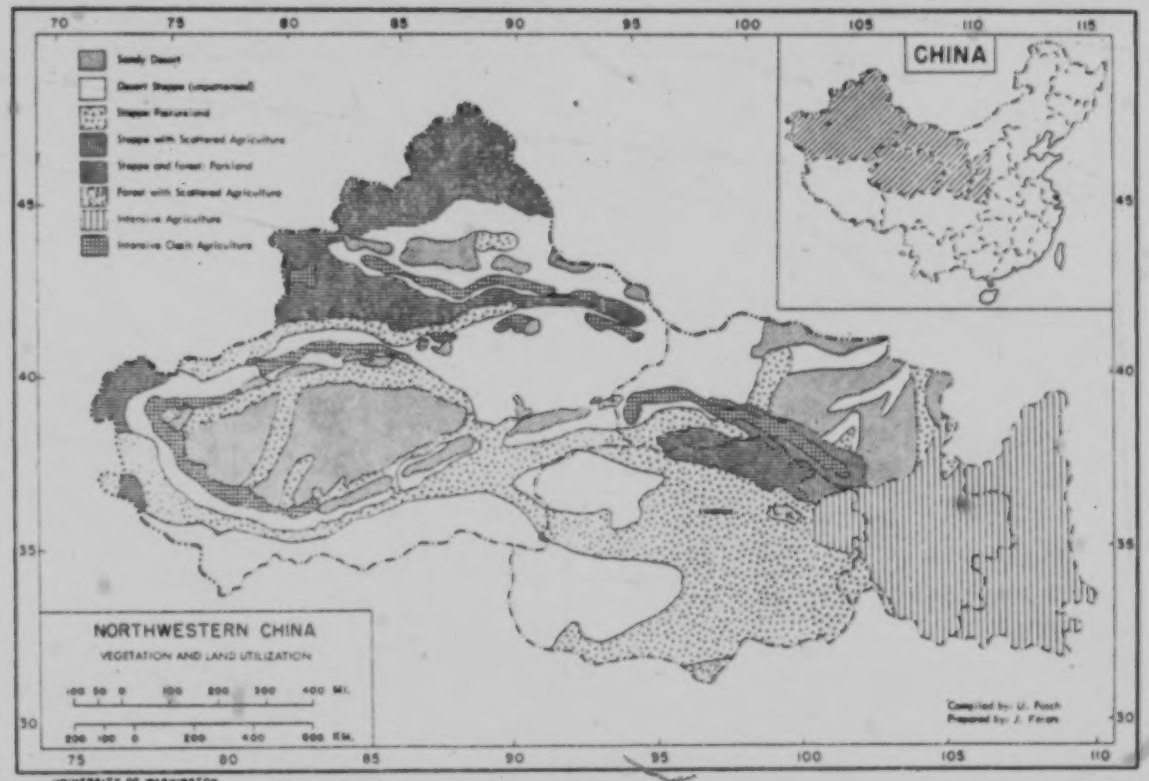

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INDUSTRY

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INDUSTRY

A. The Pre-Communist Period

*175 47 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 288 474 The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving [471] Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the [471] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen [433] factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 [471] ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yü-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

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*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also, not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

N In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[491] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000
[433] worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry

*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry

392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[471] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

47 The Communist government has paid special attention to developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order *175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 288 The most important industrial development in Shensi under the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded *668 the following factories in Shensi:

*175 1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty [386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing [395] Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in [339] April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com-[433]munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377]more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, [258]which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [316](2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316]largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382]area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

*668 *175 315 316 There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides, [491]mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

4. Sinkiang

473 Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest
175 in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet
177 joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum
668 Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is
175 said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and
315 deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the
473 Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July
175 First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early
288 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

According to the province's initial plans, the investment in
471 capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern
471 cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic
339 power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was
381 expected to have its first stage of construction completed in
[322] 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total
[258] of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan
471 Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory,
316 and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of
392 the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to
339 produce more coal for the industries and local residents of
323 Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 239 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N 121 178 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

N [433] (a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white
463 flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper
289 is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and
[439] Anhwei.

N (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed
[433] mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed
[433] mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made
463 in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in
322 Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated
433 as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made
463 in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung,
433 and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone
[294] exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near
[412] Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi,
[285] Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in
[412] the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and
[326] Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual out-
[415] put is about 76,000 counts.

S (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts
463 in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by
286 sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of
[433] that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to
[439] India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

N For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated
433 on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the
[288] cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the
[315] oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic

S point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because
668 Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and
433 the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.
[288]
[315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

N 668 433 3 668 433 (35) one of the most important industrial areas in China for three reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Communist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second, the geographical location of this area is such that it would be the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting technical aid from Russia. 2 3 (177)

S 668 433 Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Communists have paid special attention to the future development of this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists took over, there was very little industrial production. But in 1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts, which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percentages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of 1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be increased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of 1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

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TRADE

606 I. The Pre-Communist Period
A. Shensi
B. Kansu
C. Ningsia
D Chinghai
E. Sinkiang
II. The Communist Period
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TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na- [496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had [487] reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I:. The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

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B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

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C. Ninghsia

The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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484

Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning-Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou-Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei-Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia-Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu-Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo-Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

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N 439 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:
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Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N D. Chinghai
366 Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial
635 capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and
487 Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still an-
N other to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt,
439 lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S E. Sinkiang
439 Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with
S agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade
439 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and
487 Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass
491 Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner
S Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933,
439 the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to
491 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

439 [487] It is understood that there was also considerable trade between Sinkiang, Lanchou and Sian, which, in fact, was the main trade route, but detailed information is not available.

According to a Japanese estimate, the Chinese goods were distributed to the various cities in Sinkiang in the following proportions, which also show the relative commercial importance of the different cities or areas:

Table VI: Distribution of Chinese Goods among Cities in Sinkiang

Place	Percentages of Goods Distributed
Urumchi (Tihua)	25.0
Ili (Huei-yüan)	20.0
South Sinkiang	18.0
Ta-ch'eng (Chuguchak)	15.0
Ku-ch'eng-tzu (Chitai)	12.0
Sharasume (Cheng-hua)	4.0
Hami (Qomul)	3.0
Khobdo (Jirgalantu)	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 534-35.

439 435 175 As to the direct foreign trade, the main country is Soviet Russia. According to official Soviet reports, the value of the Soviet-Sinkiang trade is as follows:

Table VII: Value of Soviet-Sinkiang Trade (unit: 1,000 rubles)

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1931	13,954	10,212	24,166
1932	15,698	12,305	28,003
1933	10,826	18,822	29,648
1934	4,730	5,945	10,675
1935	6,049	4,550	10,599
1936	36,145	25,671	61,816

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 8, p. 514.

439 175 The main exports of Sinkiang to Russia were grain, fruits, wool, fur, meat, paper, cotton, silk, animal intestines and cattle; and the main imports of Sinkiang from Russia were textiles, sugar, metals and metal manufactures, glass and chinaware, oil and matches. The exports of Sinkiang constituted 1.01 per cent of the value of goods that Russia imported from East Asia in 1931, and 1.77 per cent of that in 1932. The imports of

439 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway. In
491 1935 there were about fifty trucks or buses running on this high-
494 way, making four trips a month. The historical Great Northwest
175 highway has also been open to motor traffic since 1930. During the Sino-Japanese War, this traditional highway was one of the most important outlets of free China. It is reported that in the first half of 1942, some seventy million rubles worth of tea, tung oil, bristles, wool and other goods were exported from China to Russia through this route. On the other hand, there were some fifteen million rubles worth of dried goods, metal, canned goods and wine imported to China during the same period, together with an unidentified amount of weapons and war material that the Soviet Union sent to China under the 1939 Sino-Soviet Military Agreement. The total number of five-ton trucks used during the period was 3,600; but those actually in operation were only about a thousand. The total capacity, including camels, of that route was not more than two thousand tons per month. (Cf. Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, Vol. 8, pp. 636-39. It must be taken into account that this is a Japanese source.)

175 Table V: Trade Between Sinkiang and Tientsin, 1930-32 average
439
435

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		5,298,900
sheep intestines	2,400,000	
furs and hides	2,809,000	
raisins	54,000	
medical herbs	17,200	
dried mushrooms	18,000	
B. Imports:		2,743,562
cigarettes and tobacco	808,720	
woolen cloth	104,550	
silk	223,600	
linen	285,200	
cotton goods	110,200	
medical herbs and drugs	84,730	
stationary and books	70,700	
hats and shoes	99,000	
tea	868,852	
leather goods	6,800	
cosmetics	28,350	
paints and dyes	1,200	
hardware	2,160	
seafood	4,100	
chinaware	1,560	
miscellaneous	2,240	
Grand Total		8,042,462

Source: Chung-kuo Ching-chi Nien-chien, 1935 ed., vol. 3, pp.88-90.

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439 175 Sinkiang from Russia constituted 1.58 per cent of the value of goods that Russia exported to East Asia in 1931, and 2.78 per cent of that in 1932.

Aside from Russia, Sinkiang has also entered a close trade relation with India and Afghanistan. According to 1927 statistics, the trade between Sinkiang and India amounted to 5,001,413 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

439 435 175 Table VIII: The Trade Between Sinkiang and India, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		1,186,848
European cotton goods	276,916	
leather goods	41,448	
dye	326,254	
hide (other than sheep)	61,663	
drugs	29,426	
pearls	71,335	
velvet	115,334	
Indian silk	24,876	
spice	36,562	
Indian black tea	27,386	
other black tea	23,098	
European woolen goods	42,000	
Russian metal goods	41,298	
B. Exports:		2,814,565
horses and ponies	101,235	
cotton cloth	35,698	
cankas	96,434	
iron and copper	742,654	
raw silk	31,294	
woolen goods	358,451	
felt carpet	25,524	
iron goods	66,789	
gold	72,631	
Russian metal goods	189,242	
silver	110,377	
leather goods	16,339	
wool	17,288	
woolen thread	16,037	
donkeys and mules	7,508	
jade	8,272	
Grand Total		5,001,413

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, pp. T.94-95.

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S
439 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year
435 amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
175

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
*668 II. The Communist Period
43 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
[178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind
As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.
N The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
*668 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve trans-
496 portation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which
N links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in De-
*668 cember 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yüimen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [439] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

*668 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the
474 various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the
443 cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not avail-
656 able. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the
43 rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illus-
trate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the
rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of
*668 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies
443 near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market
656 is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to
43 trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Com-
munists took over, there was no government control over such
markets. But under the Communist regime, the following mea-
sures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2,
pp. 94-96):

(655) 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail
* [175] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of
[655] which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,
[474]

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

*668 467,000 yüan in 1954, showing an increase in purchasing power
43 of 40.8 per cent. In the second sub-district of Hsien-yang,
*175 Shensi, the per capita outlay was 410,000 in 1953, and 620,000 yuan in 1954, showing an increase of 51 per cent. In Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the purchasing power of the people is said to have increased 13 per cent in 1954 as compared with 1953, and the total value of state purchases of local products went up 3.7 times in 1954 as compared with 1950. And in the national minority regions, the total sales of state trade in 1954 increased 4.7 times as compared with 1951, and the total purchase in 1954 increased 5.1 times as compared with the same period.

On the other hand, the Communists have admitted certain failures. For instance, on March 15, 1955, the Sian Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive to improve the work of unified grain marketing, in which it was pointed out that waste and extravagance have been prevalent, and it was demanded that the party and the New Democratic Youth League branches in the various places should supervise and ensure the check-up.

*668 Another failure is revealed in the report on trade control in
*175 Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu. From June, 1954, to January,
404 1955, the supply and purchase cooperatives in that area under-
43 took to buy all the native products at an official price and prohibited the farmers from entering free trade. But the farmers refused to cooperate, and they reduced production and lowered quality. As a result, the Communists had to reverse themselves and announce that it was still too early to eliminate free trade entirely in the rural areas.

*668 As to trade in the national minority regions, the shortcom-
*563 ings as admitted by the Communists are as follows: One is that
43 the state trading agencies were interested only in wholesale and
[655] refused to purchase products in small quantities. Another shortcoming is that they sometimes unduly eliminate private merchants and thus a shortage in commercial outlets results. Still another shortcoming is that the Communist cadres had failed to pay attention to the specific needs of the national minorities. For instance, some of them were so careless as to send swimming suits to mountainous areas or electric typewriters to areas in which people do not even know how to write (cf. Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79).

*668 The main difficulty of the Communist control of trade in the
43 Northwest seems to be the lack of cadres. For instance, the so-
*175 called socialization of wholesale trade in the coastal cities such as Shanghai and Tientsin was more or less completed in 1953, but they did not start it in Sian until 1955. Similarly, the control of rural trade in Kansu, as revealed in the report on Lo-men-

*668 chen, did not show any results until 1954. Even so, they could
43 control only some thirty per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-
*175 chen as late as 1956. Besides, the number of cadres engaged in trade of the national minority regions is far from adequate. According to their own report, there were only some four thousand persons assigned to trade in minority districts, which include not only the Northwest, but also Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Yunnan. All this explains why the Communist control of trade in the Northwest is much slower than that in other parts of the country, and this tendency is probably to remain the same in the near future. It is to be anticipated, though, that the rate of development will rise sharply as soon as the major emphasis on the Northwest, expected to find expression in the second Five-Year Plan, is being brought to bear upon the situation.

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COMMUNICATIONS

CCC I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

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COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

101 The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

*175 487 [439] Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tun-hwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of Yü-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would résume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [496] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 496 A. Railways

In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

[504] Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

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*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

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491 B. Highways

Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 491 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

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491 It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
487 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
S in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
[491] Hsining and Urumchi.
[487]

N 491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November, 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

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N 491 485 *[179] To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lanchou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

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S 487 50 [505] Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N 509 *175 D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

N *175 *668 496 499 III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H.J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

Construction was initiated at Lanchou on
*175 Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
*668 the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet
496 agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that
499 the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to
648 Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turksib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

On the Chinese side, service on the Lanchow-Wu-wei section of 303 kilometers began in February, 1954. At the end of that year, tracks had been laid as far as Chiu-pa, 347 kilometers northwest of Lanchou. On September 28, 1955, the section was extended to Chang-yeh, which, in the Kansu Corridor about 538 kilometers west of Lanchou, was the original goal for 1955. An extra 108 kilometers of tracks were laid up to a point about 100 kilometers from Yü-men by the end of 1955. A new section from Chang-yeh to Ching-shui reportedly began operating on May 1, 1956. This 138 kilometer extension made the railway serviceable for a total of 676 kilometers. It has been reported that tracklayers on this railway had pledged to extend the line to Yü-men, 800 kilometers from Lanchou, by the first of July, 1956, about one month ahead of schedule.

*668 Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economi-
499 cally and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

*668 3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had
496 long looked for a route through which it could move from North-
499 west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they
648 intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Rail-
*175 way with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

*668 496 499 648 *175 of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955, tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

*668 497 This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possible deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

*668 *175 496 499 4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up Northwest China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-e h-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
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499 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chiese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
471 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[397] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
[648] Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied
[439] by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated.
*175 In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
munist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed
[701] for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

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*668 In Chinghai Province, three short lines were completed by
491 January, 1954, namely the renovated Lao-ya-hsia sector of the
499 Kansu-Chinghai Highway (Lanchow-Hsi-ning Highway), the sector
*175 south of La-chi-shan on the Hsi-ning Kuei-teh Highway originally planned by the Nationalist Government, and the new Hsin-hua-Tung-jen Highway, with a total of 360 kilometers. Among the publicized trunk lines, the most notable one was the 2100 kilometer Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway. The first part of this line was constructed along the old Chinghai-Sinkiang route, and was originally built by the Mohammedan leader Ma Pu-fang during 1946-1948 (from Sining to Chin-hung-shan), from Hsining to Gormo along the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin, then the highway turning south via Ku-ku-shih-li reached Chi-ting-si-lin, the common point of Chinghai, Sikang (now part of Szechwan) and Tibet, and thence leading to Lhasa in Tibet. The complete Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954. It linked with highways radiating northwest to Sinkiang and east to Lanchou, and met Sikang-Tibet Highway at Lhasa to keep close contact with the Southwestern provinces. Of the old roads, there was the Chinghai-Sinkiang Highway (Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan Highway) which was damaged before 1949, the Hsi-ning-Gormo section of about 800 kilometers which was restored in 1954 as part of the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, and the rest repaired in May of 1955. Along the old Hsi-ning-Sikang route construction began in early May of 1955 on the Hsi-ning-Kuolo Highway of 627 kilometers leading to the Kuolo Tibetan National Autonomous District. Consisting of sections of the Hsi-ning-Hua-shih-hsia (424 kms.) and Hua-shih-hsia-Chi-mai (203 kms.), the Hsi-ning-Kuolo line was completed in November, 1955. The completion of these highways further facilitated the interflow of supplies between the agricultural and pastoral areas and supported the economic construction of the national minorities.

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491 In Sinkiang, the traditional arterial highways were centered at Urumchi. To the south, one highway at Kurle was divided into two branches and met again in the west at Kashgar to form a circle link around the Taklamakan desert; to the east the highway led through Turfan, Hami toward Lanchou; to the north, a line ran along the Manas River to Sharasume (Cheng-hua); and to the west there were two highways stretching to the Sino-Soviet border, one to Ho-cheng and the other to Ta-cheng. Along the Old Silk Road, from No-chiang, one highway was extended eastward to Tun-huang in Kansu. There were three highways connecting Urumchi with Russia through Ta-cheng, Hocheng, and Kashgar, to link with the Soviet-Turksib Railway stations at Ayaguz, Ilisk, and Andizhan respectively.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
[473] was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
[648] service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*[175] chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 The influential role which the development of transportation
489 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate
433 for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
178 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
*668 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
489 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness
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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

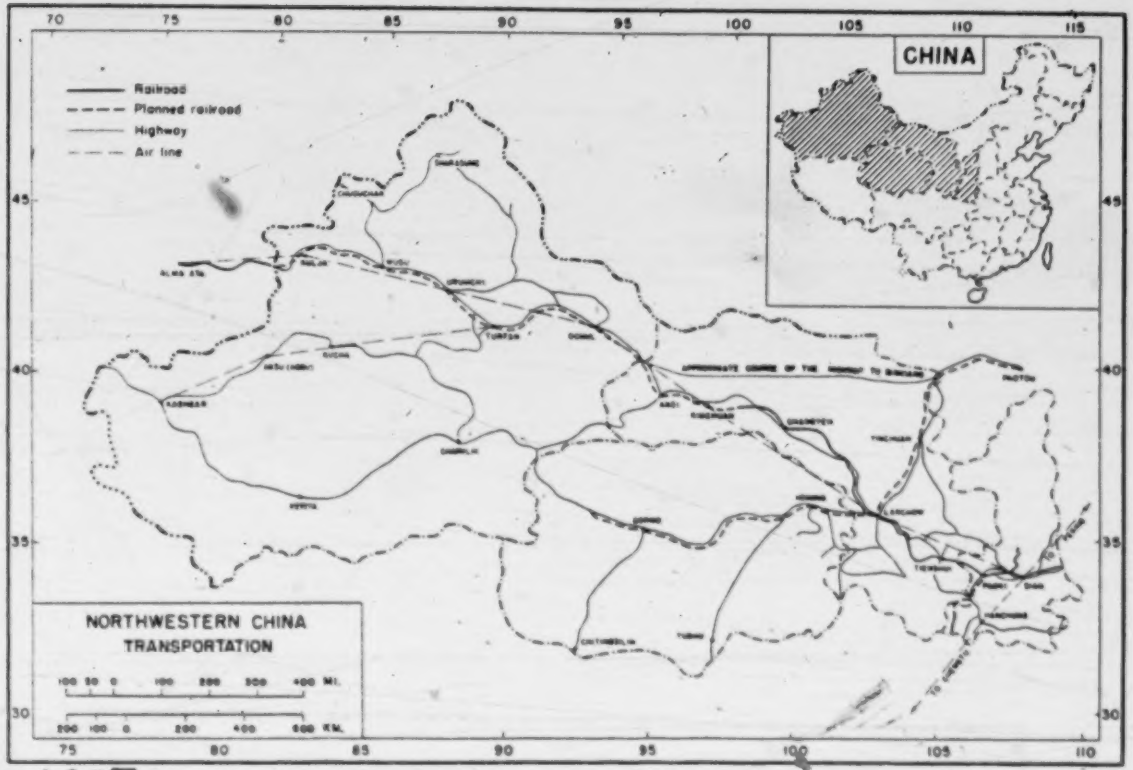
N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 policy is enforced, further economic exploitation and construction
185 may be carried out, and more rapid and deliberate development of
433 communications may be forthcoming in this remote northwest area.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1



SN 103 102 496 491 509 131

[following page 704]

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[For additional information on the general cultural history of Northwest China up to 1956, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 25, 26-29, 33-47, 73, 77-79, 113, 152-154, 158, 181, 236-237, 291, 296, 301, 306-310, 437, 465-469, 475, 484, 486, 488-524, 533, 540-545, 560, 569-570, 648, 654-658, 668-669, 671-672, 678-681, 687-690, and 692-702.]

668

[For additional information on the communist party in Northwest China prior to 1956, its aims, objectives, programs and the way in which these programs were implemented, see category 116, pp. 73, 158, 180, 235, 296-298, 312-320, 351-356, 358-361, 365-377, 379-381, 397-399, 408-409, 422-423, 434, 437, 441-442, 447-448, 450-452, 454-455, 459-460, 465-477, 480-482, 484, 486, 488-510, 513-524, 535-545, 560, 569, 571-578, 581-596, 598-608, 611-612, 615, 618-619, 624-626, 629-632, 636, 648, 650-652, 654-665, 671-672, 675-676, 685-690, and 696-704.]

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[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

1: Washington

AF13 Northwest China AF13

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[For information on the various ethnic groups in Northwest China, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 140, 152-158, 177-180, 192-195, 199-211, 223-229, 235-238, 243, 258-275, 291-296, 301-302, 304-309, 316, 319-320, 358-359, 391-396, 421-424, 429, 432-434, 459-460, 475-476, 480-482, 484-485, 499-502, 504-505, 508-510, 516-517, 521, 524, 541, 543-544, 569-570, 574, 584-588, 630 and 689.]

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Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TRAVELS OF A CONSULAR OFFICER IN NORTH-WEST CHINA

[p. i]

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THE "DANCE OF THE BLACK HAT"

[P. 111]

2: Teichman G-S (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TRAVELS OF A CONSULAR OFFICER IN NORTH-WEST CHINA

BY

ERIC TEICHMAN, C.I.E., B.A. (CANTAB.)
OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSULAR SERVICE IN CHINA

WITH ORIGINAL MAPS OF SHENSI AND KANSU
AND ILLUSTRATED BY PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN
BY THE AUTHOR

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1921

[p. iv]

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PREFACE

000 THE following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

114 We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

000 This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

175 721 Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

2: Teichman G-3 [illegible] AP13 Northwest China AP13

175 settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of
721 conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has survived many vicissitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

249 The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

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The present trouble in China is not so much the issue between North and South as the question of civil *versus* military government throughout the country. If the latter, a heritage of the revolution of 1911, can ever be got rid of, peace and progress will return. Though all signs of good and efficient government in the interior are now lacking, yet no one acquainted with the sterling qualities of the Chinese people (as distinguished from their rulers) and with the boundless resources of their great country, can doubt that they will make good in the end. Even as it is, so vast is the country, that the troubles in the far interior have comparatively little effect on the trade of the country at the Treaty Ports, which continues to expand from year to year.

The chapter on railways is, it is to be hoped, already out of date, the Powers interested in the economic development of China having evolved a new policy, that of the internationalisation of railway construction. This scheme, if it is realised, will mean the abolition of spheres of interest, the surrender of all special railway claims, and the pooling of all existing rights for railways yet unbuilt. Unfortunately it is meeting with opposition from certain interested quarters; but the hopes of all real well-wishers of China are at the moment centred in its ultimate realisation.

E. T.

PEKING, *August* 1920.

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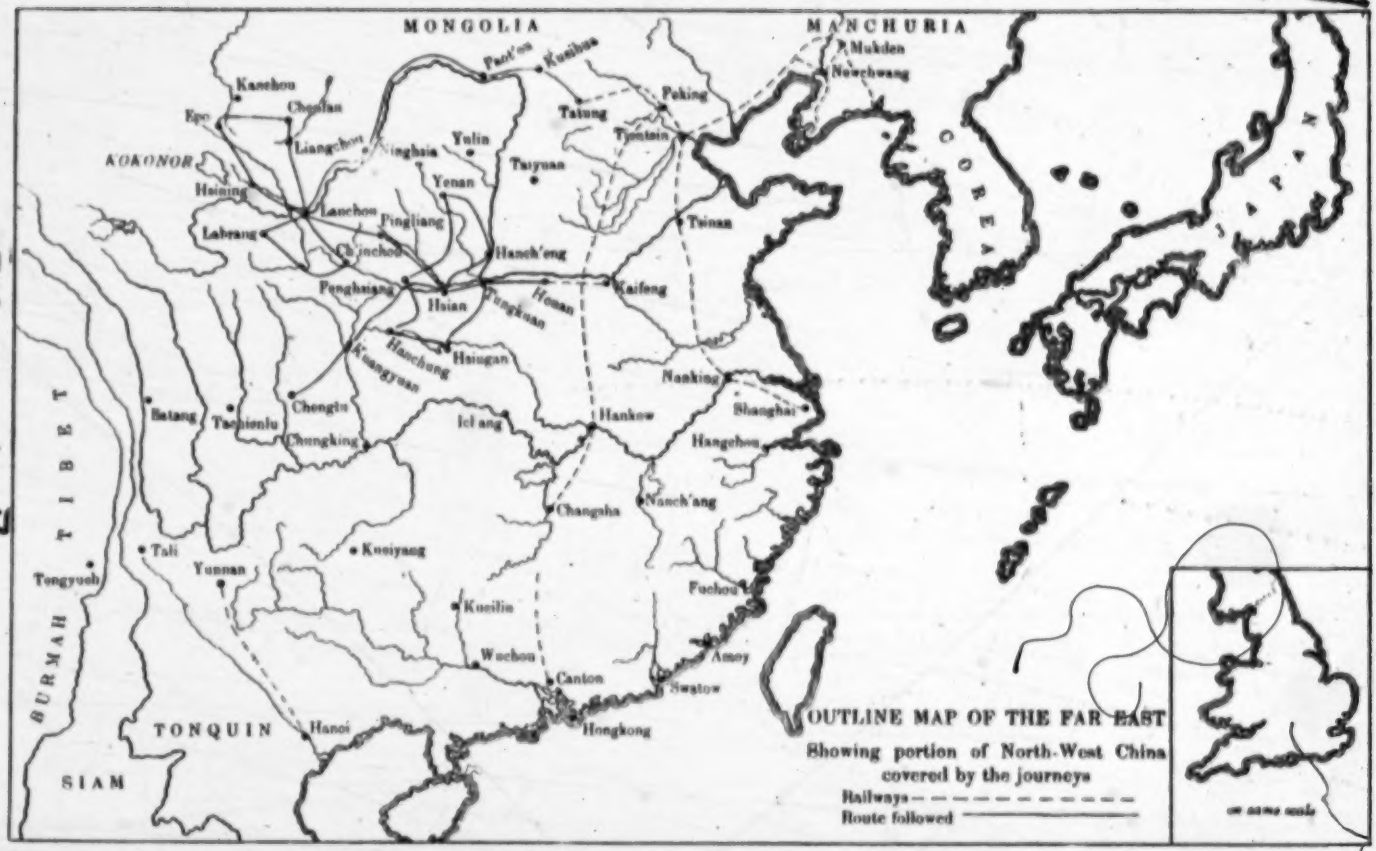

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CHAPTER I

FROM RAILHEAD IN HONAN TO HSIAN FU, THE CAPITAL OF SHENSI

Approaches to the North West—By train to railhead at Kuanyint'ang—Along the Yellow River to T'ungkuan—Road and railway construction in China—Up the Wei valley plain past Huayin, Huachou, Weinan, and Lint'ung to Hsian—Antiquities—Recent events in Shensi.

THERE are a certain limited number of trails leading into Shensi and Kansu from the coast, namely, from Honan *via* the T'ungkuan passage, from Hankow up the Han river, from T'aiyuan in Shansi *via* Suitê to Ninghsia, and from Kueihuach'eng *via* the Yellow River and the Ordos to Northern Kansu. We entered the North West by the first named route and eventually returned by the last named. The T'ungkuan trail, which nowadays carries most of the traffic, follows the valleys of the Yellow and Wei rivers through a natural gap in the mountains leading into the heart of the North West. Along this road has passed much of the traffic with Central and Western Asia since the dawn of history, and along it is one day to be built a trunk railway from the coast to the confines of Turkestan.

Starting from Peking, the Peking-Hankow railway is followed as far as Cheng Chou, the junction with the Kaifeng Fu Honan Fu line, which used to be known as the Pien Lo railway, but is now a section of the great East and West trunk line called the Lung Hai, meaning that it connects (or rather will one day in the distant future connect) Hai Chou on the coast of Kiangsu with Lung, the classical name for Kansu. Cheng Chou is a busy railway settlement attached to a little walled city; on a windy day in the spring it is an indescribably beastly spot, the whole place being shrouded in whirling dust, sand, and loess.

Leaving Cheng Chou the train soon enters a maze of loess hills through which it crawls to emerge near Kung Hsien on the valley plain of the Lo River, which is followed to Honan Fu (Loyang). The rolling stock on this section

496 is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain
133 of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

496 From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Miench'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

493 At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a
493 train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two
516 mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

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PLATE I

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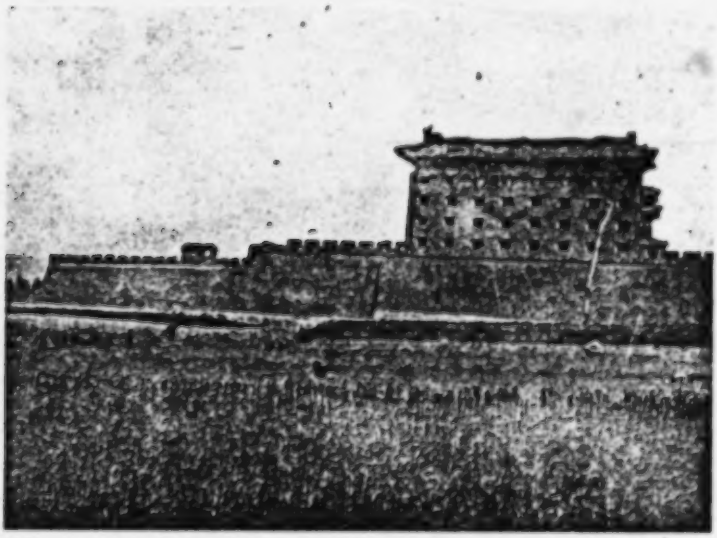
EAST GATE OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN



WEST GATE OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN

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487 and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.

491 From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

487 The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River, 712 which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

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PLATE II

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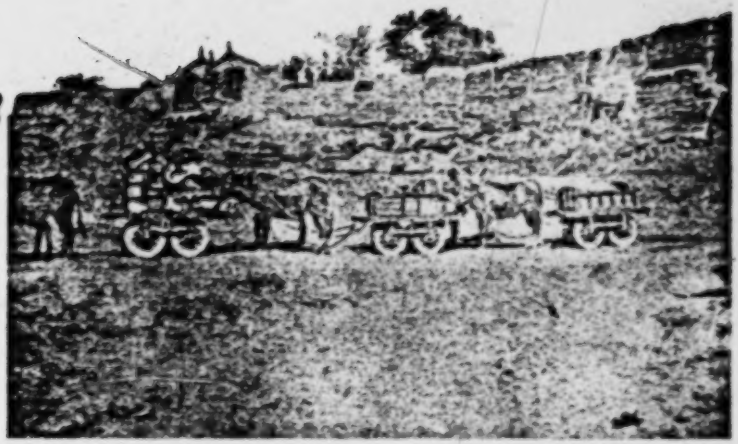

FOUR-WHEELED OX CARTS NEAR T'UNGKUAN

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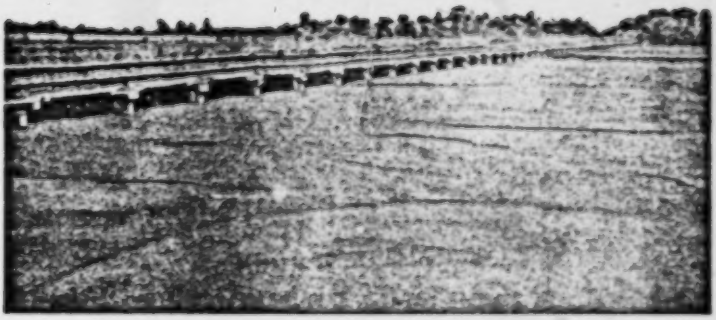

STONE BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO HSIAN FU

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a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

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From T'ungKuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [512] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin 788 Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

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content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

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635 and importance, political, commercial, and military, it entirely overshadows all the other towns in Shensi and Kansu, and is altogether the metropolis of the great agricultural North West, the land of loess and wheat.

Hsian is a backward place as regards the improvements of modern civilization, no macadamized roads, no electric light, no foreign carriages. Amongst other conveniences waterworks are required, as the water from most of the wells in the city is very brackish; good water could easily be brought from one of the many clear streams which emerge from the Ch'inling Shan a few miles to the south. There should be a boom in big contracts in Hsian when the railway gets there, or before.

172 438 We were too busy during our short stay to do much sight-seeing, but felt constrained to visit the Pei Lin ("forest of stone tablets") where the Nestorian Tablet now is. A large rubbing industry has sprung up (or perhaps it has existed for centuries or thousands of years) and almost every other stone has its attendant Chinese busy taking an impression. One would imagine that the more important inscriptions would get seriously damaged by this incessant rubbing, and indeed such appears to be the case. Outside is a shop where these myriad rubbings are busily sold, and their export from Shensi is quite a trade. The Chinese are, of course, great amateurs of ancient curios, inscriptions, and other historical records, and Hsian and Central Shensi is for them a happy hunting ground in this respect. It seems curious that this region has not received more attention from European scholars interested in these matters, since it contains the beginnings of everything as far as Chinese history is concerned, and the latter is hard to beat for an early start; sand-buried cities in the heart of the deserts of Central Asia are ransacked at great difficulty and expense by scholars of various nations, but it does not appear that much if any excavating has been done on the Hsian plain, which contained the capital of ancient dynasties which flourished three to four thousand years ago. The Nestorian Tablet, which dates back eleven to twelve hundred years, records the propagation of Christianity in China by Nestorian missionaries from Western Asia in those days. It is curious that this faith should have so completely disappeared, while Maho-

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medanism, an equally alien religion, has become so firmly rooted in many parts of the country. The Chinese show more interest in the inscriptions relating to their classic works in the Pei Lin than in the famous Nestorian Tablet, and indeed the latter was only moved into that select enclosure recently because of an alleged attempt by a foreigner to remove the original stone under the pretext of having a copy made for a foreign museum.

We stayed in Hsian twice in the course of our journeys, an interval of two years elapsing between the two visits. On the first occasion, which was during Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime as President-Dictator, the city and province were in the hands of one of the Northern Generals supported by a Northern army; two years later the situation had completely changed, the province was enjoying a kind of home rule under native officials of its own choice, and was practically independent of Peking. In the interval Yuan Shih-k'ai had been dragged under in the collapse of his monarchical scheme, and with him had vanished, it would seem, all hope of a stable government in China. Many provincial capitals have had a rough time during the years which have elapsed since the Revolution of 1911, but few or none have suffered more than Hsian Fu. The history of events in Shensi during these years is interesting and not uninstructive for those concerned with the future of the Republic, and is here briefly related.

The Revolution of 1911 took a particularly violent form in Shensi, largely owing to the fact that it was engineered by the local members of the notorious secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui, and was ushered in by an outbreak at Hsian, in which the Manchu inhabitants of the Manchu city were massacred, and some missionaries murdered by the uncontrollable mob. For some months afterwards a state of chaos reigned everywhere, and to make matters worse the province was for a considerable time threatened by an invasion of Mahomedan troops from Kansu, under Sheng Yün, the ex-Viceroy of the North West, and Ma An-liang, the leader of the Kansu moslems, both of whom refused to acknowledge the Republic even after the abdication of the Emperor. These Mahomedan troops did in fact cross the border and sacked a few cities in Shensi, but were

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669 stopped just in time by the explanations of Yuan Shih-k'ai; for it is unlikely that the revolutionary levies of Shensi would have been able to withstand them, and had it not been for Yuan Shih-k'ai's hand at the helm, the devastation of the whole North West by the Mahomedans, and possibly the establishment of an independent Mahomedan State in Kansu, might have been added to the general chaos of those days.

During 1913 things began to settle down under a loose home rule sort of government composed of natives of the province and strongly influenced by the Ko Lao Hui, but early in 1914 Shensi was once more thrown into a state of turmoil by the raid of the so-called "White Wolf" brigands. Hsian was saved by its walls, by no means for the first time in its history, and this terrible horde swept by, almost within sight of the city, westwards into Kansu, whence they straggled back again across Shensi into Honan laden with silver and opium before the close of the year. Yuan Shih-k'ai, however, had in the meantime taken advantage of the opportunity created by these disturbances to send a Northern army into the province on the pretext of fighting the White Wolf brigands, and having thus secured control of the situation, he proceeded to remove the local Tutu, or provincial Governor, and his native administration, and to replace them by one of his Northern generals as Governor with a staff of Northern officials. Shensi thus emerged from the White Wolf ordeal to see its home rule episode at an end and to find itself once again under the strong hand of Peking.

This action of Yuan Shih-k'ai's in Shensi was only a part of a far-sighted scheme which he was then carrying out for replacing the post-revolution Governors, mostly men of the extreme republican type, by his own nominees, stout soldiers from the North on whom he could rely, in preparation for the great day, the existence of which was totally unsuspected by the vast majority of Chinese and foreigners in the country, when he would ascend the Imperial Throne "at the will of the people." He carried out this policy with extraordinary success and tact in province after province, though in most cases it was a case of playing with fire, but for some reason or other he omitted to do so in the case of

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Yunnan, an omission which was to cost him his throne and his life. When the crash came in 1916 many of these stalwarts put up a splendid fight in the interests of their Imperial master, notably the Governor at Canton (who was not, as it happened, a Northerner at all, but a Yunnanese of aboriginal stock); but one by one they gave way before the overwhelming wave of a really popular rebellion; and it is said that it was the receipt of a telegram from one of the most trusted of them all, the Governor of Szechuan, announcing his abandonment of the Imperial cause, which finally brought home to Yuan Shih-k'ai the hopelessness of the position, and caused him to renounce his throne and sink soon after into the grave.

Returning, however, to the history of events in Shensi; during 1915 Yuan Shih-k'ai's hold over the province continued to tighten, and at this time many of the former revolutionary leaders and Ko Lao Hui chiefs were compelled to go into exile abroad, or to join the bands of brigands, composed largely of ex-soldiers disbanded since the Revolution, who began at that time to infest the Northern districts, and who have practically controlled the North of the province ever since.

At the end of 1915 Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor under the dynastic title of Hung Hsien, and on Christmas Day his great antagonist, the late General Tsai Ao, perhaps after Yuan Shih-k'ai the greatest Chinese of modern times, raised the standard of revolt in Yunnan in the name of the Republic. Scarcely anyone, Chinese or foreigner, in Peking when they heard this news suspected that this movement in a far distant corner of the Empire would grow into a rebellion which would overturn Yuan Shih-k'ai within six months. But General Tsai had laid his plans well, and carried them out with a courage and energy not always found amongst the revolutionary leaders, and as the year wore on and the Northern armies failed to defeat him in the mountains of the south west, province after province threw in their lot with the rebellion. The power of Yuan's military governor in Shensi rested purely and simply on his few Northern troops, and it was not surprising that, when in the early summer of 1916 the anti-monarchical rebellion assumed serious proportions, the situation in so turbulent a

PLATE III

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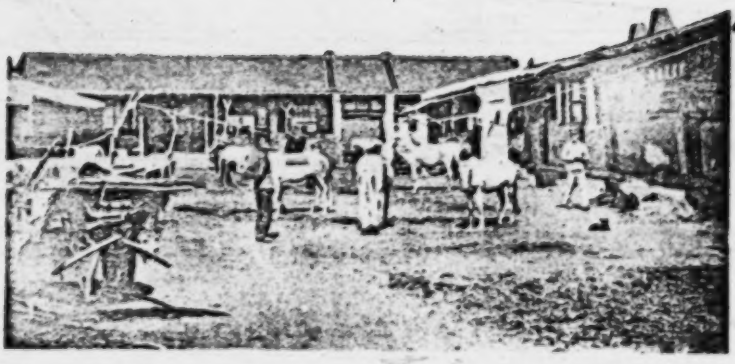

NORTH CHINA CART INN

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ARRIVAL AT HSIAN FU

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669 province soon became critical. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the action of a young military officer of high rank, a native of the province, who revolted with the troops under his command, and having collected a large force from amongst the brigands and secret society men in hiding in the north of the province, marched on Hsian Fu as a supporter of the Republic. The Governor, who was not as staunch an individual as many of Yuan Shih-k'ai's other Northern Generals, promptly threw up the sponge and surrendered the city to save his own life. Shortly afterwards Yuan Shih-k'ai died, and Shensi thus reverted to the state of independent home rule existing after the Revolution of 1911, under the leadership of the young General who had successfully headed the rebellion.

635 Shensi is in rather a peculiar position. Though geographically it is one of the Northern provinces like Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Anhui, from which the Northern Military Party draw their power and their troops, it has yet of recent years always exhibited a strong revolutionary and republican spirit. The proximity of Szechuan, a Southern province, may have something to do with this. But the main reason is probably not so much a feeling of sympathy with the Southern republicans, as the independent and somewhat turbulent nature of the population, strongly infected with Ko Lao Hui influence, which renders them impatient of Central Government control and desirous of managing their own affairs[1]. This desire for provincial independence is natural and laudable, being perhaps a preliminary step towards a spirit of true patriotism in which the Chinese are as a people, with a few exceptions, so extraordinarily lacking. But the actual results of provincial home rule are altogether bad, and consist in increased brigandage, a corrupt and inefficient administration, an uncontrolled soldiery preying on the people, and other evils too numerous to mention. The problem now facing the country is how to unite a truly republican form of government with a strong central administration.

[1] Shensi has since nominally joined the North, remaining, however, to all intents and purposes independent.

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PLATE IV

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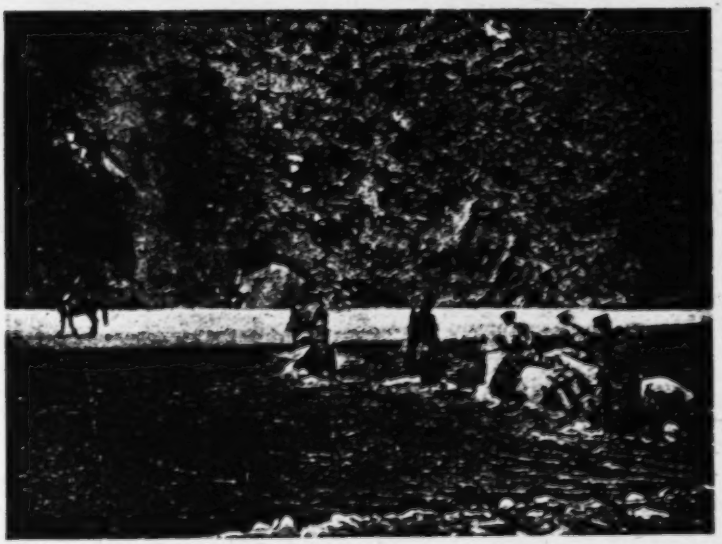
GORGES OF THE CH'IENYU RIVER BELOW CHENAN



FORDING THE CH'IENYU RIVER BELOW CHENAN

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CHAPTER II

FROM T'UNGKUAN ON THE YELLOW RIVER ACROSS THE EASTERN CH'INLING SHAN TO HSINGAN ON THE HAN RIVER

Departure from T'ungkuan—Passage of the Ch'inling Shan—Lonan—Shang Chou—The Ko Lao Hui—Shanyang—Chenan—Chaitzu, or hill forts—The White Wolf rebels of 1914—Hsingan—The Eastern Ch'inling Shan.

WE arrived in T'ungkuan one day in early April after a terribly dusty journey from railhead in Honan, and were met there by a large party of officials deputed by the Provincial Government at Hsian to accompany us on our tour round Shensi. When, after the ceremonies of reception were over, I announced to these gentlemen that our destination was to be Hsingan in the Han valley, and that we proposed proceeding there by the shortest possible route, all asserted categorically (though none of them had any knowledge whatever of the country in question) that there was no road from T'ungkuan to Hsingan, and that we must first proceed to Hsian, the provincial capital, whence a suitable road could be found.

As soon as one leaves the recognized highways one always meets with the same protest in China—that there is no road in the direction in which one wishes to proceed. But there is a sovereign remedy for this particular difficulty to travel in China which I have scarcely ever known to fail and which I have made use of on many occasions. One sends for a map of the province and notes the next district city to one's starting-point in the direction in which one wishes to proceed; for practically speaking all district cities in China Proper are connected with one another by trails of some kind. In this case an examination of the map showed the city of Lonan due south of T'ungkuan. "Very well," we remark to our Chinese friends, "there may, as you assert, be no road from here to Hsingan, but we will in the first instance proceed to the neighbouring district city of Lonan."

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487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

492 We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no [491] cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

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than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed. 133 487

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River. [243]

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to 487 579

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487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage.
579 Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

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pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country. 871

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu. 575 669

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to 575 635 579

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575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a
579 high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han
133 valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --Analyst]

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mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants. 487

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains. 133

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective. 487 491 505 487 133

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains.

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487 All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling
712 ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

487 Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed
133 down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice
361 fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

487 The next day's march was a long and tiring one called
133 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

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574 651 that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 651 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

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to attract one's notice, and enquiries elicited the fact that these were the result of the passage of the terrible "White Wolf" rebels, who passed in and out of Shensi in scattered bands by these out of the way mountain trails in 1914. During our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu we often found ourselves travelling in the footsteps of this devastating horde, whose trail of desolation could be traced in the ruins of farms, villages and towns from the borders of Honan to the confines of the Kokonor. Their lootings, burnings, and killings recall the depredations of the T'aip'ing and Mahomedan rebels who devastated N.W. China, south and north of the Ch'inling Shan respectively, fifty years ago.

This terrible horde of bandits or rebels was an aftermath of the rebellion of 1913. It consisted of an organized and well-equipped nucleus of a few thousand fighting men, disbanded soldiery from the Yangtzu Valley and Secret Society men from Honan, together with many thousands of local adherents drawn from amongst the brigands, soldiers and bad characters of the provinces through which they passed. The four words "Pai Lang Chao Liang" (White Wolf is recruiting) passed secretly up and down the Han Valley, and recruits from all quarters flocked to join the band. After 30,000 of Yuan Shih-k'ai's best Northern troops had failed to crush these rebels in Honan, they burst through into the Han Valley *via* the rich mart of Laoho K'ou, where a foreign missionary was murdered in the sacking of the city, and early in 1914 worked through the mountains into Central Shensi. Hsian, with its mighty walls, withstood the raiders as it had withstood the Mahomedans fifty years earlier, and the horde drove on almost unopposed through Western Shensi into Southern Kansu, looting, burning and killing. The massacres of Chinese non-combatants were appalling, and the raiders, many of them mere youths, richly dressed in looted silks and jewellery and armed with modern rifles and Mauser pistols, rivalled in their cruelty and lust for indiscriminate slaughter the most terrible of Chinese rebels of days gone by. The object of the raid into the North West seems to have been the stocks of opium in Shensi and Kansu. The resistance they met with and the measures taken to deal with them reflect no credit on the Chinese Government of the time and it is a common

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669 rumour that many high officials were privy to the raid and shared in the loot which was brought back to Honan. It was not until they reached the Mahomedan districts of Kansu near the Kokonor border that they suffered any serious loss, and that was mainly at the hands of the Mahomedan population of those parts, who are not accustomed to permit themselves to be looted and killed without showing fight, and from the hardships of the long forced marches through that wild region, rather than owing to the action of any Government troops. Eventually the survivors straggled back with their loot through Shensi to their homes in Honan and Anhui. The Chinese officials assert that White Wolf himself, who appears to have been an ex-military officer from the Yangtzu armies, was captured and executed.

The failure of the Shensi troops, mostly revolutionary levies of Ko Lao-Hui men and ex-brigands, of much the same type as the raiders, to deal with the White Wolf rebels was to be expected; but the failure of the Northern Army opposed to them in Honan in the winter of 1913–14 seems at first sight difficult to account for. The rebels were of course much more mobile than the Government troops, as they lived on the country by taking what they wanted and impressed men and animals everywhere to carry their transport. Then again their lives being at stake, they could be depended on to fight when cornered, whereas it is difficult to induce the Chinese soldier to close with his enemy in a fight of this kind in which he has no interest. Where not an ex-brigand, the Chinese soldier is often a good fellow in most respects, but he is apt to be too sensible to be willing to run the risk of getting killed without adequate reason. Hence battles between rebels and Government troops in China usually consist in the discharge of large quantities of ammunition at a safe distance from one another. It is the civilian inhabitant of the raided towns and villages who gets killed if he does not manage to escape in time to his *chaitzu* in the mountains.

487 We left Chenan on April 19th for Hsingan, distant, we
133 were told, five hard days' march over the worst possible roads. The first stage was 80 li to the village of Ch'ingt'ung Kuan. The trail lay all the way down the steep winding gorges of the Ch'ienyu River and was terribly rough and

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tiring. A path fit for carrying coolies is ledged in the cliff side, but mules and ponies have to pick their way over the stones and boulders in the stream bed, constantly crossing and recrossing the river, which is only just fordable, as it washes the base of the cliffs alternately on either side. The following day's march, called 60 li, to the village of Hsiaoho K'ou is precisely the same and most tiring. The district of Hsünyang is entered rather more than half-way near a picturesque temple overhanging the water. Hsiaoho K'ou lies at a point where the river, making the most intricate turns and twists on itself and almost surrounding a precipitous hill crowned by a fine *chaitzu,* is joined by a tributary from the east.

Ten li lower down, at a hamlet called Liangho Kuan, the Ch'ienyu Ho is joined by another stream from the west called the Hsün Ho, which issues from a similar gloomy gorge in the mountains. This latter river seems to contain the greater volume of water and is considered the main stream.

From Liangho Kuan small boats can descend the Hsün Ho to its junction with the Han at Hsünyang Hsien, whence the latter can be reascended to Hsingan. It was of course suggested by everyone that we should here take to boats, but as it would have taken about a week to get to Hsingan by water as against three days by road across the mountains, we decided to continue overland. Since the trail continued, however, to descend the river gorges for another 40 li, we were able to avail ourselves of boats for that distance. The magistrate of Hsünyang had provided a regular flotilla for our huge party, and the boatmen were obviously relieved to find that we were only going to take them for a short distance instead of descending to the Han; for the supply of boats was of course a sort of official corvée for which they got little or no remuneration. The best boat, a brand new one, had been laboriously dragged up the rapids of the Hsün Ho and hidden away round a bend to prevent its being impressed; but the magistrate's underlings soon got wind of it and it was unearthed together with its morose and disappointed owner, and placed at our disposal. As our mules and ponies were all tired and footsore from the rough trails they had been travelling on, I tried to ship them

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491 for a rest; but having embarked them with difficulty in the largest boat, the boatmen pronounced it too dangerous a proposition in the rapids, and they had to continue their overland scramble. We had a pleasant journey downstream, passing through deep gorges and shooting a succession of small rapids, but as we ran aground periodically it took about three hours to do the 40 li to the village of Chaochia Wan, where the gorges open out into a pleasant little valley with cultivated slopes dotted with wood oil trees.

487 At Chaochia Wan the Hsingan trail leaves the gorge of the Hsün Ho to cut across the mountains to the S.W. for 133 two days' march. The first stage to the village of Map'ing Ho is only 50 li, but it is a hard day's march. It is only when one starts to climb out of these Han valley gorges that one realises their depth. For three hours after leaving Chaochia Wan we scrambled up a mountain side, most of the way too steep to ride, in a downpour of rain. On reaching the pass (about 4200 feet) the weather cleared somewhat, allowing fleeting views through the clouds over a maze of wild reddish mountains patched with trees and jungle vividly green in their spring foliage. From the pass there was a steep drop of a few li, like the ascent by slippery clay paths and flights of irregular stone steps, then an easy descent along a ridge, and finally a precipitous drop straight down the mountain side to the hamlet of Map'ing Ho lying in a ravine running S.E.

From here there was only one stage left, called 90 li, to Hsingan. The magistrate of the latter city, who met us here, suggested an early start, as the 90 li were, he said, "very big and over several mountains." Fortunately we took his advice, for what with the passes, the badness of the road, and the rain, we were nearly twelve hours *en route*.

Leaving the valley of Map'ing Ho the trail enters a defile to the S.W. which leads up to a pass (3300 feet), the boundary between Hsünyang and Hsingan districts, and then drops down into a stony gorge which is followed to the hamlet of Liuli Kou. From this place there are still 60 li left to Hsingan, and the weary traveller feels entitled to hope for a run down the valley for the rest of the way. But it is still the same story of an endless succession of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. across a road running S.W. and

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the trail only follows down this gorge for a few li before it turns up the mountain to the S.W. to cross another ridge; and descending into a similar gorge the other side, it soon strikes again S.W. up another mountain slope. This, the last range to be crossed, is a stiff climb of a thousand feet by a rough zigzag track. From the summit (about 2600 feet) there is a fine view over the Han valley. Some 1800 feet below and 25 li away to the S.W. lies the city of Hsingan, with the Han River emerging from its mountain gorges, flowing past the foreground of the picture through a small plain, and disappearing in the mountains to the left; across the river rise tier on tier of hills and mountains towards the Szechuan frontier; on the right hand across a range of red hills a glimpse is caught of the valley plain of the Yo River stretching away towards Hanyin T'ing; and in the immediate foreground are low flat-topped hills of red clay, covered with wheat, peas, and lucerne, across which the path descends, climbing in and out of two deep narrow nullahs, before finally debouching at the ferry on the banks of the Han opposite Hsingan Fu.

The route followed from T'ungkuan to Hsingan, a distance of 960 li, gives one a good general idea of the nature of the ranges of mountains known to foreigners as the Ch'in-ling Shan at their eastern and lower end. All the way one is crossing ridge after ridge trending south-east composed of red sandstone, shale and limestone, the first named predominating on the lower slopes and in the valleys. These red clays and sandstones bound the loess formations on the south all the way from Honan to the Kokonor. The south-easterly trend of these ridges seems to start from the culminating point of the range, the T'aipai Shan, whence one series of ranges runs east along the southern edge of the Wei valley plains, and another strikes south-east right across the Han basin and causes the succession of gorges through which the Han River flows from below Yang Hsien to the Hupei border; between these two series of ranges lies the red plateau of Lonan and the headwaters of the Honan Lo. West of T'aipai Shan there is a similar split, one series of ranges running west into Kansu as the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, and another running south-west as the watershed between the Han and Chialing rivers. From T'aipai

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PLATE V

133

CHAITZU (HILL FORT) ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

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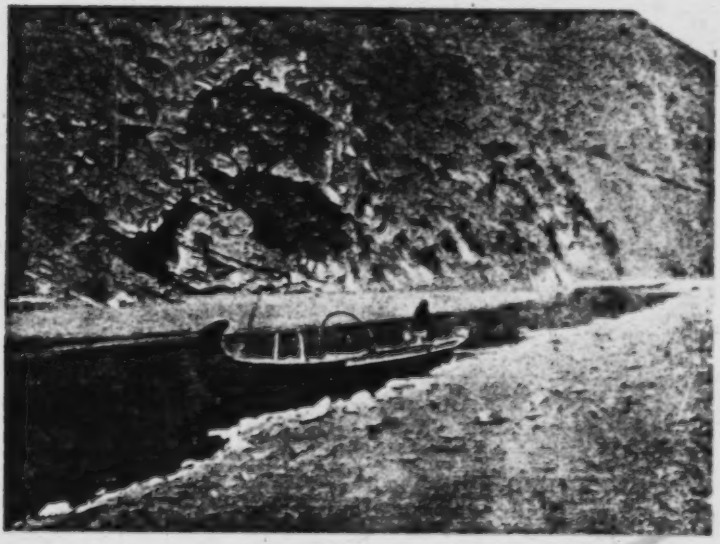

CANOE BOAT ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

[FACING p. 28]

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133 Shan itself streams flow down in all directions. The Chinese apply the name Ch'inling strictly speaking only to the passes in the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed range. The mass of mountains which fill up the whole of Southern Shensi from south of the Wei River to the Szechuan border, and through which the Han flows in a deep and narrow trough, are universally known locally as the Nan Shan.

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PLATE VI

133

GLEN ON THE ROAD BETWEEN HANYIN AND SHIHCH'UAN

GORGES OF HAN RIVER ABOVE SHIHCH'UAN

[FACING p. 29]

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old.

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea,

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
241 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of
the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal,
135 iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret
563 society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three
133 weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl
shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien. 103

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China. 471

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized [132] 487 [494]

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487 countries. Yet a series of macadamized trunk roads would be an inestimable boon politically and economically to the country and the people and could be constructed at a comparatively small cost; some of the large sums spent annually for the upkeep of unnecessary military forces in the various provinces might with great advantage be diverted to this end.

133 Leaving Hsingan the Han River is crossed by a ferry above the city and the trail then runs westwards up the [491] valley plain of the Yo River, which is navigable for small [244] boats from Hanyin down. Its valley forms a rich little alluvial plain growing rice and wheat and supporting many farms and villages, and offering an admirable route for a railway westwards, which can thus avoid the gorges of the Han in this neighbourhood. To the south a range of mountains rises steeply to a height of a few thousand feet, separating this little plain from the Han River, while to the north the valley slopes up to low hills of red clay backed by mountains. Seventy li from Hsingan the township of Hengk'ou is reached, the end of the first stage, situated at the junction of the Yo River with the Heng River from the north. It has the honour of being the native place of the present Military Governor of the Province, General Ch'en Shu-fan, the old rule, which has many advantages, that an official is debarred from serving in his native province, no longer holding good.

487 From Hengk'ou to Hanyin is called 110 li, but the road is good and the li very short (at least four to the mile), so that with ponies and pack mules the distance can easily be done in a day. The Chinese li is commonly considered to be the equivalent of a third of a mile, which, however, is only the case in out of the way parts of Kansu. Elsewhere north of the Ch'inling Shan ten li to three miles may be taken as a fairly accurate average. In the upper Han valley, as in Szechuan, the li averages about four to a mile, or even more in the mountains; the difference north and south of the Ch'inling Shan being probably due to the use of animal and coolie transport in those regions respectively.

Ten li beyond Hengk'ou the hills close in on the river to form a *kuan*, or barrier, and the path crosses a low spur to descend again into the valley, here less than a mile in width, up which it continues past several large villages, crossing and recrossing the stream by fords, for the rest of the way to Hanyin.

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

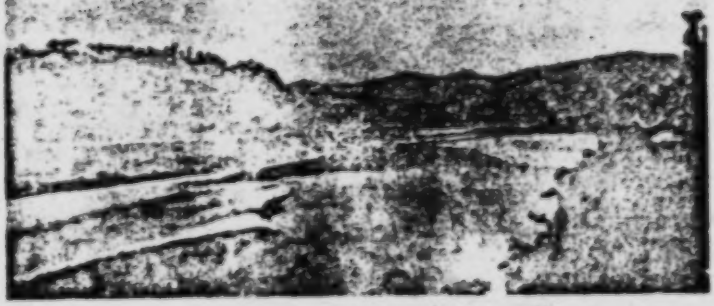
From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [361]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [491]

PLATE VII

HAN RIVER AT CH'A CHEN



MUMA RIVER ABOVE HSIHSIANG

[Facing p. 24]

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487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the
133 district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of
[248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the
[438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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PLATE VIII

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TRAIL THROUGH THE FOOTHILLS NEAR KULUPA

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APPROACHING KULUPA

[FACING p. 35]

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial 361
governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa 487
respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. 133
The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan com- [563]
munity with two mosques. In the woods one will often see 249
heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a 438
vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much 262
esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance 487
of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, 133
occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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487 the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the
133 same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on
797 the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At
[712] Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 249 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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Military Governor, and the Taoyin, as a civil official, has little importance. This was the state of affairs at the time of our visit, when the upper Han basin was almost a separate province by itself, isolated from the rest of Shensi by the barrier of the Ch'inling Shan. When Yuan Shih-k'ai was busy with his monarchical scheme and was centralizing his rule by posting his own Generals and detachments of his Northern troops at various strategic points in the provinces, he sent a Northern Mixed Brigade into the upper Han valley to hold that region, and to keep open his overland communications with Szechuan. Owing to the geographical isolation of its position this Brigade and its Northern General were still in Hanchung at the time of our visit, a year after Yuan and his short-lived Empire had been swept away by the rebellion of 1916, and were continuing to control the basin of the upper Han though the rest of the province was enjoying a sort of independent home rule. It must be admitted that under the control of these comparatively well-disciplined Northerners the Han valley was much more peaceful and less preyed on by brigands than the rest of the province under home rule. Provincial independence and the loose federal system into which the Republic of China is now again drifting do not tend towards the maintenance of political stability and public security in the interior. So far the history of the past six years in China has proved the absolute necessity of a strong central administration[1], though, in the opinion of many competent Chinese and foreign observers, Peking, tucked away in a far distant corner of the country, with its apparently incurable atmosphere of reaction, is no longer the proper place for the seat of Government.

[1] It is now becoming questionable whether a strong central administration is any longer attainable in China, and whether it would not perhaps be better for the country to develop along the lines of a federation of more or less autonomous provinces.

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CHAPTER IV

FROM HANCHUNG IN THE HAN VALLEY ACROSS THE CENTRAL CH'INLING SHAN TO FENGHSIANG IN THE WEI BASIN

Routes across the Ch'inling Shan—Ch'engku—Yanghsien—Across the parallel ridges of the Ch'inling Shan—Big game—The Hsinglung Ling—Fop'ing—Pheasant shooting—More passes—Chouchih—Across the Wei valley plains to Meihsien and Fenghsiang—Wheat, indigo, and cotton.

133 487 FROM Hanchung it was our intention to re-cross the Ch'inling Shan back into the Wei valley. The Ch'inling Shan, or Nan Shan, which consist of a series of precipitous parallel ranges trending across the path of anyone travelling between south and north, have always proved an extraordinarily effective barrier to communication between the Han and Wei basins. It was this barrier which prevented the T'aip'ing Rebellion spreading north from the Han valley into Central Shensi, and the Mahomedan Rebellion spreading south from the Wei valley into Southern Shensi; and in recent years it has kept the upper Han basin comparatively peaceful while rebellion and brigandage raged in the Wei valley and Northern Shensi. The Chinese have always rested content with two main routes across this barrier, one at each end; the Hsian-Lungchuchai road in the east, and the Fenghsiang-Liupa-Hanchung road in the extreme west. There is one other route which is considered by Chinese travellers to be just passable, that south from Hsian *via* Ningshan T'ing. The remaining three routes, that in the east *via* Chenan, that in the centre *via* Fop'ing, and that, further west, south from Mei Hsien, the two latter passing over the shoulders of the T'aipai Shan, one on each side, are considered by the Chinese impracticable for ordinary travellers. This is because they are too steep for chairs, and are so rough that even with mules and ponies it is necessary to do the greater portion of the journey on foot. We returned to the Wei valley by the Fop'ing trail, which debouches on to the plain at Chouchih Hsien, whence we turned westwards to Fenghsiang Fu. From Hanchung to Fenghsiang by this route is a distance of about 840 li.

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For the first two days from Hanchung the road runs down the valley plain past the district city of Ch'engku Hsien to Yang Hsien, two easy stages of 75 and 60 li respectively. These are two large and flourishing cities, Ch'engku especially rivalling even Hanchung in the wealth and prosperity of its inhabitants. Below Yang Hsien the converging mountains bring this fertile plain to an end and the Han River enters a series of gloomy gorges interrupted by rapids from which it emerges at Hsingan. The latter city is supposed to be about 800 feet only above sea level, whereas Hanchung is credited on some of the best modern maps of China with a height of 2000 feet, thus allowing of a fall of some 1200 feet in the Han between Yang Hsien and Hsingan. As the fall on this portion of the river can hardly be more than 500 feet, Hanchung is probably not more than some 1300 feet above sea level.

The difficulties of this route begin on leaving Yang Hsien. The trail here turns north and reaches the base of the mountains after about 8 li. After following a small valley for a short distance, it leaves the stream and ascends over cultivated downs to reach the edge of a spur between two ravines. There is a steep scramble up this ridge for two hours or more by a very rough rocky track to the top of the first range bounding the valley. The view from this ridge looking north is over a series of steep sparsely timbered ranges, rising one behind the other and blocking the way to Fop'ing. From the pass (4400 feet) there is a steep drop into a winding gorge which debouches after an hour's march into the ravine of a stream flowing S.E.; a short distance up this ravine lies an inn, called Ta Tientzu, 65 li from Yang Hsien, which makes a suitable halting-place for the first stage.

From Ta Tientzu the trail continues up the ravine to the north, past the hamlet of Hohsiatzu, for 35 li to the foot of another range running east and west. There is a stiff climb of about a thousand feet to the pass (5500 feet), followed by a precipitous drop of as much down the other side into a ravine which leads straight down to the unwalled township of Huayang Chen, lying in a basin of sandstone at the junction of several ravines which provide water and space for rice fields, the last seen until the descent into the Wei valley five days further north. The surrounding mountains are

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much broken, prettily wooded, and full of pheasants. To the north a high range runs east and west across the direction of Fop'ing, while to the south-east there is a large gap in the mountains following the flow of the stream. This stage is also about 65 li.

The trail now continues north up a boulder-strewn valley which soon contracts to a gorge, and then turns up a side glen which leads after a scramble to the pass (6000 feet), two to three hours' march from Huayang. This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yang Hsien and Fop'ing Hsien and the magistrate of the latter had left his isolated post in the wilds of the Ch'inling Shan to meet us here. There is a fine view to the north over two high rocky ranges running east and west, the further one rising to a height of over 10,000 feet. From the pass the track drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing west, where there are some huts called Hot'ao Pa. Crossing the stream the path strikes almost immediately into another glen, which leads up through dense thickets of the dwarf-bamboo to the top of the nearest of the two ranges seen from the last pass. From the summit there are fine views all around over the mountains densely wooded with pine, birch, and other trees; to the north the same high range still blocks the road to Fop'ing. From this pass (7000 feet) there is a precipitous drop of a few hundred feet into the gorge of another stream flowing S.W., up which the trail turns northwards for a few li to reach some huts and a mule inn called Ta P'ing, with a little cultivation, mostly potatoes. We halted here for the night, 60 li from Huayang. This is a tiring march, practically one long scramble up and down the mountains all the way, by very bad tracks much too rough to ride over. The second pass can be avoided by taking an alternative route down one stream and up the other, which is said, however, to be impassable for mules.

Ta P'ing is nearly 7000 feet high, Huayang Chen about 4000, Ta Tientzu about 3000, and Yang Hsien about 1300. The trail thus ascends by a series of steps from valley to valley across the intervening ranges from the Han River to the heart of the Ch'inling Shan.

On the following day's march the trail continues up the stream to the N.E. through forests of pine and birch

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for about 15 li to reach the pass in the big range. 487 The ascent is comparatively easy except for the last few hundred feet, the valley being flat and open and apparently 133 of glacier origin in contrast to the deep narrow gorges usual in the Ch'inling Shan. A little snow and ice were still lying in the stream bed in the middle of May. From the summit of the pass (9000 feet) there is a fine view to the north towards T'aipai Shan (12,000 feet), which appears as a rocky ridge sprinkled with snow, with a lower range in the immediate foreground over which the path leads to Fop'ing. All around are forest-clad ranges, uninhabited, and abounding [136] in big game, deer, bear, pig, leopard, goral, and takin; but owing to the nature of the country their pursuit would involve great difficulties and hardships. This is near the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, a wild unexplored region, whence the ranges and streams ramify east and south-east on one side, and west and south-west on the other. The pass is called the Hsinglung Ling, and is crowned with an old ruined temple and gateway. There are additional signs that this trail, now unused except by a few isolated coolies carrying salt into the Han valley, smugglers, and others with good reasons for avoiding the main road, was once a much more important route. It is of course the most direct road from Hsian to Hanchung.

From the pass there is an easy descent through another flat open valley, where we saw some silver pheasants (or [136] perhaps they should be referred to as blood pheasants, a species of *Ithagenes*), into the valley of a stream flowing west, where there is some cultivation, as usual mostly potatoes, and some huts, called Huangts'ao P'ing; these valleys are less thickly wooded than those on the southern side of the pass. Here the trail leaves the stream at once and strikes up the opposite slope to the north to reach another pass after an hour's easy climb. This range is the last to be crossed before reaching Fop'ing and is a few hundred feet lower than the Hsinglung Ling. From the pass there is a steep descent by a very rough track through a narrow gorge until one debouches after about 25 li into the broad cultivated valley of the Fop'ing River, up which the road runs eastwards through corn fields swarming with pheasants for ten li to Fop'ing T'ing.

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PLATE IX

GORGE IN THE CH'INLING SHAN ON THE TRAIL TO FOP'ING

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ACCIDENT TO A PONY ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL

[FACING p. 44]

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361 Fop'ing, formerly a T'ing and now a third class Hsien, is a very place, a mere walled hamlet, containing only twenty or thirty families, and is probably about the smallest and most miserable of all the Hsien cities in China Proper. It lies in a cultivated valley, on the headwaters of a stream which apparently flows west and then south to join the Han near Ch'engku. This valley, over 6000 feet above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by [241] lofty mountains: it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop [262] in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanchung plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including T'aipai Shan in the N.W. corner. The post of magistrate is naturally not sought after. The Chinese consider Fop'ing a "dreadfully bitter" place (*k'u ti hen*), since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies; but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday.

136 We stayed a couple of days at Fop'ing, during which it rained in the valley and snowed on T'aipai and the higher ranges. The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains

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PLATE X

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VIEW FROM THE HSINGLUNG LING ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL

VIEW FROM THE HSINGLUNG LING ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL

[FACING p. 45]

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them[1] partly because of the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range immediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants — Analyst]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River
132 basins, the streams to the north all flowing down into a river called the Hei Ho, which rises in Fop'ing district and flows through the mountains to join the Wei near Chouchih Hsien. The trail to the latter place, however, does not follow down the gorges of this stream, but passes directly N.E. over a series of spurs running down from T'aipai Shan, and is little if at all less arduous than the portion between Yang Hsien and Fop'ing.

From the pass the path drops steeply through a pine wood into a densely wooded gorge running east. After an hour's march down this ravine the stream is joined by one of greater volume flowing down from the snows of T'aipai Shan. The scenery in this neighbourhood is exceedingly beautiful, the torrent descending in a succession of cascades through a gorge hemmed in by densely wooded heights. Continuing down this winding ravine for another hour's march, the village of Houchentzu is reached, where the valley opens out and there is some cultivation. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows off towards the east to join the Hei Ho, and strikes up a gully which leads after a steep ascent to a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above Houchentzu, whence it drops precipitously into the cultivated valley of another stream flowing down from T'aipai, and reaches the village of Taima Ho, at about the same elevation as Houchentzu (4500 feet) and 60 li from Fop'ing. This was another hard march, scrambling up and down mountains all day; but the scenery was so fine and the air so bracing that no one seemed too tired, though to be compelled to walk the best part of 60 li in the mountains is not unnaturally considered a terrible hardship by the Chinese upper classes; although these latter appear so utterly unused and averse to all forms of bodily exercise there is yet a curious reserve of strength and of capacity for suffering hardship about them which was frequently noticeable on
486 our long journeys. Our party was now much reduced in size, but it severely taxed the accommodation of these mountain inns and hamlets. Local supplies would of course have been quite inadequate, but large quantities of rice or flour and a few rough tents were always arranged for at our halts by the local officials.

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At Taima Ho the track again leaves the stream, which flows east into a deep gorge towards the Hei Ho, and turns northwards up the mountain side to gain a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above the valley. The ascent is easy, this spur being covered with a sort of clayey loess cultivated in terraces; the appearance of loess so far in the Ch'inling ranges is unusual. From the pass the track drops into the gorge of another stream flowing down from T'aipai Shan; it follows up this gorge for a few li past the hamlet of Ch'enk'ou Wan and then turns up a side ravine to reach the base of a ridge called the Laochün Ling. From here there is a stiff climb for two to three hours, ascending 2500 feet, up a wooded mountain side to reach the pass (7500 feet), T'aipai Shan again becoming visible at intervals. From the summit there is a fine view to the S.W. across the lower ridges traversed by the trail back to the watershed range north of Fop'ing. After a steep drop of 2000 feet through a gorge Watientzu is reached, a few huts and inns, surrounded by precipitous mountains, in the ravine of a stream flowing down from T'aipai. This is another tiring march of 60 li. One is here in the district of Chouchih, the Laochün Ling ridge being the Fop'ing boundary.

From Watientzu the path runs down the narrow wooded gorge for about two hours' march, and then turns north up a gully which leads after a steep climb of 2000 feet to the summit of another ridge trending S.E. This is the last of the eleven passes which have to be crossed on this trail between the Han and Wei valleys. From the northern face of the range there is a very fine view over the Wei valley plain nearly five thousand feet below. From the pass the track descends by steep zigzags and then through a narrow gorge for three hours' march to reach the village of Hsin-k'outzu, lying a little above the plain at the base of the mountains, 80 li from Watientzu. The whole party heaved sighs of relief to find themselves once more on level ground; for the mountains with their fine scenery and bracing air are lost on the Chinese, who only notice the discomforts and hardships they entail for the traveller. The majority of our large party had by this time had enough of the journey, and produced various excuses for returning to the provincial capital, two and a half days' march across the

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plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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000 the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to 133 the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above 487 the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess 243 deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across 361 wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

361 Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been [491] a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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CHAPTER V

FROM FENGHSIANG THROUGH THE LOESS OF WESTERN SHENSI TO YENAN

The loess plateau of Western Shensi—Linyu—Yungshou—Ch'unhua—Wheat harvest—Rifts in the loess—Yaochou—Origin of loess—Brigands of North Shensi—T'ungkuan—Yichün—Game in the mountains—Chungpu—Loch'uan—Fuchou—Ravages of brigands—Kanch'uan—Caves—Yenan.

AFTER a couple of days' rest at Fenghsiang we started on a long tour of the loess country of Northern Shensi, the furthest point of which was to be Yenan Fu. There being nothing in the nature of a main road in that direction from where we found ourselves, and being met with the usual protestations to that effect, we had to apply, as usual with success, the plan of proceeding from one district city to another in the required direction, until we struck the highway from Hsian to Yenan at Yao Chou. Between Fenghsiang and Yao Chou our route took us across a vast plateau of loess, which includes parts or the whole of the districts of Pin Chou, Ch'angwu, Sanshui, Yungshou, and Ch'unhua, and reaches in the N.W. a height of over 4000 feet. It has a marked slope to the S.E. and is intersected by the deep cañon of the Ching River and the ravines of many other streams all flowing in the same direction, and by innumerable rifts and crevasses in the loess from ten to five hundred feet in depth. Travel up and down this plateau along its slope between N.W. and S.E. is easy, but transversely from S.W. to N.E., the line of our march, most trying and arduous, owing to the necessity of constantly crossing the perpendicular rifts in the loess, varying from the tremendous cañon of the Ching River, nearly a thousand feet in depth, to a dry crevasse a hundred feet deep. All these rifts trend in the same direction as the slope of the plateau, i.e. S.E., and all have perpendicular walls. In order to avoid these rifts which increase in size and frequency as the plateau descends, our route kept as much as possible to the high ground and consequently made a long detour to the north.

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487 From Fenghsiang to Yao Chou by this route is a distance
133 of about 510 li, and thence to Yenan another 530 li.

Leaving Fenghsiang Fu by the East Gate the trail soon turns off the main road to the N.E. and runs across the plain for 20 li to the foot of the hills. Crossing a spur a few hundred feet high the path then descends into the ravine of a stream which is followed up for two hours' march to the hamlet of K'angchia Ho. The surrounding mountains are all of loess terraced for the cultivation of wheat and maize, [243] with the scattered inhabitants living mostly in caves. In this neighbourhood we came across some chikor of exception-
136 ally large size (the handsome red-legged partridge of North China), the only occasion on which I have seen them in the loess. These birds are called *Shih Chi* (stone fowl) in the mountains of Northern Chihli, where they are common, frequenting bare stony slopes. They are found in large coveys, which seldom fail to make their presence known by their characteristic call; but they are most difficult to shoot, as they are inveterate runners, always up hill, and, being very strong, carry a great deal of shot; the only way to get them is to descend on them from above. They are excellent eating, but not so good as the little brown partridge with a black patch on the breast, also fairly common in the mountains of the North. Throughout our journeys in Shensi and Kansu, however, we saw very few partridges compared to pheasants.

487 From K'angchia Ho the trail runs up a branch of the
133 stream to the N.E. for a few li and then strikes up the hill side, and following a ridge between two ravines ascends gradually to reach a pass (4300 feet), the boundary between Fenghsiang and Linyu districts. There is much uncultivated land on these mountains, the grass-grown terraces gradually becoming obliterated; this is a common sight throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, and together with the many ruined villages points to a decrease in population, supposed to be due to the ravages of the great Mahomedan rebellion of fifty years ago, but perhaps also due to a gradual desiccation of this region. All around are loess ridges and ravines in bewildering confusion; but there appears to be a sort of watershed trending S.E., a range which is known further east as the Ch'i Shan. From the pass there is no immediate

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PLATE XII

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CANYON OF THE CHING RIVER, WESTERN SHENSI

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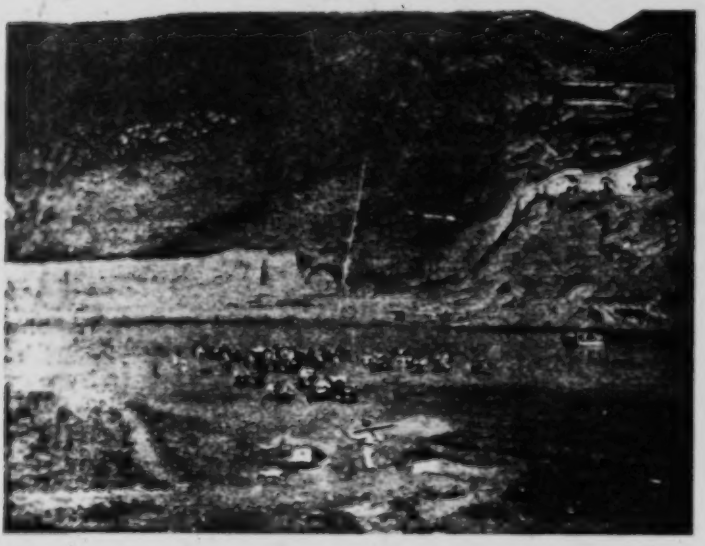

FERRY ACROSS THE CHING RIVER

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Ling:'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

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487 133 in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch, strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuimu, 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu. [232] Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms [651] of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

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Where the loess has been washed away shales and sandstones are revealed, and often right on the tops of the spurs there are outcroppings of a sort of conglomerate of waterworn pebbles cemented together. The loess mountains in this neighbourhood are little cultivated, being covered with poor-looking pasture, which supports scanty herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Finally there is a descent of a few hundred feet to reach the city of Yungshou Hsien, which lies a little below the crest of the ridge, on the shoulder of a spur up which ascends the Great West Road from the Hsian plains. 487 133 [233]

Yungshou consists of one street running up the ridge and is merely a walled-in section of the big road; it is a replica of Linyu, with a little more life in it owing to its position on the Kansu highway. We had passed through it two years previously almost to a day on our way to the latter province, the season of the year being the end of May. 361

Our next objective was the district city of Ch'unhua (locally Shunhua) distant two marches of 90 li each. Leaving Yungshou we followed up the main road for a few li to regain the crest of the range, where I shot some cock pheasants in almost the identical spot as two years before, and then turned eastwards once more along the top of the ridge for 25 li to a cave village. Here the ridge ends in rolling uplands of loess, the beginning, from this side, of the great loess plateau of Western Shensi. The Belgian railway (Lung Hai) from Hsian to Lanchou will, it is said, follow up the Wei River, the line of the cart road being apparently too difficult; an easier route might perhaps be found following up the slope of this plateau through Sanshui district to Ch'ingyang, and thence through Northern Kansu. The upper portions of these rolling plains where we met them are uncultivated and covered with poor sheep pasture, apparently owing to the lack of water, the one great drawback to the loess; and one might imagine oneself on the grasslands of Eastern Mongolia, until, on attempting to cross the plateau in any direction away from the trail, one almost immediately fetches up against a chasm in the loess with perpendicular walls perhaps hundreds of feet deep. Lower down these uplands are one vast cornfield 487 133 [233]

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487 through which the path descends to reach the township of
133 Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

243 The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The
464 crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands,
438 harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

487 From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable
133 rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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deep rifts in the loess have to be crossed, the last named place lying on the further edge of the third. The passage of each rift means a precipitous climb down into the gorge of 500 feet or more and a similar ascent the other side (this being the thickness of the loess covering); at the bottom there is usually a streamlet flowing in a rocky bed underneath the loess. The constant crossing of these rifts (called *kou* by the Chinese) was most trying in the dry heat of early June, and at midday the temperature at the bottom of the *kou* was sometimes terrific. Water is very scarce in loess country, and apt to be brackish, and the streamlets at the bottom of the rifts are their only redeeming feature from the traveller's point of view. The passage of these rifts was a constant and arduous feature of our daily marches from now on until we had completed our tour of Northern Shensi. Sometimes marching towards a village after a long day the weary traveller sees his destination apparently only a few hundred yards away, only to find that it is separated from him by a *kou* 500 feet deep which takes at least an hour to cross. From T'ungshen Kou the track continues S.E. across the sloping plateau for 20 li, descending steeply for the last mile or so, to reach Ch'unhua Hsien, a poor little third class district city, lying in a sort of basin formed by the junction of several valleys and rifts in the loess some distance below the level of the plateau. To the south the loess rises steeply to a low rocky range separating the Ch'unhua valley from the Ching Ho.

From Ch'unhua to Yao Chou is a distance of 115 li, two short marches. The trail climbs out of the valley to the level of the plateau a few hundred feet above and continues eastwards, keeping to the high ground and winding round the heads of several rifts in the loess. After two to three hours' march the cañon of a streamlet flowing south is crossed by the usual zigzag descent and ascent, and another hour brings one to the village of Fangli Chen, 40 li from Ch'unhua. Thirty li further on the village of Hsiaoch'u is reached, after crossing two more huge rifts, with streams flowing as usual S. and S.E. The passage of these cañons is the exact inverse of crossing a pass of equal height; instead of the summit of a ridge with the view and breeze to refresh one there is the airless sweltering heat of the bottom of the

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487 133 *kou*. Again referring to the well-known description of the loess which depicts the life and traffic of the region as moving unseen along the bottoms of the rifts, the converse holds good on these table lands of Western Shensi, the villages, farms, and roads lying on the top of the plateau, and the bottoms of the cañons being often lifeless. From Hsiaoch'u the track runs eastwards over the plateau, crossing two more rifts *en route*, for four hours' march to reach Yao Chou, lying in a valley at the junction of two streams flowing south.

133 The region traversed on this route between Yungshou and Yao Chou must be one of the best examples in the world of a pure loess plateau. It is dotted with low mountain outcroppings, and travelling across it one is strongly impressed with its resemblance to a series of old lake basins which have been drained off to the south-east. The loess soil, a sort of very fine sandy loam, which covers almost the whole of North Western China north of the Ch'inling Shan to a depth of many hundreds of feet, is supposed to have been deposited as the result of the dust storms of countless ages from the Gobi deserts of Mongolia combined with the decomposition of vegetable matter. The longer we travelled in the loess country the more difficult it seemed to credit this theory. The Chinese take it for granted that these wonderful deposits of *Huang T'u* (yellow earth, as they call it) were caused by water, that is to say by the great floods which according to their historical records once submerged N.W. China at about the same period as those recorded in the Bible. For anyone well acquainted with the country it requires but little effort to imagine these turgid floods of yellow waters washing the base of the Ch'inling Shan as they poured down from the N.W., and depositing the loess, even as its redeposit may nowadays be watched on the banks of the Yellow River between Ninghsia and Paot'ou. The configuration of the Wei basin in Shensi is exactly that of the bed of a huge river washing the base of a rocky cliff on its southern bank and sloping up in shallows towards the north. Further, in every rift or ravine, which is cut down through the loess to the underlying shale or sandstone, a layer of mixed loess and water-worn pebbles is almost invariably exposed

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immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

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PLATE XIII

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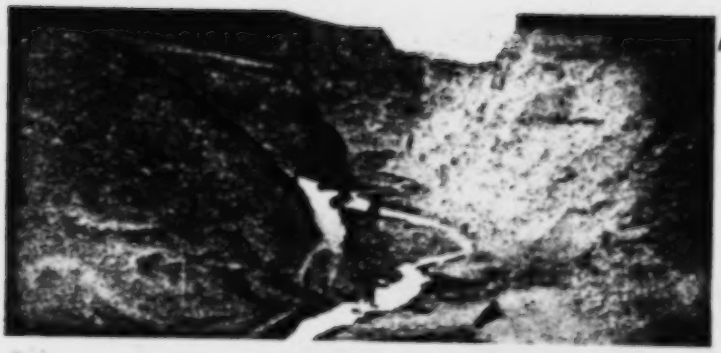
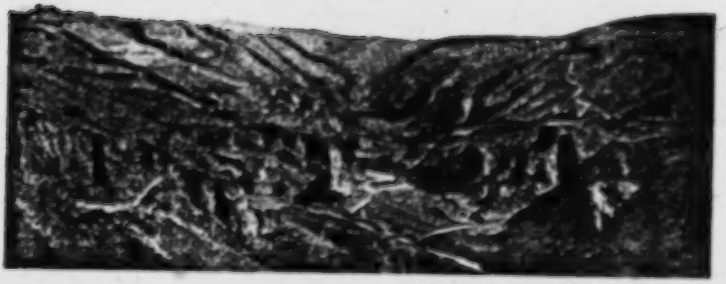


AT THE BOTTOM OF A LOESS RIFT, WESTERN SHENSI



LOOKING DOWN A LOESS RIFT, WESTERN SHENSI

[FACING p. 60]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF18

579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally;
491 with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

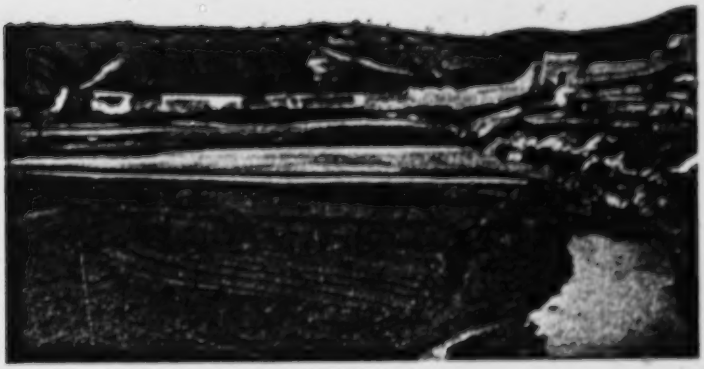
487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li,
133 to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, except at one point about half-way where it contracts into
361 a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

PLATE XIV

361

CITY OF CH'UNHUA FROM THE N.E.



CITY OF CHUNGPU FROM THE E.

[FACING P. 61]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district. 487 133 [36]

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them. [311] 136

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely 579 628

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579 suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not 628 those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

634 Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

487 From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the 133 mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

132 We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

634 At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were 487 now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

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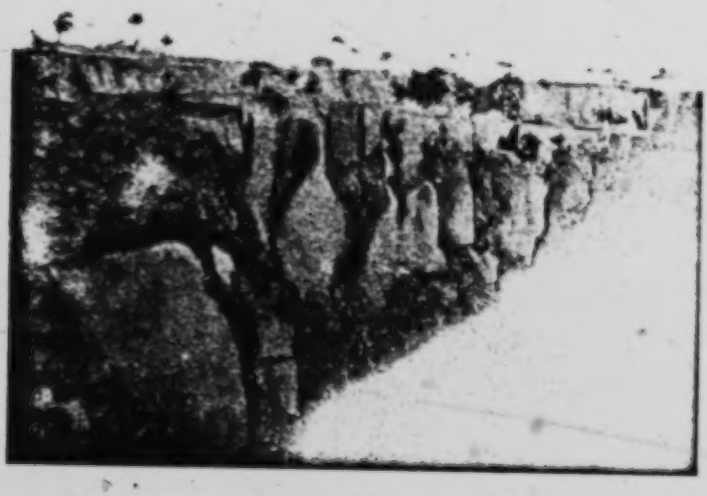
ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts. 487

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns. 361 778 769

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids. 487 133 [491] 361

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of 487 133

PLATE XV



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VIEW ACROSS RIFTS IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

VIEW ACROSS RIFTS IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

[Fig. p. 64]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
625 and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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PLATE XVI

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LO RIVER IN A VALLEY IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

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CAVE VILLAGE IN SEMI-DESERT COUNTRY NEAR YENAN

[FACING p. 65]

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 [625] [634]

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts. 579 712 534

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city. 487 133 361 342

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited, 487 133

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but here and there the remains of old terraces, evidently abandoned for many years, are noticeable. Descending from the pass this curious zone of comparatively rich vegetation is soon left behind and one approaches Yenan by a desolate looking valley between hills of sandy, barren loess. The [243] crops are miserable in the extreme, and consist mostly of millet, little or no wheat being grown. Three to four hours' march down this valley brought us to the gates of Yenan Fu.

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CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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135 just outside the South Gate of the little city of Yench'ang
316 Hsien, two marches east of Yenan, and about 1906 two wells were sunk on the spot with the assistance of Japanese engineers and Japanese machinery.

Some seven years later the Standard Oil Company of New York conceived the idea of exploiting the supposed oil deposits of North China and negotiated a co-operative agreement with the Chinese Government, which was signed in February 1914, to the following effect.

316 The Standard Oil Company was to send experts to
471 examine the supposed oil fields in Northern Shensi and Northern Chihli, the expenses of the survey being borne jointly by the Company and the Chinese Government. If the reports of these experts proved favourable, a Sino-American Company was to be formed, which should begin operations within six months of the completion of the survey. Capitalisation of the Company to be 55 per cent. Standard Oil, and 37½ per cent. Chinese Government (the latter being presented with their shares by the Company in exchange for the concession); and 7½ per cent. optional for the Chinese Government to purchase at par. Any increase in capital to be on the same terms, and the management to be Sino-American in the same proportion. The Chinese Government undertook that the exploitation of the oil fields named should be given exclusively to the Standard Oil Company, and that no concession whatsoever for oil-bearing properties in China should be given to any other foreigner until the results of the Company's operations should be apparent to the Chinese Government and the Standard Oil Company, which period should not exceed one year from the date of signing the contract. The agreement to last for sixty years, during which time the Chinese Government would not allow any other foreigners to produce oil in the districts named. In the event of the districts in question (apparently Yenan and Yench'ang in Shensi and Jehol in Chihli) proving worthless, any other districts in Shensi and Chihli to be substituted therefore. Concessions to be granted for the necessary railways and pipe-lines. The Chinese Government to arrange matters with the landowners. The acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the Standard Oil Company to be entirely dependent on the result of the examination by experts.

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The above is taken from the newspapers published at the time and may or may not be correct. The remaining facts regarding the history of the enterprise are given from conversations with local Chinese on the subject, and also may or may not accurately represent what occurred.

Anyone acquainted with the vastness of the trade in petroleum, imported from the East Indies by a British Company and from the United States by an American Company, which has come into existence of recent years in China, and the remarkable manner in which this oil penetrates to all but the most distant portions of the country in spite of transport difficulties and likin exactions, will realise what a magnificent proposition this agreement would have been for the Standard Oil Company had the enterprise succeeded; but it is also obvious that it would have been equally of enormous advantage and profit to the Chinese Government, since without foreign assistance the Chinese are at present as incapable of developing such a proposition as they are of building a railway to the moon.

An inspection of the Jehol oilfields in Northern Chihli proved them worthless, but the report of the two geologists sent to Shensi appears to have been favourable, and a careful survey was then made of the whole of the supposed oilfield. A large staff of geologists, engineers, and drillers was subsequently imported, together with quantities of bulky drilling machinery. The transport of the latter from railhead in Honan through the wilds of Northern Shensi to Yenan and Yench'ang entailed difficulties which seemed insuperable, but was nevertheless successfully accomplished by means of American energy, ability, and driving power. When we passed through Central Shensi on our way to Kansu two years previously, the transport of this machinery, which was just then being undertaken, and the adventures which befell it *en route*, seemed the sole topic of conversation and the only subject of interest in the province. We now saw portions of the same huge pieces of machinery lying apparently useless and abandoned in these wild and inaccessible regions.

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During 1915 wells were sunk near Yenan and Yench'ang, and also apparently in Ansai, Yichün and Chungpu districts in accordance with the hopes held out by the survey; but

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PLATE XVII

133

DIVIDE BETWEEN THE LO HO AND YEN SHUI NEAR YENAN

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CAVE TEMPLES IN SANDSTONE CLIFF OPPOSITE YENAN

[FALING p. 70]

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316 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside
471 of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people
[442] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang
and to work our way thence somehow or other back to
133 Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

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PLATE XVIII

315

OIL WELL AT YENCH'ANG

IN THE MOUNTAINS OF E. SHENSI

[FACING P. 71]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling.

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 90 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu: here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suiti, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east.

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'u, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. As the traveller approaches Yench'ang he will note that the city walls appear to be weeping or oozing oil, and the explanation of this curious fact becomes strikingly apparent at night time. For in the embrasures all round the walls every yard or so are placed pans of crude oil, which are lit up when darkness falls and illuminate the whole city and neighbourhood in the most remarkable manner. The effect on anyone not expecting it is extremely startling. Night after night throughout the year this desolate little city lost in the wilds of Northern Shensi indulges in this orgy of illumination. But it costs practically nothing and seems to be very effective in scaring off the brigands, who usually make their raids on moonless nights; doubtless the prospect of having a pan of burning oil upset over their heads deters them also.

The next stage on our journey by this route was the city of Yich'uan Hsien, two long marches due south of Yench'ang. The trail runs down the gorges of the Yen Shui, being ledged in the cliff on the left bank, for about 15 li, and then crossing the river by a ford strikes up the hill side to the south to reach the top of the loess plateau some 600 to 700 feet above the valley; continuing across the plateau for an hour or so it then drops steeply to the hamlet of Ankou Chen in the gorge of a tributary of the Yen Shui, called 35 li from Yench'ang. From Ankou the path strikes immediately up the opposite hill to reach the top of the plateau again, the latter here taking the form of a series of flat-topped loess ridges running down towards the Yen Shui from a range trending east and west. A two hours' march to the south up the flat top of one of these ridges brought us to the top of the range (4500 feet), the watershed between the Yen Shui and a stream called the Yunai Ho; the range is composed of grassy downs of loess with occasional outcroppings of rock. From the pass the trail follows a spur to the south, which soon flattens out into the usual square-topped loess ridge, and descends gradually for four to five hours' march, with finally a steep drop into the valley of the Yunai Ho to reach the ruined township of Yunai Chen. The country traversed on this day's march, as also on the following one, consists of loess mountains with a little cultivation on their lower slopes. Villages are very scarce,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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and the trackless downs and mountains are the haunts of the brigands of these regions, who live in unknown cave villages in the heights, whence they make their forays into the valleys. All the streams, such as the Yunai Ho and others, take their rise in these loess mountains and run eastwards to join the Yellow River, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of narrow valleys in the loess. The Yellow River is said to be reached 100 li down the valley from Yunai Chen. From Yench'ang to Yunai Chen is called 80, 90, or 100 li, according to the fancy of the individual questioned. Distances are not fixed on these small by-roads as they are on the main trails. We found it a very long march; my mule train, composed of particularly good animals which usually averaged well over three miles per hour, took more than ten hours to cover the distance, exclusive of halts. The li on the small roads of Northern Shensi and Kansu are very long. 100 li on a main road in the Han valley is certainly not more than 25 miles at the outside; but the 100 li from Yench'ang to Yunai must be nearer 35 miles.

The next day's march to Yich'uan Hsien is called 80 li. The path runs up a side ravine to the south-west for an hour and then ascends steeply to gain the top of the plateau, which here serves as the divide between the Yunai Ho and the Yich'uan stream. This divide is not a mountain range but a level tableland of loess, the highest point being about 4000 feet. There is the usual view over innumerable flat-topped loess ridges sinking down in the east towards the Yellow River, the trough of which can be vaguely descried; to the north the range crossed on the preceding march bounds the view; and to the south a similar but higher range rises steeply behind the Yich'uan valley. After an hour's march in a southerly direction, descending gradually along the usual flat-topped ridge of loess, the track drops steeply into a ravine which leads down after 20 li to the ruins of a walled village called P'inglo P'u, resembling hundreds of similar dilapidated old forts scattered throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, most of which have been taken and retaken, sacked and re-sacked, by Mahomedans and Chinese during the days of the great rebellion. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows S.E., and striking again up the slope to

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487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the 133 city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

361 Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated 669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now 162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which 579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial [714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

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and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand 701
according to his own tastes and the military requirements of 579
the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China 579
the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is 669
chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have 701
become scattered over the country with such disastrous results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

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secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

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From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

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stitutes an isolated area sloping S.E. and hemmed in by surrounding mountains; in the case of the similar Yich'uan and Yunai basins further north, the surrounding mountains were perhaps not sufficiently high to keep out the floods, the ranges being themselves nowadays buried in loess. 133 487

From the pass there is an easy descent through a gorge for 20 li to Hsiehchia P'ing, the ruins of a hamlet destroyed by brigands, where several ravines join to form a stream flowing east towards the Yellow River. The surrounding mountain slopes are rocky and uncultivated, and except for the scarcity of water resemble the Ch'inling ranges rather than the mountains of Northern Shensi. From Hsiehchia P'ing the path follows up a side ravine which leads after an hour's scramble to another pass (4800 feet); it then drops straight down the mountain side into a gorge which is followed for four hours' march until it expands into a valley at Ch'iyi Chen, a small township called 100 li from Yich'uan, where we passed the night. This is an exceedingly long and tiring day's march over a rough and rocky trail, and my mules were nearly twelve hours on the road; but there is no accommodation short of Ch'iyi Chen, the mountains being almost uninhabited and the few huts passed having mostly been destroyed by the brigands, and we had no tents with us on this journey. Everyone was fairly exhausted when we got in, a tremendous thunderstorm during the last hour completing our discomfiture; but owing, as usual, to the thoughtful assistance of the district magistrate we were comfortably housed in the principal shop of the village. Throughout our long wanderings the preparation of accommodation of some kind at the end of a march by the local official made all the difference to our comfort; schools, yamens, forts, rest-houses, temples, shops, private residences, inns, farms, caves, huts, and tents, have all served us for accommodation at different times, and the order in which they are quoted represents roughly their comparative merits. Starting at daybreak after a cup of tea or cocoa we used usually to march for about three hours and then halt for an hour or two for a good square meal; in the meantime if the march was not too long the pack mules would travel right through, so that the baggage had arrived and was already unpacked by the time we got in in the early 484

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484 afternoon. This is the height of luxury in travel in North Western China. Riding good ambling ponies we used to average four miles or more per hour on a good trail, and a day's journey of 80 li seemed nothing under these conditions. But a few really tiring marches (and this is one of them) stand out in my memory, when we had to cover a hundred li or more over rocky mountain paths where it might be necessary to walk half of the way; the hardest day of all was a march on the Kokonor border, when we started at 6 a.m. and got in at 9 p.m., crossing a pass over 13,000 feet high on the way.

487 Leaving Ch'iyi Chen the track runs down the valley towards the Yellow River for a few li and then strikes
133 straight up the mountain side to the south to reach the pass (3600 feet). This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, which are both very extended ones. From the pass there is a steep drop into a gorge and then a climb over a loess spur to reach the hamlet of Tuch'uan lying in a narrow ravine. From here the trail strikes again up the mountain side to the south, crosses a pass (4100 feet), and descends along a loess ridge with finally a steep drop to reach the walled village of Wangfeng Ch'iao lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east. From Ch'iyi Chen to Wangfeng Ch'iao is the middle stage in the three days' march between Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, and though only called 60 li in length is a tiring day's work, consisting of one long scramble up and down the mountains. As this route slants across the ridges to the S.E. and approaches the Yellow River, the passes decrease in altitude and some loess begins to reappear. The mountains in this neighbourhood appear to be full of iron ore.

From Wangfeng Ch'iao the track ascends the mountain side to the south to reach a pass (3400 feet) in the last range which bars the way to the plains. From the previous passes there were extensive views across the cañon of the Yellow River to the mountains of Shansi, but the river itself remained invisible; from this ridge it is seen for the first time, emerging from the mountains at the mouth of the
173 gorge known as Yümen K'ou. This is a very celebrated spot amongst the Chinese, since their annals record that the Emperor Yu (2000 B.C.) here cut a channel through the

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mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
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487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a
133 slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march
[491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This
[361] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen
388 (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

[361] Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

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From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang. 487 133 [634]

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. 361

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng. 487 [491] 133 361

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues. [651]

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of 487 133

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487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under
[248] cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of
438 the largest and most important cities in the province, though this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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The English Baptist Mission, apart from the China Inland Mission, the only Protestant Mission working in Shensi, has been established for many years at Sanyuan, in the neighbourhood of which there are quite a number of Christian villages. The history of how they came to the province is of some interest to the student of missionary enterprise in China. The Mission also works in Shantung, and when, after the depopulation caused by rebellion and famine during the latter half of the last century, Shensi was being repopulated from other provinces, some of the Shantung Christians were amongst the immigrants. These appear to have founded Christian communities in the plains of Central Shensi, and to have invited their form foreign teachers to follow them. The story is of interest because it appears to point to the existence at that time of a native Christian church standing on its own legs, which in my experience is a very rare thing in China today. The great obstacle to the spread of Protestant Christianity in China is that the Christian church remains almost everywhere a purely foreign institution. How much Christianity would be found in China in ten years time, if all the foreign support, missionaries and funds, were withdrawn today? There appears to be not the remotest prospect of China ever embracing Christianity on a large scale, until, if ever, a really native Christian church takes root in the same way as the Mahomedan religion has done. All of which, however, in no way detracts from the good work now being done by missionaries of all persuasions throughout the Republic, the benefits of which to the Chinese are incalculable. Since the revolution there has been a great influx of Chinese into the Missions; but it is to be feared that only a very small proportion of these enquirers and converts were actuated by other than material motives, such as a desire to share in the wonderful immunity enjoyed by the foreigner from the evils bred by the lawlessness of the times. There is a story about a veteran missionary in Kansu, who, having baptised several converts and having subsequently had the painful experience of watching them backslide one after the other, swore he would never again baptise a Chinese, and limited himself in future to exhorting them to be good and explaining the sacred books; which seems to the layman to be a

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PLATE XIX

491

STONE CAUSEWAY ACROSS LOESS RIFT, E. SHENSI

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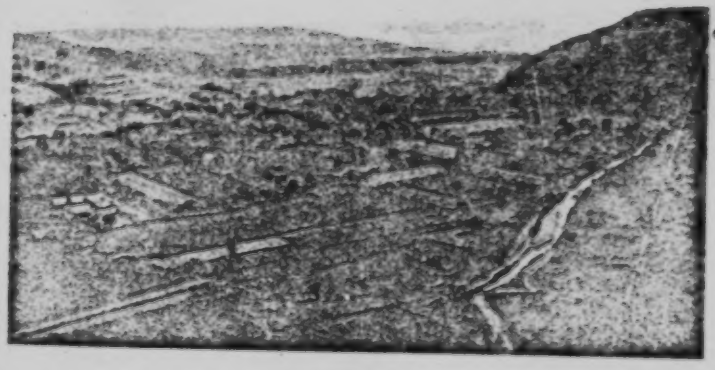

INDIGO FIELDS IN IRRIGATED LOESS VALLEY NEAR HANCH'ENG

[FACING p. 84]

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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PLATE XX

133

SUMMIT OF CH'INLING PASS ON MAIN ROAD TO SZECHUAN

TUNG RIVER VALLEY NEAR FENGHSIEN IN S.W. SHENSI

[FACING P. 85]

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ponies and mules and I never heard what happened to it 491
or whether there was anyone inside. The Chinese pack
saddle is made in two parts, the framework containing the [492]
baggage resting unattached on the saddle proper, an excellent
system permitting of quick and easy loading and unloading;
but it has the disadvantage that if the mule falls in fording
a difficult river, his load is likely to disappear for good.
A few li after crossing the Wei River the village of Tsaot'an 487
is reached, whence the road continues south across the plain
for 25 li to reach the north wall of Hsian Fu.

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CHAPTER VII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO CHENGTU FU IN SZECHUAN BY THE MAIN ROAD

The Szechuan road—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—Hsienyang—Hsingp'ing—Wukung—Fufeng—Ch'ishan—Paochi—Shensi mules—Passage of Ch'inling Shan—Fenghsien—Loess—Feng Ling—Ch'aikuan Ling—Liupa—Paoch'eng—Manchu Restoration—Mienhsien—Gold in the Han mountains—Sources of Han River—Ningchiang—Entry into Szechuan—The Chialing Chiang and Kuangyuan—Chaohua—The narrows of Chienmen Kuan—Chienchou—Trutung—Mienchou—Lochiang and the cities of the Chengtu plain—Chengtu—Szechuanese and Yunnanese.

487 FROM Hsian, the capital of Shensi, to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, by the main road is a distance of 2225 li, say a little over 500 miles (the li in this direction averaging about four to one mile). Travelling the regular stages, it is possible to cover this distance in less than a month, but as our caravan was rather exhausted by its long wanderings, and the heat was at times very oppressive, we journeyed slowly and with occasional rests, and took five to six weeks to reach Chengtu.

This road is about the most important overland route in China, though the traffic on it has somewhat diminished since the introduction of steamers on the upper Yangtzu between Ichang and Chungking, well-to-do travellers nowadays preferring to make a détour by way of Hankow and thus to avoid the hardships of so long an overland journey. As well as being the main and practically the only artery of communication between Shensi and Szechuan, it is a section of the great highway from Peking to Lassa. For the tourist who wishes to see the interior of China, a journey from Peking *via* Hsian to Chengtu by this road, and thence back by river to Shanghai, would provide a tour of great interest through some of the finest scenery in China Proper, besides entailing a minimum of the hardships inseparable from travel in the interior, supplies and accommodation being abundant
487 all the way. After leaving the Wei valley it is a mule trail,
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paved most of the way and comparatively good in Szechuan, but very rough and rocky through the mountains of Shensi. Lying most of the way through Southern Shensi and Szechuan, where paved paths and flights of irregular stone steps are the rule, it is unsuitable for ponies, and it is advisable to take a chair, at any rate from the Han valley onwards. We started with ponies, having used them on all our journeys through the North West, but were compelled to take to chairs when we got into Szechuan, as the steps and paving stones knocked our ponies' feet to pieces. Walking and chairing is a pleasant enough method of travel, but very slow, the rate of progress in the mountains being only about eight li per hour, which makes the stages long. 487 491

The Belgians have secured a concession for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan. It is a peculiar line to have chosen and one which will involve considerable engineering difficulties in Shensi and Szechuan. In nine cases out of ten the railway surveyor is unable to find a better trace for a line than that followed by an ancient highway of commerce, but if this railway is to follow the main trail between Hsian and Chengtu, its constructors are going to have a difficult job. The traveller by this road can therefore beguile the monotony of the journey by speculating as to the feasibility or otherwise of constructing a railway along it; it will certainly not be easy to find a less difficult route.

We left Hsian Fu on the 29th of June in a downpour of rain and floundered through the mud across the plain to reach Hsienyang Hsien, fortunately only 50 li away. This city, a poor-looking place in appearance though the centre of a first class district, is built along the northern bank of the Wei River, which is crossed by a cart ferry. It has some importance as being more or less the head of navigation on the Wei River, and as lying at the point where the great highway from Hsian, T'ungkuan, Peking, and the coast bifurcates, one branch continuing N.W. to Kansu and Turkestan, and the other turning W. and S.W. to Szechuan and Tibet. One cannot but speculate on the innumerable travellers who have passed through its miserable little main street, knee-deep in dust or mud, bound on their weary way to the outposts of Chinese rule in the deserts of [361] [491] 000

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Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li, still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

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Ch'inling Shan, rising like a wall out of the plain to the south of the Wei River, and affording fine views of its culminating point the T'aipai Shan, snow-clad till mid-summer (12,500 feet). The walled village of Hsinglin Chen is passed half-way out, and 15 li further on the valley of a stream from the north is crossed. Finally there is a drop to reach Fufeng Hsien, 60 li from Wukung, and a replica of the latter, lying in precisely the same sort of hollow below the level of the loess at the junction of two valleys from the north and west. 133 487

From Fufeng Hsien to Ch'ishan Hsien is another easy march of 60 li across the uplands, crossing two shallow ravines *en route*, the loess here not being of sufficient thickness to be fissured by the deep rifts and cañons found further north. Ch'ishan lies close under the mountains of the same name, with the loess plain sloping down to the Wei River to the south. The main road here continues west to Fenghsiang, but travellers bound for Szechuan like ourselves, and having no particular concern with the latter place, usually proceed direct to Paochi on the Wei River, a distance of 110 li, which can be covered in a long day's march. Ch'ishan, a second class district city, much resembles Wukung and Fufeng, and seems fairly prosperous for a city of Central Shensi. [361]

The road now runs west and south-west across the loess uplands for about 50 li, and then descends by easy gradients for another 25 li to reach Titien, a village of inns on the Wei River, just beyond the confluence of the latter with the Ch'ien Shui from Ch'ienyang and Lungchou, the passage of which in a flooded state caused us some trouble. On this stretch of road we crossed our previous route from Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu, thus affording an opportunity of checking the route survey, the results of which were not particularly encouraging; but as my instruments consisted of nothing more serious than a prismatic compass, with which I kept up a route survey throughout our journeys, this was perhaps not surprising. From Titien to Paochi the road runs west between the Wei River on the left hand and a high loess bluff on the right. The actual valley plain of the Wei is here quite narrow, as the land on the further bank rises almost immediately to the grim-looking barrier of the [485]

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133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground
behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the
[348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-
habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the
[375] Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

The western districts of Central Shensi through which
231 we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are
[485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

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wide and full of sand-banks, is crossed by a ferry, and the trail then plunges into the Ch'inling Shan by a valley which soon becomes a gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The change from the bare loess plains and hills to these rocky, jungle-clad mountains is strikingly sudden. The road is a well-graded mule path, but very rough going, being irregularly paved with cobbles and boulders. Fifty li from Paochi we reached the hamlet of Kuanyint'ang, nestling underneath a wooded cliff, where we passed the night. Here we were met by some of our old acquaintances from the excellent Northern brigade garrisoning Hanchung and the Han valley, in whose care we were to be till reaching the Szechuan border, and said farewell for good to the picturesque ex-brigands who had formed our escort and who had looked after us so well during our tour of the Northern districts; though their past did not always bear looking into they were the best of fellows.

Crossing the loess of Central Shensi the heat had been terrific, but from now on for the next few days, till we debouched from the mountains on to the Hanchung plain at Paoch'eng, it was delightfully cool though rather rainy. Fifteen li above Kuanyint'ang the gorge ends in the pass over the main Ch'inling range (about 5100 feet); the ascent is easy, the valley leading practically up to the summit. The railway will probably have to cross this pass, but as there is a rise of some 3000 feet from Paochi, there will have to be a pretty stiff gradient or a long tunnel. The gorge resembles the approach to the Nank'ou Pass on the Kalgan railway north of Peking, but is probably more difficult to negotiate.

From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into an open cultivated valley, that of the Tung Ho, flowing down from the south-western slopes of T'aipai Shan. This stream forms one of the headwaters of the great Szechuan River, the Chialing Chiang, which joins the Yangtzu at Chungking, so that though one has crossed the main range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, one is not yet in the basin of the Han. The easiest line for the railway from here will probably be found to lie down the Chialing Chiang into Szechuan (though the latter flows mostly through precipitous gorges), thus not entering the

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487 Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W.
487 down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past
133 several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

[361] Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a
[563] pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

484 We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

487 At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which
133 flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

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a two to three hours' climb. My heights for these passes, obtained, like all the rest on my maps, from aneroid observations compared with an occasional boiling-point thermometer reading, are lower than those usually given; but in the most modern maps of China Hanchung is assigned a height of 2000 feet, which is probably 500 feet too much, and in one good map Mien Hsien further west is given as 1800 feet odd, thus causing the Han River to flow up hill between the two cities; so that there is room for argument on the subject all round. From the Feng Ling there is a fine view to the west over the cultivated slopes of the Tung valley backed by higher mountains on the Kansu border, and to the south-east over the wooded limestone ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. After running along the mountain side for a short distance the path drops steeply into a gorge which leads down to the village of Sanch'a Yi, an old posting stage, lying at the confluence of two streams some 2000 feet below the pass and 50 li from Feng Hsien, and following down this valley, where rice fields and some loess re-appear, for another hour's march, reaches the village of Liufeng Kuan. This stream is a tributary of the Tung Ho, so one is still on the head-waters of the Chialing Chiang. Liufeng Kuan is the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Feng Hsien, and we passed the night comfortably in his yamen.

The trail, which has hitherto run S.W. all the way from the Wei valley, now turns S.E. up a winding ravine, leading into the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, the village of Nanhsing in Liupa district being reached after about two hours' march. This place is half-way between Feng Hsien and Liupa T'ing, and provides accommodation for the traveller who wants to cover the distance (180 li) in two stages. Four hours' march up the valley, which contracts to a gorge hemmed in by densely-wooded mountains, brings one to the pass, the Ch'aikuan Ling (5500 feet), which leads over the divide into the Han basin. The Ch'inling ranges are seen at their best round the Ch'aikuan Ling, where the rocky precipices and densely-wooded mountain slopes, clear mountain torrents, and narrow fertile ravines combine to form a landscape of great beauty. Though the ascent to the pass is by easy gradients the descent is precipitous, and

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487 a railway following the main road (which could avoid the more formidable Feng Ling by a détour down the Tung
133 valley and up the tributary to Liufeng Kuan) would presumably require a long tunnel, and would meet with many more difficulties following down the gorge to Liupa
[346] and beyond. Some five li below the pass lies the Changliang Miao, beautifully situated at the junction of two wooded ravines, where we passed the night. This is one of the finest temples in China, built, I believe, in the Han Dynasty, and is well known amongst the Chinese; one would have liked to remain there a week.

361 From Changliang Miao (also known as Miao T'aitzu) the path runs down a winding gorge for the rest of the way to Liupa, a distance of 40 li. The latter, formerly a T'ing, and now a third class Hsien, is a picturesque little place, almost filling a narrow valley hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan, its situation exactly resembling that of Huayang further east on the road to Fop'ing. The city is practically empty, the life of the place being concentrated in a suburb outside the south-east wall.

From Liupa to Paoch'eng in the Han valley plain is a
487 distance of about 180 li, which can be covered in two long marches, the trail running all the way down a winding gorge,
133 occasionally cutting off corners by crossing low spurs. The going is most of the way very rough and rocky. Some three hours' march below Liupa the stream joins another much larger one flowing down from the southern slopes of T'aipai Shan, called the Pao Shui; up this stream lies a very rough trail to Mei Hsien in the Wei valley, crossing a shoulder of T'aipai Shan by a high pass. Several villages living on the traffic of this great highway are passed in the gorge, T'iehfotien, Matao Yi (the half-way stage), Erhshihli P'u, and Ch'ingch'iao Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. As one approaches the plain, the gorge, instead of opening out, becomes narrower, the cliffs more precipitous, and the track more rocky; and just when the weary traveller is beginning to look forward to the end of the stage, the gorge becomes impassable, and the path ascends for several hundreds of feet by flights of irregular stone steps, winds round the top of a spur, the Chit'ou Kuan, and drops straight down on to Paoch'eng Hsien, lying on the edge of the Han valley plain.

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Paoch'eng, a second class district city, is the usual little Han valley town with much more life than the northern cities. It is memorable to us because it was there that telegrams were received reporting that General Chang Hsün had abolished the Republic by replacing the child Emperor, Hsuan T'ung, on the throne. One's first thought was that if China survived this supreme act of folly she would be lucky; and yet the next news we received of the situation a few days later was that it was all over, and the country again a Republic. Curiously enough it was the Northern Generals who squashed the incident so promptly and not the regular republicans. Discussing the matter with Chinese later on, one heard the opinion expressed in some quarters that the movement was not so mad as it seemed and that its prompt collapse was due to jealousy amongst the Northern military leaders; for, it was suggested, the Republic, though excellent in theory, is a hopeless proposition today and has proved itself unworkable. Others, on the other hand, maintained that the Republic has come to stay, and that the confusion and troubles of the past six years since the revolution are only its birth throes; in support of which theory the state of England during the years subsequent to the revolution against Charles the First may be adduced, which much resembles the condition of China today. In any case the believers in a constitutional monarchy have, it seems, got to look elsewhere for an Emperor than amongst the members of the Imperial Manchu family, against whom popular feeling is far too strong, and therein lies the great difficulty. It was a coincidence that we received the news of the restoration of the Manchu Emperor while we were in a distant part of Shensi, while the first intelligence regarding Yuan Shih-k'ai's ill-advised monarchical scheme of two years before reached us in the wilds of Kansu. In both cases it seemed that a catastrophe of the first magnitude was impending for the country, and in both cases things soon settled down after a certain amount of desultory fighting between the opposing parties. China is the land of compromise and it is perhaps this inability to settle any issue decisively one way or the other which has been the cause of the internal disturbances of the past six years. So far, whatever the row has been, the power has remained in the

PLATE XXI

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CITY OF LIUPA T'ING, S.W. SHENSI

133

VALLEY IN S.W. SHENSI NEAR SZECHUAN BORDER

[FACING P. 96]

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hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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PLATE XXII

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THE DIMINUTIVE SZECHUAN PONY

THE DIMINUTIVE SZECHUAN PONY

[FACING p. 97]

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lying ranges of the Ch'inling Shan here meet the mountains which separate the Han valley from Szechuan and bring the plain abruptly to an end. There is some gold in the sands of the Han, as in almost all the rivers of Western China; but whereas the sources of many of the latter, and therefore the hills from which the gold comes, lie far off on the Tibetan plateau, those of the Han lie close at hand in these mountains, which ought, therefore, to be worth prospecting; they are said to be rich in other minerals as well.

The next regular stage on this road is one of 90 li to the village of Tai-an Yi. The trail runs west up the Han River, which here flows in a perfectly straight gorge, for 45 li to the village of Hsinwan P'u, which is of interest as the head of navigation for small boats; the Han is thus navigable for practically its entire course. The porterage west to the Chialing Chiang, which is also navigable, is only two or three marches over a low divide to the village of Yangp'ing Kuan, and the road is naturally a busy one, and carries much traffic between Shensi, Szechuan, and Kansu. At Hsinwan P'u the path leaves the Han for a time, passing through broken hills cultivated with maize and rice and dotted with the useful wood-oil tree, eventually returning to the river and following up its valley to reach Tai-an Yi, an old posting stage. The Han is remarkable for the suddenness with which it springs into existence as a navigable river. At Mien Hsien in the summer it is already a large stream; while one march further west, at Tai-an, it is a mere streamlet, and one is within a few hours of its source. At the other extreme are the two other chief rivers of Shensi, the Wei and the Lo, which, rising one in Central Kansu and the other on the Ordos border, are only navigable for short distances above their confluences with the Yellow River near T'ungkuan. The contrast is typical of China north and south of the Ch'inling Shan.

Above Tai-an the path turns south up the head-waters of the Han, now only a few inches deep. Beyond the hamlet of K'uanch'uan P'u, 30 li out, the valley narrows to a ravine, which leads an hour's march further on to a pass, the Wuting Kuan (about 4000 feet); whence the trail descends through a ravine in the jungle-clad mountains, past the hamlet of Tishih P'u, till it debouches into a larger

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133 valley and reaches the town of Ningchiang, formerly a
487 Chou, and now a second class Hsien.

Ningchiang is a picturesque little place lying surrounded by rice fields in an isolated valley in the mountains near the Szechuan border. It is still in the basin of the Han, and a railway from Hanchung along the line of the main road into Szechuan could avoid the Wuting Pass by following the valley of its stream. There would be greater difficulties in crossing the divide into Szechuan, though these mountains are not in this neighbourhood to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, being only about half as high.

From Ningchiang to Kuangyuan in Szechuan is a distance of 230 li, which is usually divided into three stages, 70 li to Chaoch'ang Pa, 70 li to Ch'aot'ien Chen, and 90 li to Kuangyuan; but as elsewhere along this road villages are numerous, and the traveller can make his own stages. Leaving Ningchiang the trail runs up the valley to the S.W., which ends 40 li out in an easy pass (3300 feet), being the divide between the Han and Chialing basins. From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into a little rice valley enclosed by wooded hills which leads down to the village of Huangpa Yi, 50 li from Ningchiang. The path here leaves the stream, which flows south, and, crossing a spur, drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing down from a high range to the west. At the point where this gorge debouches on to a larger valley, 15 li from Huangpa Yi, there is a barrier wall and a gate, indicating the Shensi-Szechuan frontier, and a few li further down this valley the village of Chaoch'ang Pa is reached. Here we parted from our friends the Shensi officials, who had looked after us so well for the past four months, and with whom we had undergone many a hardship. One of these gentlemen, who acted as business manager of the expedition and who throughout displayed great powers of organization as well as capacity for enduring personal discomforts and hardships, is shown in the accompanying photograph trying a little Szechuan stallion[1]. Having served as district magistrate for

231 [1] These Szechuan ponies though very small are exceedingly well built and show a great deal of breeding; they are useful on the paved paths and stone steps of Szechuan to which they are accustomed, and which are fatal to the larger and heavier built ponies of Kansu and Mongolia.

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many years in various parts of Shensi, his local knowledge and experience were of the greatest assistance, while his talents ranged from shooting mountain goat in the Ch'inling Shan to the writing of Chinese poetry.

Leaving Chaoch'ang Pa a spur is crossed to avoid a bend in the stream, and the path then runs down the open valley, good going at last after days of rocky scrambles, for 40 li to the village of Shenhsuan Yi, another old posting station and the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Kuangyuan. A little further on down the valley a curious natural phenomenon occurs, the valley coming suddenly to an end, and the stream flowing under a mountain spur through a tunnel in the limestone, to reappear in a deep gorge half a mile further on. The path ascends this spur by flights of stone steps, and then, crossing to the other side of the valley, runs along the mountain side several hundreds of feet above the gorge of the stream for the rest of the way to Ch'aot'ien Chen, a large village lying on the banks of the Chialing Chiang. The latter flows swiftly in a deep gorge in the mountains; and on the practicability of this gorge for railway construction appears to depend the possibility of finding a comparatively easy route for a railway into Szechuan from the Wei valley; for it is by this gorge that the Chialing Chiang pierces all those intricate ranges on the borders of Shensi, Kansu, and Szechuan, containing the head-waters of the Han, which are connected with the Ch'inling Shan in such a manner as to render their passage by a railway elsewhere extremely difficult.

From Ch'aot'ien to Kuangyuan, a distance of 90 li, the path is ledged in one of the cliffs of the gorges of the Chialing Chiang; but it is possible to do this stage by water, and as the magistrate had kindly prepared some boats, we were only too glad at this stage of our long journey to avail ourselves of so restful a method of travel. The river was high and the current very rapid, so that we covered the distance in less than four hours, instead of the nine or ten it would have taken us by road.

Kuangyuan, a second class district city, lies in a small plain formed by the junction of a tributary with the Chialing Chiang. It is considered an important place owing to its position at the point where the big road from the north

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[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
487 from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
133 district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the [136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn, became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li. down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The [491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge between the two rivers and continues along the summit in a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps, and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing north, up which it continues for another hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large [361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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march. The views from the ridge are again extensive. On the right hand lies the peculiar range of mountains trending from S.W. to N.E. which was crossed on the preceding day by the defile of Chienmen Kuan; on their southern face these mountains have an easy slope, but on the northern side fall away in rock precipices, giving the impression of having been tossed up by some internal convulsion. This formation extends as far as one can see in either direction, and may also be noted in the ranges south of Ningchiang. On the left hand lies the much broken hill country of soft red sandstone, sometimes called the red basin of Szechuan, into which the defile of Chienmen Kuan gives access from the N.W. Beyond the village of Hanyang P'u, 25 li out, there is a descent and then an ascent on to another ridge, which is followed southwards until it ends with a steep drop to the city of Chien Chou, now called Chienko Hsien, a picturesque little place lying at the bottom of the narrow valley of the Chien Shui, a tributary of the Chialing Chiang, 65 li from Chienmen Kuan. The high ranges on one's right now bear away to the west, and the mountains become lower and flatter; but in this part of Szechuan, as elsewhere outside of the Chengtu plain, there is scarcely any level ground to be seen.

From Chien Chou to the next district city, Tzutung Hsien, is two stages of 80 li each, through complicated hill country intersected by a maze of little narrow valleys. The road is the same paved path shaded with ancient trees, and shows great engineering skill on the part of its designers, whoever they may have been, in the manner it threads its way through this difficult country. It is perhaps the most famous road in China, and it certainly deserves such a reputation. It was probably constructed by the Emperor Shih Huangti about B.C. 200 to facilitate his conquest of what is now Szechuan. Climbing out of the valley of the Chien Shui and crossing a ridge, the trail drops into a gorge, only to climb out again immediately, and winding round a spur S. and S.W., descends to the village of Liukou, 40 li from Chien Chou, at the junction of two streams flowing south. Here it ascends again, and winding along a ridge for 20 li reaches the head of a valley, crosses the divide, and follows down another ridge, which finally a steep drop to

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487 reach the large village of Wulien Yi, the end of the stage,
133 lying at the junction of two valleys. From Wulien Yi there is a gradual ascent again until the top of another ridge is reached, along which the road winds, past the half-way village of Shangting P'u, and a fine temple in a grove of trees called Ta Miao, until it descends by a long easy gradient to Tzutung Hsien, lying in a rather more open valley sloping S.W. The hills, which grow steadily less formidable as one proceeds south on this road, are now quite low, and the mountains to the N.W. are almost out of sight.

The red basin of Szechuan appears to be an old plateau of red sandstone worn down by the action of water into a maze of hills and valleys in the same way as the loess. This formation is, however, by no means confined to Szechuan, for a vast extent of country, stretching all the way from Honan through Southern Shensi and Kansu to Hsining and the Kokonor, is composed of the same red sandstone, which in the west everywhere forms the southern limit to the loess.

At Tzutung we encountered the old joke of the North Gate closed to keep the rain out and had considerable difficulty in apprising the magistrate of our arrival and effecting an entrance.

Crossing the river outside Tzutung by a fine stone bridge, over which three motor cars might have been driven abreast, though the paved road leading to and from it is only a couple of feet wide, the trail winds westwards through the cultivated red hills to the township of Weich'eng, the end of the stage of 60 li; and on the following day continues through the same country, winding through the hills and following along undulating ridges for 65 li, to reach Mien Chou, now called Mienyang Hsien, a large and crowded first-class district city on the Fu River.

487 We were now practically out of the mountains and not
133 far from the northern end of the Chengtu plain. From Mien Chou the road runs through low hills for 90 li to
361 reach Lochiang Hsien, whence it descends to Têyang Hsien on the plain, and continues through Han Chou and Hsintu Hsien to Chengtu. These district cities, Lochiang, Têyang, Han Chou, and Hsintu are all rich and populous centres, the like of which are not to be found in the whole of Shensi

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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KANSU PONY

KANSU PONY

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history of the past few years in China, and it has been they and not the Cantonese who have constituted the most formidable opposition to the North. When Yuan Shih-k'ai took steps to replace the post-revolution Governors of the various provinces by his own nominees, he omitted for some reason or other to do so in the case of Yunnan, and this omission cost him his throne. The Yunnanese are thus nowadays the champions of the Southern cause, but, unfortunately for the Szechuanese, their province is a poor one, and they have therefore always sought during recent years to finance and support their undertakings by means of the riches of Szechuan; for this reason it was highly desirable, if not absolutely essential, for them to control the government of Szechuan and occupy the province with their troops. Hence the trouble between Szechuan and Yunnan and the ruined streets of Chengtu[1]. The Yunnanese and the Szechuanese stand towards one another in much the same relation as the Japanese do to the Chinese, ambition, energy, and ability on one side, numbers and wealth on the other. Between them these two provinces number perhaps fifty millions of inhabitants and the weight of their influence, and that of the South West generally, on the rest of the country has recently increased from year to year, and that in spite of the extraordinary isolation of their geographical position.

[1] Chengtu has since changed hands on several occasions, and three years later, in the summer of 1920, civil war between the militarists of Yunnan and Szechuan was still ebbing and flowing round its walls.

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PLATE XXIV

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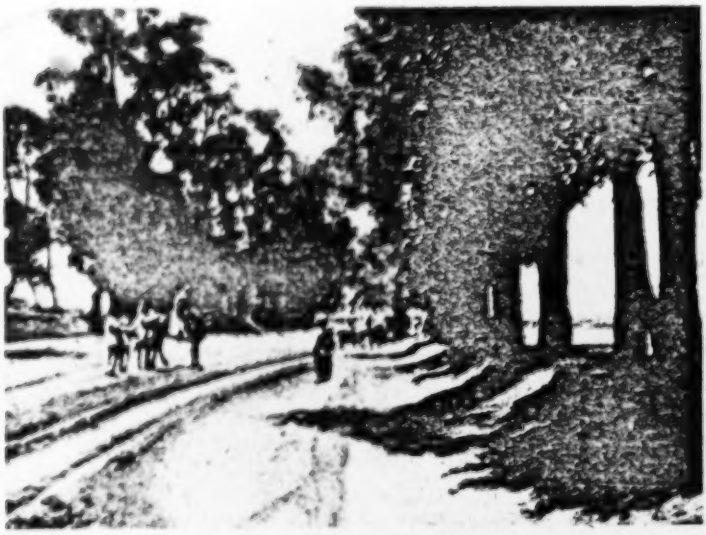

TREE-LINED HIGHWAY THROUGH CENTRAL KANSU

TREE-LINED HIGHWAY THROUGH CENTRAL KANSU

[FACING p. 105]

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lung—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kantsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world. 133 487

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a [491] 241 [246]

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over
133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends [361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out [346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

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the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and continue again on the further side, while the track now in fact winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the same story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

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634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[443] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is 361 half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from 162 a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely 563 scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

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and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The 563
Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides 793
a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, 487
a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan 133
pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebelli . The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern 669
Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured 563
prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

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PLATE XXV

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DEPARTURE FROM KUMCHIAO

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APPROACH TO THE LIUPAN SHAN PASS

[FACING P. 110]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

669 Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-
563 chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

487 From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west,
133 reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang
[243] side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

PLATE XXVI

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THE LOESS COUNTRY OF CENTRAL KANSU

THE LOESS COUNTRY OF CENTRAL KANSU

[FACING p. 111]

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Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

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485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, 669 which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the south-west for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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signals could be sent great distances in a very short space of time.

From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage of 60 li, the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then climbs a long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit there is no immediate descent the other side, but the path winds along a high ridge with extensive views over the loess mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to Anting in a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now known as Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the junction of three valleys, and, commanding several roads north, south, east and west, was formerly an important military centre. There is more water available here, and consequently the country is much more fertile and the people quite well off. Loess country in this rainless region is either a desert or a garden according to the amount of water available for irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though the hills become more and more sterile, the irrigated valleys are wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four short stages of about 60 li each. The road runs down the valley past several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of Ts'ank'ou whence it strikes west up a side valley to the posting station of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it ascends a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill to reach the summit of a ridge along which it winds for three to four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to the large market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst fertile irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys. To the south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyond which lie Titao and the T'ao River. From here on to Lanchou the irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly productive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the barren region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan Shan.

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the cultivated valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village and likin station, and the end of the stage. The district city of Chin Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south. Leaving Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony ravine, and after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the Yellow River, which here rolls its turgid waters between precipitous

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granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

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438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in many regions. I have only one complaint to make against

271 Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

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but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381
Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277
industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and 438
that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635
period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the [669]
province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a 665
number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

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665 the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

[797] The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic [177] priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials through- 205 out the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

1797 There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

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education, and one seldom finds amongst them the type of corybantic missionary of little education familiar to most travellers in the interior of China. In Kansu the missionaries are mostly veterans of the C.I.M., who have spent the best part of their lives in isolated posts where they seldom see another white face for months or years on end, and whose steady work during a generation of time, though possibly not richly productive in converts, cannot but have accomplished an enormous amount of good for the Chinese. Protestant missionaries in China have been subject to many attacks, which they often invite, from their own countrymen; but after all, mankind must apparently have a religion of some kind, and would the critics of Christianity in China contend that the teachings of Christ are inferior to those of Buddha or Mahomed? Only, to be fair to the Chinese, the missionaries should surely propagate an up-to-date form of Christianity, as modified by modern scientific research, instead of teaching, as seems usually to be the case, old literal beliefs which have ceased to hold good in Europe. Also Christianity, a westernised oriental religion, is being taught back to orientals, and for that reason should in China be stripped as far as possible of its Western exterior. It is difficult to imagine anything more utterly absurd than the construction of a foreign style church, with steeple, etc., in the interior of China as a place of worship for Christian Chinese; and there are many other respects in which the missionary often endeavours to impose purely European methods of worship, which have nothing to do with original Christianity, on the Chinese. All this merely emphasises the foreign nature of the Christian Church in China, which is one of the greatest obstacles to its real establishment. When we were in Kansu we learned that a new mission composed of believers in the gift of tongues (known to the vulgar as the "Holy Rollers") was about to open in Kansu with the object of working amongst the Tibetan tribesmen of the Kokonor border. The experts in this sect are in the habit of working themselves up into a sort of fit, when they are said to roll on the ground and speak in strange and unknown tongues; apparently the promoters of this mission in Kansu are banking on the unknown tongue being in this case the Amdo dialect of North-Eastern Tibetan. That

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797 missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

175 Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated 669 a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted 563 still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

635 The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in 563 the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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affairs of the province during those critical times appears to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

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In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

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down; and in that wild and out of the way country there soon arose a shortage of supplies for so many thousands. Northwards towards Lanchou the way was barred by the Moslem troops of Ma An-liang, and southwards towards the rich province of Szechuan the intervening country was wilder and even more desolate; and so the rebels started back the way they had come, through towns and villages already laid waste. The mountain tracks were bad, the stages long, and food and fodder scarce. The bridge across the T'ao at Minchou had been destroyed, and many were drowned in the fierce waters of this Tibetan torrent. At Fuchiang and other places on the road the local people wreaked a terrible revenge for what they had suffered, and many hundreds of rebels hiding in the cornfields and scrub were beaten to death with sticks and agricultural implements. Many straggled back through Shensi with their silver and opium to their homes in Honan, but this was really the end of the White Wolf rebels whom 30,000 picked troops of China's modern army had completely failed to destroy in the central provinces six months previously.

With the disappearance of the White Wolf rebels and the surrender of the nominal government by the Mahomedans to Yuan Shih-k'ai's Governor, peace returned to the province. During the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916 there was a renewal of unrest, especially after Shensi had joined the rebels, and influence was brought to bear on the Governor from various quarters, urging him to resign or secede from Peking. But a declaration of independence was successfully staved off until Yuan Shih-k'ai's death relieved the situation, perhaps largely owing to the attitude of Ma An-liang, who prepared his troops for action, and let the republicans know that if anyone was to succeed the Governor it would be himself, and that he and his Mahomedans would stick by Yuan to the last.

The shadow of another Mahomedan rebellion is always over the Chinese in Kansu, who stand in great fear of the Moslems and have passed through some anxious times during recent years. But the general opinion we heard expressed was that there was no need for alarm as long as the Mahomedans continue to be guided by the wise and statesmanlike leadership of their present chiefs.

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CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

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Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [274] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [36] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable [438] trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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487 Hui Hsien to the Chialing Chiang, and the other *via* Hsiho
133 Hsien, Chieh Chou, and P'ik'ou; these are all mule trails.

Ch'in Chou is the seat of a Taoyin, a General, and a magistrate, by whom we were most hospitably entertained, 871 being lodged in the local middle school. The latter provided quite luxurious accommodation, consisting of remarkably fine spacious buildings. There were plenty of students too, and the popularity of the government schools was here, as elsewhere in this remote province, very apparent. English, nowadays the official foreign language of China, is taught. I am not in a position to give any opinion as to the standard of the work done in these middle schools in Kansu but it is evident that they are more popular than the missionary schools, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. Immensely beneficial as the educational work of the missionaries is to the Chinese, it has the disadvantage, from the Chinese point of view, of being adulterated with evangelistic effort; so that the student, athirst for Western knowledge, has to swallow the Christian powder skilfully hidden between layers of scientific jam. Then there is always the underlying feeling against the alien institution, and also the fact that all the missionaries who engage in educational work in China are not always well qualified to lead their pupils very far. In Kansu missionary schools exist in only a very small way; but in some provinces, notably Szechuan, large institutions have been established, including a university. These remain, however, like the Christian Church in China, purely foreign institutions for the Chinese under foreign management, and for that reason are not always appreciated by the Chinese as they doubtless deserve to be; the latter would probably prefer that the foreign teachers should offer their services in the government schools.

487 From Lanchou Fu we had so far been following one of
133 the main trade routes of Kansu, but we now turned westwards *en route* for T'ao Chou on the Kokonor border, following a very rough mountain trail through the heart of the western extremity of the Ch'inling Shan. Our first objective was the little district city of Li Hsien, distant two days' march, lying on the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang and therefore in the basin of the Yangtzu.

Leaving Ch'in Chou the path runs up a bare valley

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due south for 15 li and then branches off up a side ravine to the S.W., another road continuing south up the main valley towards Hui Hsien. After an hour or two's march up this ravine the trail ascends a low pass, crosses a small valley, and immediately rises again to cross another low pass, whence it descends to the village of Kaomo Chen in the valley of a streamlet flowing from west to east. We were delayed in Kaomo Chen for half a day by our mule train following the wrong path, and its poverty was evidenced by the fact that we could get nothing but unleavened cakes of maize to eat, the most unpalatable form of nourishment I have ever had to put up with in China, though very often the only food of the people in mountainous country. From here the trail ascends by easy gradients to a pass in the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide, a climb of less than an hour over grassy slopes devoid of trees, and then descends steeply to a valley running south-west The track follows down this stream for 20 li to the village of Lochia P'u, where it debouches into a broad and fertile valley, bounded by low cultivated hills of loess, the stream flowing from east to west. This stream is one of the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang, which flows through Szechuan to Chungking, and it is remarkable to find so much loess south of the divide. The latter formation may also be seen on the headwaters of the Shensi branch of the Chialing Chiang round Feng Hsien on the Hsian Chengtu road.

From Lochia P'u there is a remarkably good road down the open loess valley for two hours' march to the walled village of Yen Kuan, where there are said to be salt wells. The magistrate of Hsiho Hsien met us here, as we had entered his district; he said that a road branches off at this point to Hsiho and Chieh Chou and so to Szechuan. From Yen Kuan the road continues down the valley until within 20 li of Li Hsien, where it crosses a spur to avoid some gorges, and the loess formation comes to an end. Li Hsien is a picturesque little city lying hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan in a country of narrow fertile valleys, whose streams all go to form the headwaters of the Kansu branch of the Chialing Chiang. From here to Min Chou our route followed an unfrequented trail which penetrated the Ch'inling Shan in the most curious way,

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487 133 passing and repassing from one to the other side of the watershed. In this neighbourhood the Ch'inling ranges do not appear such a formidable barrier between the Yellow River and the Yangtzu as in the places where we had crossed them further east in Shensi, perhaps owing to the greater elevation of the country on either side; unfortunately my aneroids were temporarily out of action owing to an accident on this portion of the journey, so that we could not follow the heights. West of Min Chou the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide is continued by the magnificent Min Shan, a rocky and almost impassable barrier reaching in places above the line of perpetual snow; but there does not seem to be any well-defined barrier ridge joining this range to the Ch'inling Shan, and if railways ever reach this part of Kansu it should not prove very difficult to connect them up with the future lines of Northern Szechuan.

Leaving Li Hsien the trail leads up a narrow valley to the north-west for 40 li to the hamlet of Wuch'uanli, a most picturesque spot surrounded by wooded mountains, where we passed the night in a temple. An hour's march further on the path turns up a side ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends into another narrow valley trending from north to south. Ten li up this valley a few huts called Chiutientzu are reached, beyond which the trail turns up a side gorge and climbs steeply to reach the summit of the Fenshui Ling ("Watershed Pass"). The scenery in these mountains is very fine, and the country wild and uninhabited. From the pass the trail descends through a flat grassy valley and then through cornfields to reach the market village of Mawu Chen 60 li from Wuch'uanli. Here one is apparently again on the northern side of the Ch'inling Shan, the stream flowing north to join the Wei.

From Mawu Chen the path turns west up a narrow valley, which for profusion of pheasants beat every other locality we traversed in all our long journeys. The sides of the ravine were clothed in dense jungle while in the bottom were patches of cultivation with the corn ripening for harvest. These fields were literally alive with pheasants, which blundered up in flocks as one moved up the valley through the corn. Here, as often before in Shensi and Kansu, we could not fail to be struck by the absurdity of all

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this game being untouched by the natives who not only neglect all this excellent food lying to their hands, but also presumably lose quite a lot of corn eaten by the pheasants. In the eastern provinces where there is a foreign market and also the demand created by the companies which export frozen game (a demand which is a serious danger to the stocks of game in those parts) the Chinese wage an unceasing war against the pheasants with gun, net, and even poison. I have known Chinese hunters in the mountains of Northern Chihli who used to make good shooting with the prehistoric looking Chinese gun with its pistol stock, which discharges a stream of bits of old iron and gives the shooter a severe blow on the cheek-bone when it is fired; and I have also been out with Chinese hunting pheasants with a native dog and hawk. But I have never come across a native in the mountains of Kansu who took the least interest in the pheasants picking grain on his threshing floor.

Following up this ravine from Mawu Chen for some 30 li the trail crosses a small pass and descends to a few huts called Shachin Kou, where one is apparently again on the southern side of the watershed with the stream flowing south towards the Chialing Chiang. From here it turns west again up another wooded gorge, where we startled a couple of deer, too big, I think, to be roe, leading to an easy pass over grass-covered mountains. Here there is a sudden and complete change in the scenery, and the trail descends into a broad shallow valley, devoid of trees, and dotted with farmsteads and patches of cultivation. Crossing this valley, which slopes north and is apparently once more on the northern side of the watershed, past the village of Suluk'o (60 li from Mawu Chen), the track engages itself in another grassy valley leading west. At the head of this valley one emerges on to a treeless marshy plateau dotted with herds of cattle. We were here assailed by a rain storm, and though the season was the end of June it was bitterly cold; my aneroids being out of action I can only guess the height, which was perhaps 9000 feet. An hour's march across this plateau brought us to our destination for the night, the hamlet of Tachuangtzu, 80 li from Mawu Chen, where the black peaty soil was under cultivation to a limited extent.

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576 As we rode into this little place,[1] cold, tired, and generally rather miserable, the entire visible population fell on their faces, since republican principles had not yet penetrated to this out-of-the-way spot, and they thought they were prostrating themselves before an "Imperial Mission." The headman had, however, prepared the best of the mud cabins for our accommodation, and we were soon warm and dry again, and engaged in disposing of some of the cock pheasants picked up *en route*.

487 133 A few li beyond Tachuangtzu the trail drops over the edge of the plateau to reach the considerable village of Ch'enchiachi, lying in a flat cultivated valley sloping north and surrounded by grassy mountains. We halted here for the night owing to the rain, only having made ten li; quite good accommodation was secured in a farm house, but it was miserably cold. From here the road runs westwards across rolling grass country intersected by shallow cultivated valleys sloping north with sheep and cattle grazing on the hill slopes. This curious grass-covered plateau, the presence of which is entirely unexpected in a region of steep mountains, appears to be the westernmost end of the Ch'inling Shan, a range which we had come to know so well in the course of our journeys. After about three hours' march there is a slight rise to a pass, and then a precipitous drop for ten li to reach a village called Panchi Chuang, lying in a narrow valley. Another two hours' march down this valley brings one to the large walled village of Lich'uan, 60 li from Ch'enchiachi and 70 li from Min Chou. Here the stream flows south towards Szechuan and one is again on the southern side of the watershed.

From Lich'uan the track runs N.W. up a side valley ending in a grassy pass. For the next five li or so it keeps to the top of the mountain, whence there are truly magnificent views over the rocky snow-patched Min Shan to the south-west, and then descends steeply through a ravine to the valley of the T'ao River. Two tributary torrents are forded before the city of Min Chou is reached. Being now again in the valley of the T'ao we were once more on the northern side of the Yangtzu-Yellow River watershed. Since leaving Ch'in Chou a few days previously we had crossed this divide no less than six times, which is sufficient

1 [the hamlet of Tachuangtzu -- ANALYST]

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to show the interesting nature of this mountain trail. A proper survey of this region would be sure to bring many interesting facts to light. Unfortunately the prospects of accurate map-making in China are not very bright at present. The Chinese, not unnaturally, have recently taken to objecting to the wandering foreigner who used to roam across the country making a map, and they profess to be compiling an accurate survey of the whole country themselves. The results of the work done in this connection in the north-east provinces has not been published, however, and at the present rate of progress it does not seem likely that the more remote parts in the west will be reached for generations. In the meantime existing maps of China are most unsatisfactory. Some of the coast provinces have been fairly thoroughly mapped by foreign military officers after 1900; there is also a very good British map of Szechuan, though where its authors have relied on the work of previous travellers, as in the case of the important Hsian-Chengtu road, it contains many errors. In the case of a remote province like Kansu, however, the best existing foreign maps are merely compilations of the route surveys of various foreign travellers, with the result that one gets an accurate representation of certain roads intersected by spaces which are practically blank, or filled in more or less at haphazard with names from old Chinese maps. In the case of Kansu many of these route surveys were compiled by Russian travellers long ago, more interested in Tibet and Mongolia than in China, so that one finds names like Mount Konkyr, Donkyr, Ugambu, etc. (to mention a few in the neighbourhood of Hsining) reappearing on the most modern maps; some of these names are nowadays quite untraceable amongst the Chinese; others are curious corruptions of well-known Chinese centres, like the two last mentioned, which represent Tanko and Weiyuan P'u respectively. Thus, although the interior of China is nowadays so well known, it is likely to remain for long one of the worst mapped parts of the world. For travelling purposes we found modern Chinese maps, compiled from the rough charts of the various districts (Hsien), though geographically very inaccurate, more useful than the foreign maps, as one could at any rate rely on the place-names.

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
the services of some officers from the Survey of India and
133 proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at
438 the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank
of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 187
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet
called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the
night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant
in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after
an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent
for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over
a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in
another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as
opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial
town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance.
About half the few buildings inside the walls had been
destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously.
We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate
had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in
a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao
River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red
sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess
of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of
the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar
Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The
red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted
with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend
from here along the border to their real strongholds round
Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow
River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms
(early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very
severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque;
this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told,
confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very
extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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PLATE XXVII

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TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

[BEING P. 134]

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563 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu
609 still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills,
487 crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.
563 Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling
[361] several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque
[792] little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery
[576] containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral,
487 serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

133 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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PLATE XXVIII

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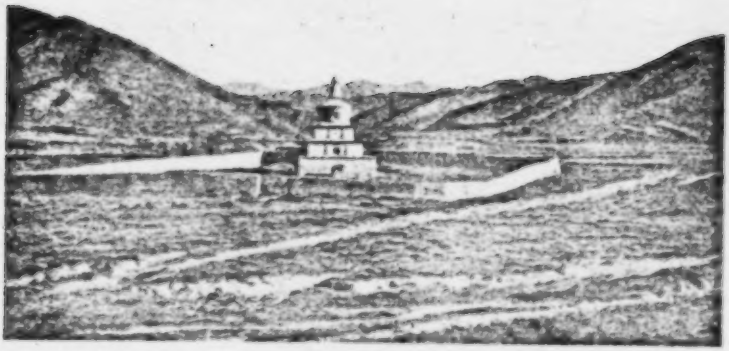
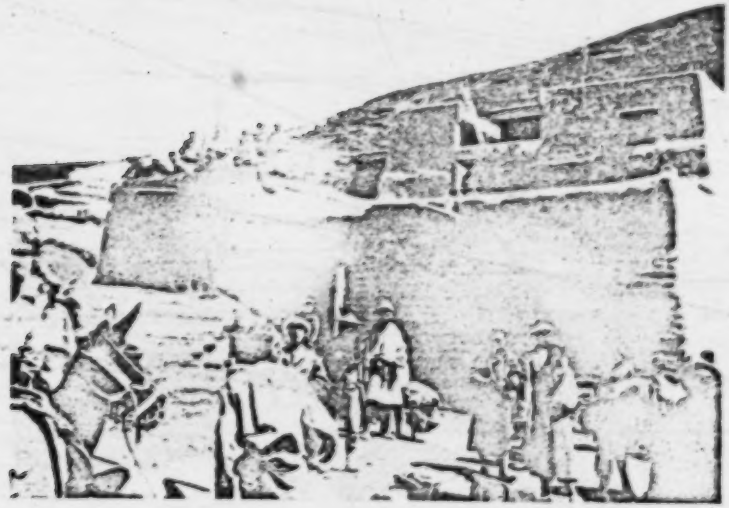


APPROACH TO TIBETAN COUNTRY WEST OF T'AOCHOU



HALT IN A TIBETAN VILLAGE WEST OF T'AOCHOU

[FACING p. 135]

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sungp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

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487 under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan
133 range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

797 There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

14 The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

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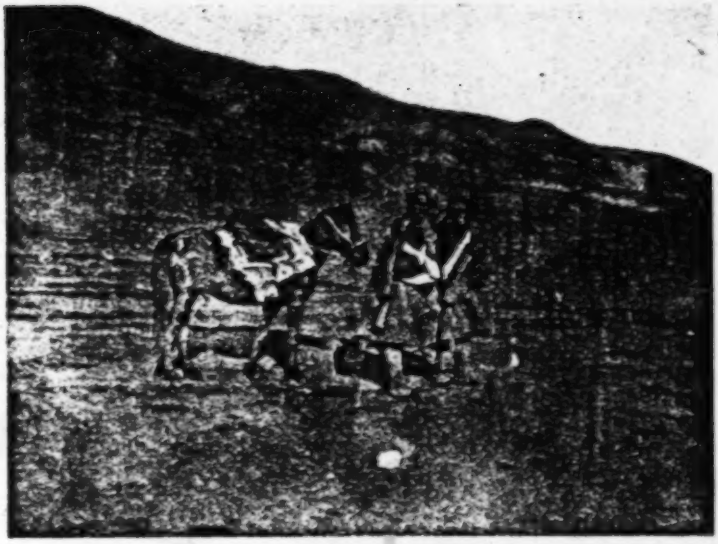
It seems to have been checked by the energetic action of the Chinese authorities acting under the advice of a British missionary doctor from Lanchou. The terrible thing about pneumonic plague in North China is that a patient once afflicted seems bound to die, which accounts for the amount of attention it attracts. But the ravages even of such an outbreak as the Manchurian one of 1911 seem small when compared with those of bubonic plague in India. The outbreak of 1911 caused a panic in North China amongst Chinese and foreigners alike, and the Legation Quarter in Peking barricaded itself behind its defences as though to repel another Boxer rising, though only a case or two occurred in the city; one does not hear of similar measures being taken in India.

From Lanchou Fu to Old T'ao Chou by the route we followed is a distance of about 1450 li and occupied some 24 day's travel.

PLATE XXIX



NOMAD TIBETANS ON THE GRASS-LANDS NEAR LABRANG

NOMAD TIBETANS ON THE GRASS-LANDS NEAR LABRANG

[FACING p. 128]

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CHAPTER X

FROM T'AOCHOU ACROSS THE GRASS-LANDS TO LABRANG MONASTERY, AND THENCE *VIA* HOCHOU BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Difficulties of travel west of T'aochou—Tibetan houses—Grass-lands of the Kokonor border—Tibetan nomads—Heitsō Monastery—Tibetans of Amdo—Labrang—Reception by Lamas—Hochou—Mahomedans in Kansu—Mahomedans and Christian missionaries—Return to Lanchou.

486 THE journey from Old T'ao Chou to Labrang monastery is usually made in four days, the distance being called 250 li. 363 The track is little used and a local guide is essential, inasmuch as once on the grass-lands faint trails lead in all directions; a Tibetan interpreter is also useful, since few or no Chinese are met with *en route*. The Choni chief had very kindly deputed one of his own headmen to accompany us, since his jurisdiction extended some way towards Labrang, and the services of this man, as interpreter, guide, and sponsor were invaluable and cleared away all difficulties. We were also accompanied by half a dozen of the chief's Tibetan soldiers and as many Mahomedan braves, the latter being useful owing to the peculiar influence exercised at present by the Mahomedan leaders over the Tibetans; indeed it is commonly said locally that Labrang, formerly so bitterly hostile to the Chinese and strangers generally, is now entirely under the thumb of General Ma An-liang. It should be noted that the Kansu borderland differs at present from the same country in Western Szechuan in that the latter has been largely taken over by the Chinese, whereas the former has not. While in Szechuan, therefore, it may only be necessary to make arrangements with the Chinese officials for travel on the border, in Kansu it is necessary to arrange matters with the local native chiefs and the Mahomedans; otherwise travel west of T'ao Chou and Labrang is by no means safe. From Labrang to Ho Chou there is a mule trail much frequented by Mahomedan merchants, and no special arrangements are necessary.

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PLATE XXX

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GRASS COUNTRY (11,000 FEET) ON THE ROAD TO LABRANG

TIBETAN ENCAMPMENTS NEAR LABRANG

[FACING p. 139]

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Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains (elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak, sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba. These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and west, and always one ascends to them through a region of broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

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133 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan
563 or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands,
487 passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou
[361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the
792 village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the
[241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We
609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

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which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

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513 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-133 covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [792] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

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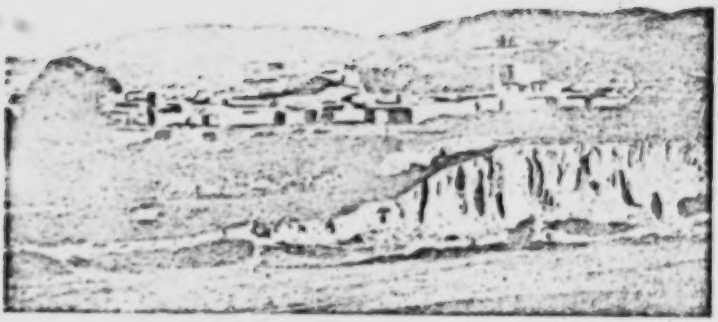
valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

PLATE XXXI



VIEW OF THE MONASTERY OF HEITSO SSU

[Facing p. 144]

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361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of 792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of [372] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Re-incarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from [443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, 792 bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese 438 trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

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PLATE XXXII

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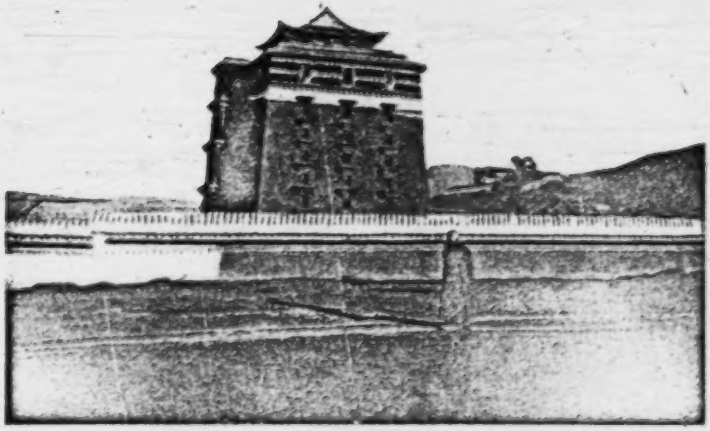
PORTION OF HEITSO MONASTERY



PORTION OF HEITSO MONASTERY

[FACING p. 145]

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We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

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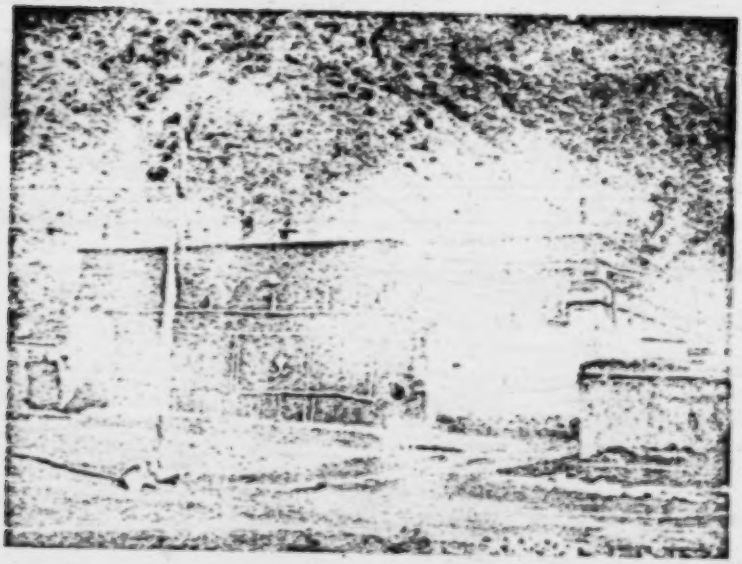
PLATE XXXIII

TAN VILLAGERS NEAR KACHIA SSU



A PORTION OF THE MONASTERY OF KACHIA SSU

[FACING p. 146]

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484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a 202 military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by 487 forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The 563 Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

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PLATE XXXIV

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MONASTERY OF SHAKOU SSU

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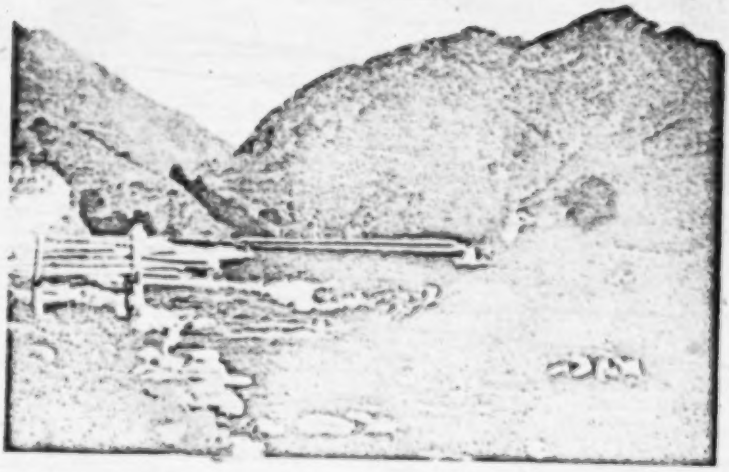

CANTILEVER BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO LABRANG

[FACING p. 147]

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with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

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795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

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through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

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PLATE XXXV

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VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY

VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY
(The two views join to form a panorama)

[FACING p. 158]

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during the first difficult days. But evangelistic work amongst the Moslems of Kansu appears hopeless. A hospital is now being erected in Lanchou under the auspices of the China Inland Mission with the special object of converting the Mahomedans; it remains to be seen whether it will meet with any success.

Some remarkable facts are brought to light if the history and progress of Islam and Christianity in China are compared, the Chinese authorities having been equally tolerant to both religions, as to all others, until in recent years rebellions caused them to mistrust the former, and political considerations rendered them suspicious of the latter; but in both cases only to a limited extent, for in the past and in the present China holds a record for religious tolerance hard to beat anywhere amongst the nations of the world.

Christianity was propagated in China by Nestorian missionaries during the 7th century and later for an unknown number of centuries (they appear to have still existed in Marco Polo's time); Catholic missionaries flourished under the Mongol dynasty in the 14th century, and from the 16th century on penetrated to all parts of China; Protestant missionaries have been working actively in China during the past half century, during which period vast sums have been expended and great activity shown in the attempt to convert the Chinese. Islam was introduced into China by immigrants from Central Asia, who in most parts became entirely merged in the Chinese, and now exists in all the provinces of the Republic. Practically speaking, there are not now, and never have been, any active Mahomedan missionaries at work amongst the Chinese. And yet today there are perhaps a million and a half nominal Chinese Catholic Christians, a third or a quarter as many Protestants, and at least ten times as many Moslems.

It is difficult at first sight to account for this state of things. The explanation lies perhaps partly in the fact that Islam has become, so to speak, naturalised amongst the Chinese and is firmly rooted as a native faith, without retaining, as far as its believers are concerned, any alien character; while Protestant Christianity remains in most cases a foreign institution supported by foreign energy, brains, and money. Many missionaries appear to the un-

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PLATE XXXVI

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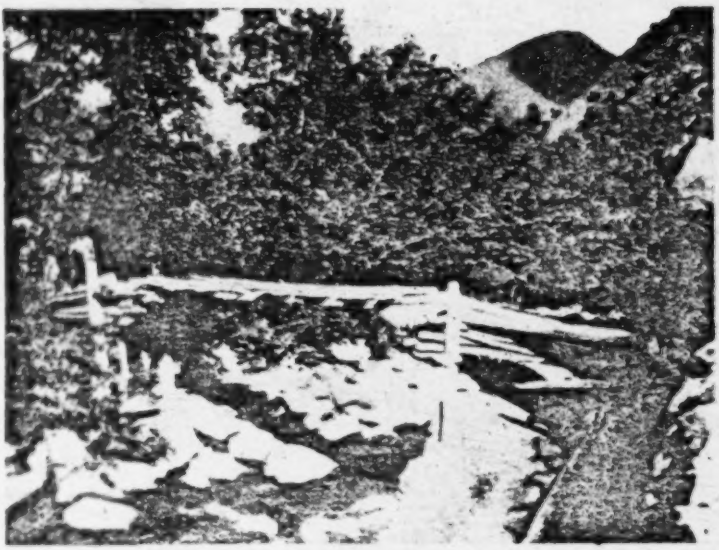

CANTILEVER BRIDGE BETWEEN LABRANG AND HOCHOU

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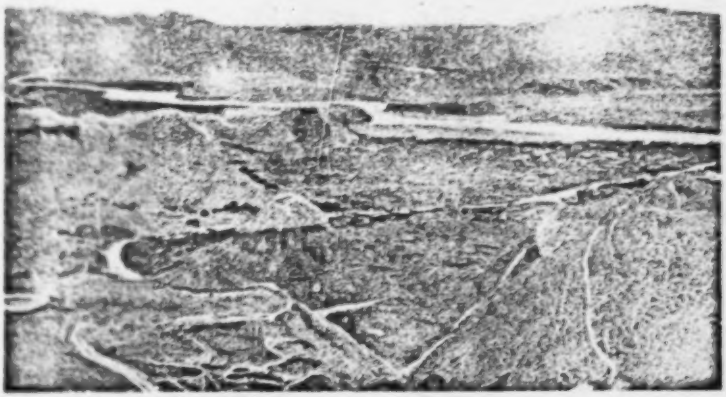

T'AO RIVER VALLEY BETWEEN HOCHOU AND LANCHOU FU

[FACING p. 151]

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prejudiced observer to aim at Europeanising the Chinese in the course of converting them, which may be an excellent object, but is fatal to the establishment of a native Christian Church. Christianity, an oriental religion, is now being offered to the oriental Chinese in all its Western trappings. Foreign-style churches are erected in which the Chinese attend services after the foreign fashion, and are even taught to sing translations of the Western hymns, all of which seems to have little connection with the original teachings of Christ, and which often appears absurd and grotesque in the interior of China. Even the hierarchy of the Western Church is imposed upon the Chinese by the appointment of foreign bishops. It is submitted therefore that if Christianity is ever to take root in China as a native Church it must be divested of all its European trappings; and if it is to reach the educated classes it must be taught in a modern and liberal spirit, dropping the belief in miracles and a material hell, and compromising with ancestor worship and the ethics of Laocius and Confucius.

The vast sums of money expended by the European Churches on missionary work in China have been productive of an enormous amount of good in improving the material lot of the Chinese, but the religious results have been small in comparison to the efforts put forth. In one respect, however, large sums have been expended without producing any good results either material or spiritual. Every year millions of copies of translated Scriptures are distributed in China by the native colporteurs of the great Bible Societies, not more than ten or twenty per cent. of which are ever read by anyone. One often hears of statistics of the large numbers of copies disposed of, not given away, but sold; but it is not stated in explanation that the books are disposed of so cheaply that they are sometimes bought for the paper they contain and used in the manufacture of the soles of Chinese shoes (which, curiously enough, is also the use to which the Chinese are said to have put the sacred books of the lamas when campaigning amongst the monasteries of Eastern Tibet). Further, even where the Bibles are read, it is now widely recognized, even by many missionaries, that the wholesale distribution of obsolete tracts and translated Scriptures, in their less objectionable parts often but a

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

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rocky gorge and then by steep zigzags to reach the pass over the divide between the T'ao and Yellow Rivers, on the further side of which there is a complete change of scenery, green hills and fertile terraces taking the place of the desert mountain sides. From the pass the trail descends into a ravine, climbs over a mountain spur, and drops steeply to the village of Chiangchia Wan, whence it descends gradually for three hours' march through the loess to reach Lanchou and the valley of the Yellow River. Our tour of South Western Kansu had occupied us about five weeks, during which period we had covered some six to seven hundred miles.

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CHAPTER XI

FROM LANCHOU FU NORTH TO CHENFAN IN THE ALASHAN DESERT, AND THENCE WEST TO ÊPO ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Through the desert hills to P'ingfan—The Wushao Ling—Kulang—How to raise a mule—Liangchou—Opium suppression—Chenfan—Trails from Mongolia to the Kokonor—Crossing a corner of the Alashan desert—Yungch'ang—The Pien Tu K'ou passage—Êpo—Wool, deer horns, and musk.

487 133 We left Lanchou on the 17th of July bound for Chenfan, an oasis in the Alashan desert lying ten to eleven days' journey almost due north. For the first week, as far as Liangchou Fu, we followed the Great West Road leading to Turkestan, most of the way a good cart track with accommodation and supplies every 40 to 50 li. From Liangchou to Chenfan the road ran through a string of little oases in the desert.

Leaving Lanchou by the iron bridge the road runs for 30 li westwards up the Yellow River valley, which here opens out into a small cultivated plain, and then turns north up a narrow gorge in the hills for ten li to reach Chuchia Yingtzu, a small village in a desolate region of bare stony hills. From here the track continues to ascend gradually through barren hills of sandy loess, crosses a small pass, and descends to the miserable hamlet of Yuchia Wan, the end of the first stage of 70 li. The surrounding country is nearly desert and the water brackish. From Yuchia Wan the track undulates north-westwards through a maze of bare loess hills, treeless and waterless, for 45 li to the village of Hsienshui Ho, where, as the name implies, a brackish streamlet enables some poor crops to be grown. In Kansu the Yellow River is roughly speaking the boundary between China and the wastes of Central Asia, all the country north-west of it being desert where there is no irrigation. The road continues for another two to three hours' march through these barren hills until it suddenly emerges on to the fertile valley of

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [491]

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487 and the background of bare snow-sprinkled mountains, made up a wild and desolate landscape, the scene of uncounted con-
133 tests between Chinese, Tartars, and Mahomedans in the past.

The trail continues up the valley, which is here a mile or two wide and slopes gently up to grassy downs on either side, for four to five hours' march to an old military post [491] called Chench'iang Yi. Here the river is crossed by a ford, which must be difficult in rainy weather, and the road, leaving the P'ingfan valley, runs due north over easy grassy slopes for 15 li to gain the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet), the divide between the waters which flow east to join the Yellow River and those which flow north into the desert and fail to reach the sea. Immediately to the west some rocky peaks patched with snow rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. [136] From the pass the road descends, at first over grassy downs alive with marmots, and then by a steep stony track, to the ruined village of Anyuan P'u in the narrow valley of the Kulang River. The Wushao Ling will prove the principal engineering obstacle to the railway which is projected as an extension of the Lung Hai line along the main road towards Central Asia, and will presumably necessitate a considerable tunnel. Otherwise the construction of this extension will be easy compared to the section from Hsian to Lanchou. Fifteen li down the valley brings one to the village of Lungk'ou P'u. This is a long day's march called 90 li (which means 30 miles in Western Kansu) and the track beyond the pass is bad and rocky.

On the following day a short march of 45 li by a rough road down the valley brought us to the district city of Kulang, a small town three-parts in ruins situated at the point where the stream debouches from the mountains on to the plain. Here we were given a typical instance of Chinese administrative methods. One of our mules having fallen lame, we asked the magistrate to be good enough to procure us another animal, which he said could easily be done. We were accommodated in a small yamen and our mules in an inn, and that evening the head muleteer came round in a great state and said that one of our mules had been seized by the underlings from the magistrate's yamen. Explanations were of course immediately forthcoming and the misunderstanding cleared up. The magistrate had instructed his

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underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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being the most isolated post occupied by the mission; Ninghsia is probably the worst off in this respect; but in any of them years may go by without the resident missionary seeing a strange European face. The Catholics are strong in the neighbourhood, having a large establishment with a bishop at a village called Chenchia Chuang, 20 li to the west.

The Liangchou neighbourhood used to be famous for its poppies, the opium being considered the best native drug produced in China. The success of China's measures for the suppression of poppy cultivation has been one of the most striking events in her recent history. In 1907 the policy of total suppression within ten years was adopted amidst general scepticism on the part of most foreigners and many Chinese. It was generally felt that this policy would be but another instance of the maxim *Yu Ming Wu Shih* (Theory but not Practice), so deeply engrained in Chinese official life. The ten years have now elapsed, and though cultivation may not be completely extinct in wild mountain districts and amongst the semi-independent tribes of the west and south-west, yet one may travel for months through the plains and valleys of provinces such as Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, where most of the native opium consumed in North China used to be produced, and never see a single poppy plant. Conclusive evidence of the success of the suppressive measures is to be found in the fact that in the former poppy-growing areas of Shensi and Kansu, where opium could be bought locally ten years ago for 100 cash an ounce, the price has now risen to about 12,000 cash an ounce. Further the success which has been attained, has been accomplished in face of great obstacles, such as the revolution, after which there was a general recrudescence of cultivation, and the subsequent rebellions; in every case where there was a general collapse of local government and law and order the people immediately returned to their poppy cultivation. Yunnan and Shensi have probably been the worst offenders and the slowest to achieve comparatively complete suppression, owing in the first case to the tribes, and in the second to the brigands. The stimulus exercised by the Treaties with Great Britain of 1907 and 1911, under which the import of Indian opium was to cease if China could succeed in putting her own house in order with regard

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a
312 highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, 487
and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor
border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, 133
passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to
bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich 634
oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, 651
lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

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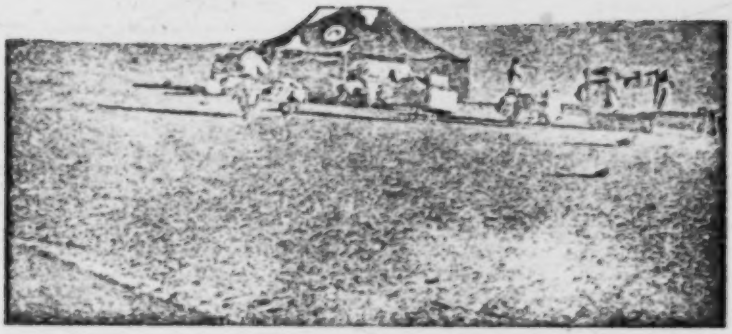
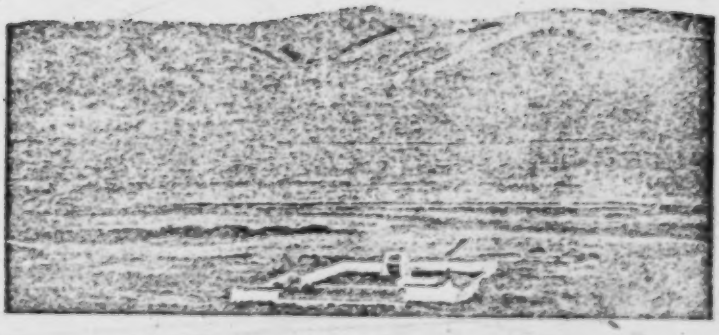
PLATE XXXVII



CAMP IN THE ALASHAN DESERT, NEAR CHENFAN

361



CHINESE SETTLER'S CATTLE-FARM ON THE GRASS-LANDS

[Facing p. 162]

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634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[134] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

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PLATE XXXVIII

133

LOWER END OF PIEN TU K'OU GORGE, LEADING TO THE KOKONOR

TRAVELLING UP THE PIEN TU K'OU GORGE

[FACING p. 163]

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plain to Yungch'ang Hsien, a small district city on the mainroad. 487 133

Leaving Yungch'ang the trail runs west up a cultivated valley for 25 li to the ruined village of Shuimo Kuan. Here the stream is forded, and the trail, leaving the high road to Kanchou and Suchou on the right hand, continues up the valley due west, ascending very gradually, for 50 li to Kaoku Ch'eng, an old walled military post surrounded by a ruined village, where we passed the night in the dilapidated yamen of the *Yu Chi*, or Major in the old army of the Green Standard, who still survived in this remote corner of the Republic, though about eight years out of date. Kaoku Ch'eng lies in a broad shallow valley sloping up to the mountains on either side, with very little cultivation. Ruined farms and abandoned fields are numerous, and signs of former prosperity and present depopulation are not wanting. A huge snow mountain is visible lying ten to twenty miles away to the south, apparently part of the snow range behind Liangchou. [491]

Beyond Kaoku Ch'eng the flat valley merges imperceptibly into a rolling grassy plain, bounded north and south by mountains, and uninhabited save for flocks of sheep and occasional antelope. The road undulates due west across this plain, running more or less parallel to the main range of the Nan Shan, a high rocky barrier bounding the Kokonor plateau. For the last ten li there is a descent through cultivated fields to Tama Ying, another old walled military post mostly in ruins, lying on the head-waters of a stream flowing N.W. towards Shantan Hsien. There are several farms of settlers in the neighbourhood, and the barley looked well, though still green in early August (elevation between 8000 and 9000 feet). On this day's march we noticed the ruins of some of the old beacon towers common to the high roads of Kansu, and these ruins, with those of the old military posts, show that this was once an important military road. At Tama Ying we were again quartered in the yamen of the *Yu Chi*, the latter an aged veteran of the Mahomedan campaigns, who was spending the evening of his no doubt active and adventurous life in this remote spot, with only the vaguest ideas of the momentous changes which had come to pass with the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty.

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487 From Tama Ying the trail runs south-west across rolling
grassy downs, on which cattle and sheep are pastured,
133 gradually approaching the main range of the Nan Shan on the left front. We saw large numbers of antelope on this march and in places the pasturage was extraordinarily luxuriant and the grass up to the ponies' knees. The stage is a short one of only some 50 li and for the last hour the trail runs through fields of barley to reach Maying Tung, another of the old walled forts with which this region is dotted, surrounded by farms and patches of cultivation. It lies close under the Nan Shan, whose rocky peaks rise above the snow-line, and a few li from the mouth of the gorge leading up to the Kokonor plateau. This is the well-known passage through the Nan Shan called the Pien Tu K'ou, and is a remarkable cleft in the huge wall of rock presented by the main range, from which there issues a torrent flowing north towards Kanchou.

From Maying Tung to Êpo on the Kokonor plateau is a long march, called 100 li, which took us over twelve hours. The trail runs across the plain for an hour or two to reach the foot of the mountains and then enters the Pien Tu K'ou, a narrow gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The trail up the gorge is very bad, and is made more difficult by its constantly crossing and recrossing the torrent, which descends in a succession of cascades and, in the summer, is only just fordable. We were told that camels negotiate this road in the winter, when it is probably much easier. Every time we forded the stream I expected our mules to come to grief, the donkeys, which accompanied us in the capacity of grain carriers for the mules, being in places nearly submerged. At length the inevitable happened, and one of the mule litters turned turtle in mid-stream owing to the mules being swept off their feet by the current; all the contents were washed down stream and the occupant, one of the servants, nearly drowned. This incident, and the subsequent collection of as much flotsam and jetsam as we could recover down stream, delayed us for an hour or so. The gorge is uninhabited except for two likin huts which seem to have gone out of business. After some five hours' march the
233 going improves and the precipitous mountains give way to grassy slopes dotted with herds of yak and flocks of sheep

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Ŏbaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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487 neighbourhood to escort us down to those parts, for we had now again entered the Mahomedan sphere. Life in Êpo must be a trifle monotonous for the wool buyers. It was about the most distant and isolated spot we reached on all our travels, lying some forty to fifty days' journey from the coast or the nearest railway.

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CHAPTER XII

FROM ÊPO SOUTH ACROSS THE KOKONOR GRASS COUNTRY TO HSINING, AND THENCE BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Grass lands and snow mountains—Gold washing—Kokonor Mongols—Yungan—Pei Tatung—Passage of Tatung River and Tapan Shan—Tatung or Maopeisheng—Chinese place-names in foreign guise—Hsinch'eng and a loop of the Great Wall—Hsining—Chinese control over the Kokonor territory—Kansu wool trade—Kansu ponies—Hsining to Lanchou Fu—Aborigines—Defile of Laoya—Sandstone and loess—Copper—Lanchou water melons.

FROM Êpo the trail runs south for three very long stages, each one probably well over 30 miles in length, across the grass country on the Kokonor border. Along this border stretches an old line of walled military posts, Êpo, Yungan, and Pei Tatung, which make up the stages, and the grass lands being otherwise uninhabited except by a few nomads, it is necessary for the traveller unprovided with tents to cover each of these long marches in the day. 487 361 133

Leaving Êpo the track runs south-east up the flat grassy valley, which is dotted with the black tents of Tibetan nomads and countless flocks of sheep. After some hours' march the stream is left on the right hand and the path rises gradually to an easy pass 40 li from Êpo. The view from the summit (between 12,000 and 13,000 feet) is the same on both sides, treeless grassy downs and rocky mountains streaked with snow. Immediately to the south-east rises a gigantic snow mountain, being apparently another view of the snow range which we saw south of Kaoku Ch'eng, and which seems to lie immediately behind Liangchou. There appeared to be thousands of feet of snow on this mountain in early August, and its height must be some 18,000 feet or more. This pass, like the Wushao Ling, is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Central Asian basins, and we also gathered from the soldiers who 133 487

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133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots.
316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol
563 tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents
563 of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally
634 occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow 634
River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not 563
far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across 487
undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be 487
crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 491

PLATE XXXIX

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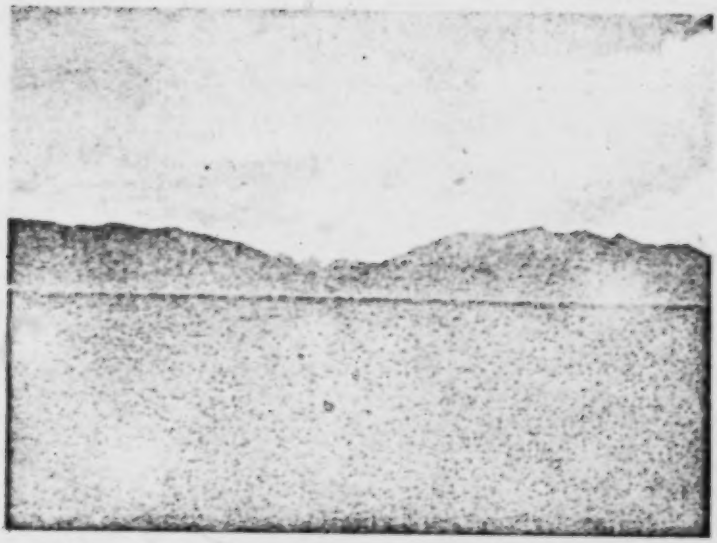

GRASS PRAIRIE (11,000 FEET) NEAR YUNGAN

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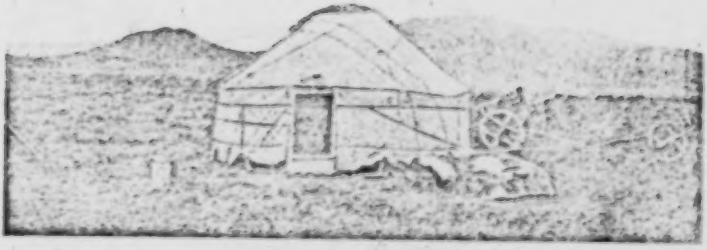

MONGOL TENT

[FACING p. 170]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called *p'ifatzu*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

PLATE XL

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TIBETAN NOMADS ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

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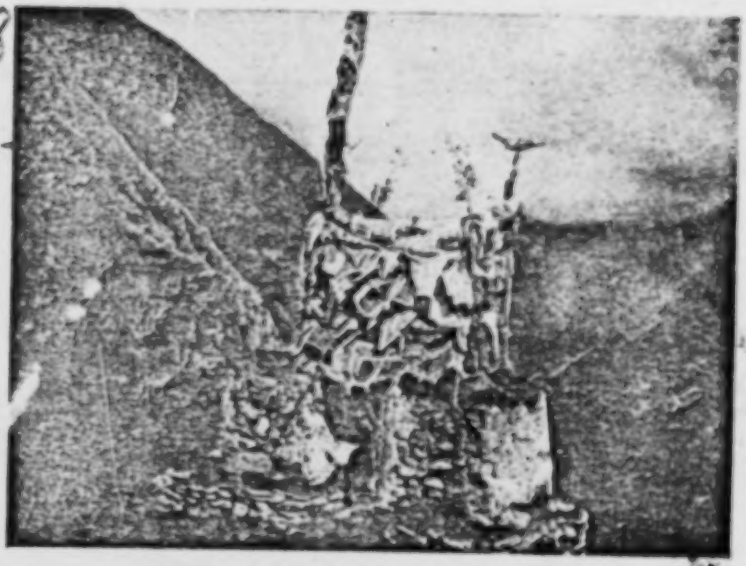

TIBETAN PRAYER FLAGS

[FACING p. 171]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey 648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

636 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueité, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Épo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

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439 Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan
471 middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

651 The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible
439 by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

23 We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was
492 acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

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similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile, 133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiangt'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered [244] fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tatung River is crossed by [491] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of [361] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil 487
shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils 133
are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down
by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited
the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to
doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North
China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the [135
Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the 316]
Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood
with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign
machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to
all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure
was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the
quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley
which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on.
The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path [491]
usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a
number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends
to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide
and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals.
A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley
through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin
Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li
by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated
fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished [501]
rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small
skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month
of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market.
These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few
inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough
to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their
owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above
Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry 244
heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times
truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large
quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in
China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four
varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and
very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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244 water melon, here grown to perfection, not the insipid watery pulp it is in many provinces, but a huge mass of juicy fruit of the most delicate flavour; and the *ta kua*, a tasteless variety fed to sheep and goats, and grown for its seeds. We were told that there is only one other melon which can compete with those of Lanchou for juiciness and delicacy of flavour, and that is the *Hami kua*, from Hami in Turkestan.

487 Our round tou of North-Western Kansu, *via* Liangchou, Chenfan, Êpo, and Hsining, a distance of about 700 miles, had occupied a little more than a month.

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

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AFTER returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchow itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

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The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

[P. 179]

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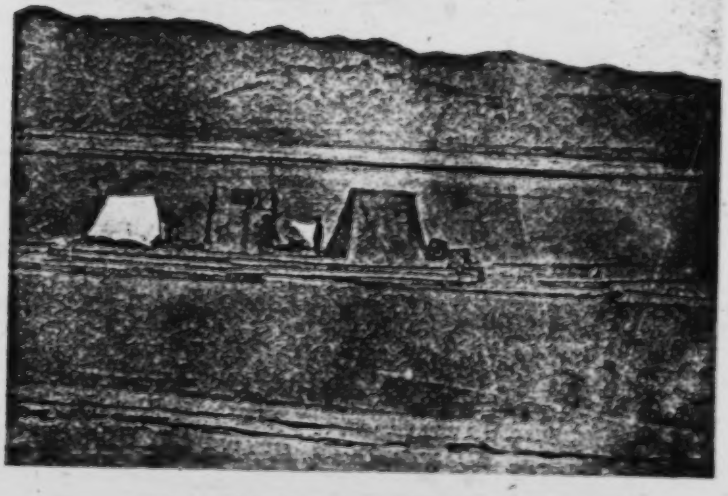
PLATE XLI

501

OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER



OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

[FACING p. 180]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small art it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India.
436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li
133 respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the
[36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

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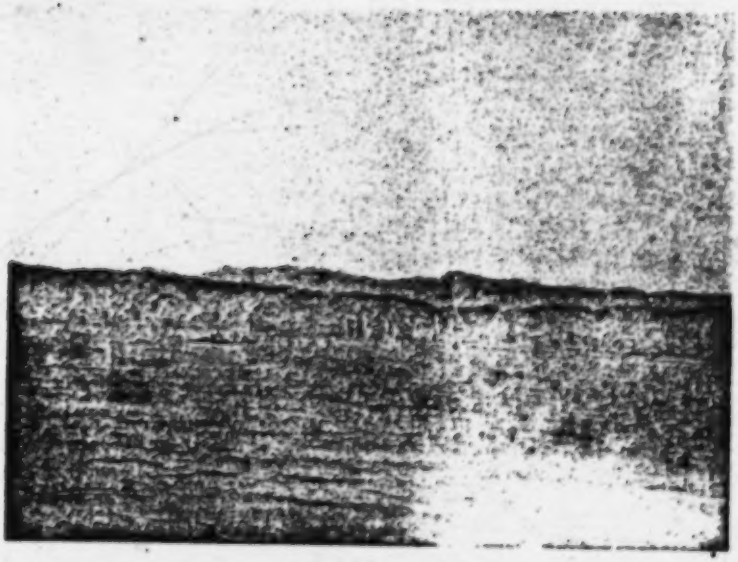
PLATE XLII



SANDSTONE CLIFFS OF UPPER YELLOW RIVER

SANDSTONE CLIFFS OF UPPER YELLOW RIVER

[FACING P. 181]

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the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361]
bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376]
plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; this range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

 133

without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

[316] 502 136

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

133 [234]

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

[312]

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

stretches.

2: Teichman G-6 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919)-1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

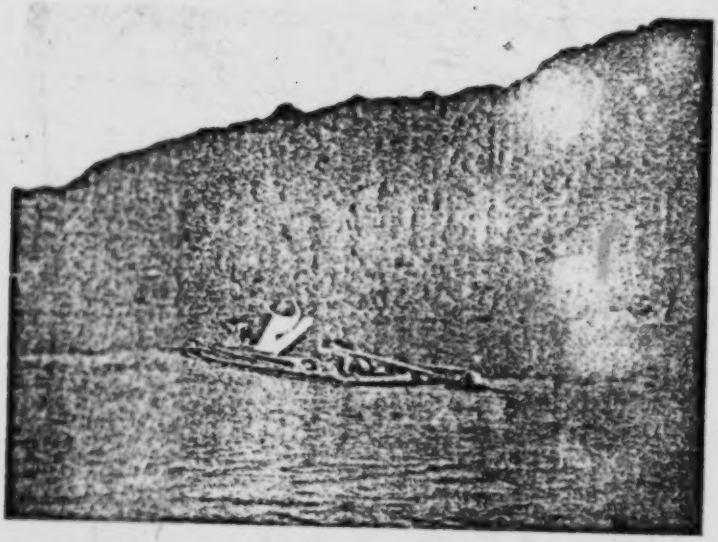
Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works. 312 133 361

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history. (361) 563 669

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely 501

PLATE XLIII

501



RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

[FACING p. 186]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

502 The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, 133 however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtzu, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

133 Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. 487 Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irriga-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XLIV

501

OUR PONIES RAFTING DOWN THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTS OF INFLATED SKINS ON THE YELLOW RIVER

[FACING P. 187]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

635 than the Mahomedan leaders of Kansu. But, unlike some of the Manchu irreconcilables, General Ma Fu-hsiang moves with the times, and was later on one of the staunchest supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Peking Government. He is looked upon in some quarters as a likely successor to General Ma An-liang as leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, a position which it is generally agreed he is well qualified to fill.

669 Ninghsia was one of the few places in Kansu which had a rough time during the Revolution of 1911 owing to the city being seized by the Ko Lao Hui, and matters seem to have been very bad until the arrival of Mahomedan troops under one of Ma An-liang's Generals, when many Ko Lao Hui heads rolled in the dust and order was speedily restored. It is only in the extreme north and south of Kansu, for instance at Ninghsia and Chieh Chou (Kai Chou), where there is a considerable extra-provincial element in the population, that the Ko Lao Hui are formidable, owing apparently to the counter-influence of the Mahomedans, who will never have any dealings with secret societies.

Immediately west of the Ninghsia plains rises the barrier range usually known to foreigners as the Alashan, and three days' distant in these mountains lies Tingyuan Ying, or Wangyeh Fu, the residence of the Mongol Prince of the State of Alashan. It was to this place that Prince Tuan, the Boxer leader and father of the then Heir Apparent, retired after the events of 1900, though he was supposed to have been exiled to Turkestan. After the Mahomedans had occupied Ninghsia during the Revolution of 1911, he came down and lived there for some time awaiting the issue, but on the abdication of the Manchus he appears to have retired west into Turkestan, together with the famous old Manchu die-hard, Sheng Yün.

At Ninghsia we received what then seemed the incredible news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's intention to make himself Emperor. Kansu and its Mahomedans probably welcomed the event, since they were never particularly enthusiastic about the Republic, but it was a terrible blow to the young men of the student class who believed in the *Min Kuo*[1]. I have heard Yuan Shih-k'ai's opponents allege that his ambition was always fixed on the Throne, and that in the days when

[1] "People's Country," i.e. Republic.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

he was living in retirement in Honan after the death of the Empress Dowager he was in secret communication with many of the military chiefs of the new army of his own creation and plotting a *coup d'état*; then followed the revolution, and he was able to advance with consummate skill, under the pretence of trying to keep the Manchus on the Throne, to the positions of Provisional President, Dictator, and Emperor. Other Chinese assure one that he was a faithful servant of the Republic led astray by the ambitions of his family and entourage. Whatever the facts may have been, there is no doubt that Yuan Shih-k'ai would have made a splendid Emperor, and subsequent events have proved that he was then the only man capable of ruling China. The Kansu officials, like those of all the other provinces, were instructed to make preparations for the holding of popular elections for or against a monarchy, which were to follow a joint memorial from the provincial Military Governors, all with one or two important exceptions Yuan's own men, begging their master to ascend the Throne. These instructions were, however, accompanied by secret telegrams regarding the working of the elections, and so successful were these arrangements that Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected Emperor practically unanimously by all the provinces. Everyone throughout the length and breadth of China knew that these elections were a sham and a fraud from beginning to end; but the Chinese are a race of actors, and make-belief enters largely into most phases of their private and public lives, and the farce was solemnly completed. Yet when the standard of rebellion was raised by General Tsai Ao in Yunnan on Christmas Day, 1916, the fraud was soon apparent, and the whole monarchical scheme came tumbling to the ground as province after province, all of which had supposedly announced themselves as unanimously in its favour, deserted the Imperial cause. As an instance of Chinese make-belief (*yu ming wu shih*) the monarchical elections of the autumn of 1916 are hard to beat.

The officials of Ninghsia had kindly prepared two of the large wool boats for our accommodation and smaller craft for the ponies for the journey down river to Paot'ou. Our craft were broad flat-bottomed scows with high sides, and when roofed over with our tents made quite comfortable

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade.
236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu [439] by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting [236] local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the 487 Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

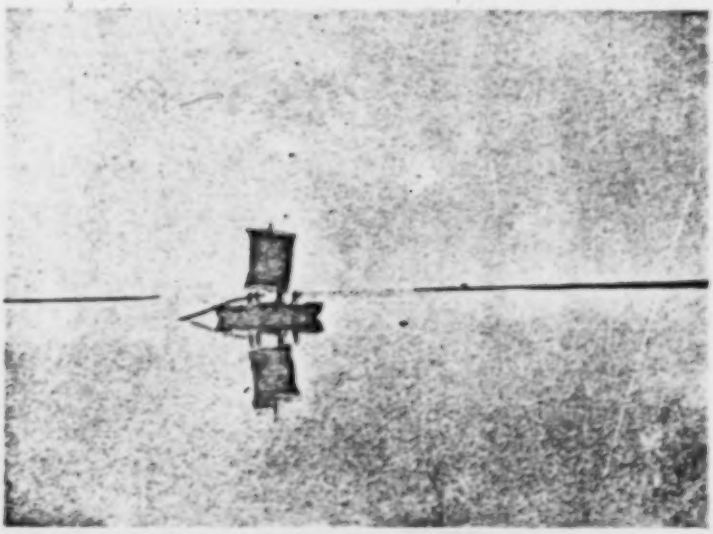
Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu 133 into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese [797] population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering 502 the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

PLATE XLV

501

PONIES EMBARKED FOR THE JOURNEY ROUND THE ORDOS



ON THE YELLOW RIVER NEAR PAOT'OU

[facing p. 192]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

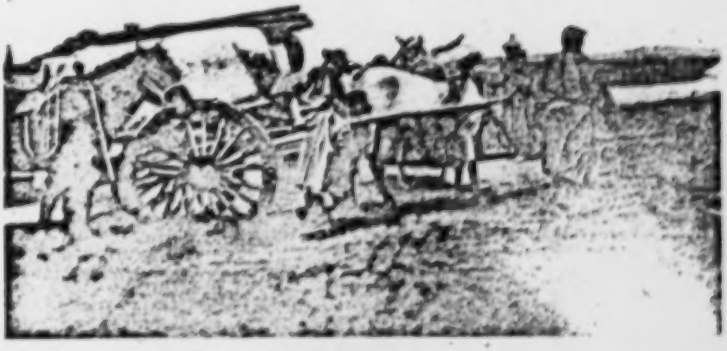
502 were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.
439 In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice
222 root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this
133 is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

361 Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River
243 in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic.
439 Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

PLATE XLVI

221

MONGOLS MOVING CAMP



MONGOLS MOVING CAMP

[FACING p 193]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town. 499

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

133 487 [484] 563 792 796 535 796 782

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XLVII

PONY FAIR ON THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER

PONY FAIR ON THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER

[FACING p. 194]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[361] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town
438 serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new
133 ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

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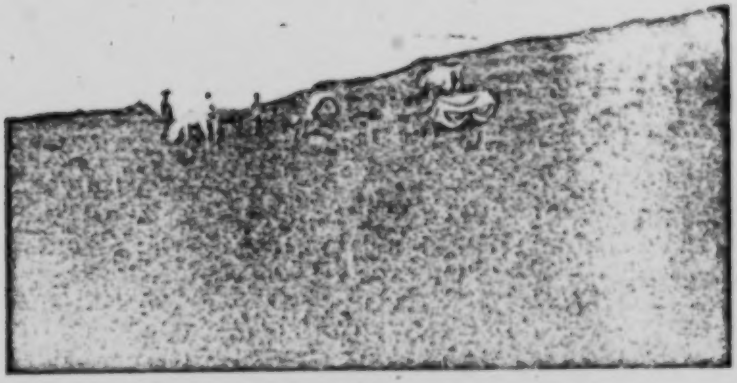
PLATE XLVIII

ON THE ROAD BETWEEN PAOT'OU AND KUEIHU'A CH'ENG



ON THE ROAD BETWEEN KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND FENG CHEN

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can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. 487
Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the 133
Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an un- [361]
walled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an [496]
important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to [796]
Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

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CHAPTER XIV

SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE INTERIOR OF CHINA

Chinese interest in foreign things—Need of reform in type of Christianity taught to Chinese—Hostile attitude of Roman Catholics towards Protestants—Methods of Catholics—Celibacy—Chinese nuns foreign dress—Unity of Catholic and disunity of Protestant Churches—Claims for compensation—Educational work—Advantages of a non-religious mission—Selection of missionaries—Missionary holidays—Spread of Anglo-Saxon ideals by missionaries in China.

CONSIDERABLE mention has been made in these pages of missionaries and their works, the excuse for which is the importance which the missionary question assumes nowadays in the interior of China. It is doubtless presumptuous for an outsider to venture to criticise the work of missionaries, with which he can have but a very superficial acquaintance, but as one who has seen a great deal of missionary enterprise in the more distant and backward provinces of the interior, and on the principle that a cat may look at a king, the writer ventures to devote a short chapter to the following random observations on the subject. Lest, however, the views expressed be considered anti-missionary, he would first explain that he is a profound admirer of the good work done by the Protestant missionaries in educating and healing the Chinese, and generally in leavening and improving things in China, the effects of which are apparent from Peking to Canton and from Chengtu to Shanghai, and is only in equally profound disagreement with some of their evangelising work and methods. The large sums provided annually by the home societies in Europe and America are indeed well spent from the former point of view, though it is perhaps doubtful whether they have really accomplished very much good from the latter.

The missionary problem has been entirely altered of recent years by the changes which have taken place in awakening China, especially since the Revolution of 1911.

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The difficulty used to be, how to overcome the antipathy of the Chinese for everything foreign, and to induce the people to consent to listen to the foreign preacher; today the problem is, how best to utilise in the cause of Christianity the interest and admiration displayed by the Chinese for the foreigner and his works, including everything foreign from missions to machine guns. In the distant interior this enthusiasm for foreign things is sometimes mistaken for a rush to enter the Christian Church, because the missionary and his Western home are often the only foreign objects available locally. The disappearance of the antipathy to the foreigner does of course offer a great opportunity for missionary work, and the question arises whether this opportunity is being turned to the best advantage from the point of view of Christianity.

In the first place it would appear that there is urgent need for reform in the type of Christianity which is being nowadays propagated amongst the Chinese. It seems unnecessary and unfair that they should continue to be taught all the old literal beliefs and narrow bigoted doctrines now for the most part discarded in Europe, the truth of which is probably not accepted by one non-missionary out of a hundred in China. Anyone acquainted with the old-fashioned theology of the average missionary in the interior of China will scarcely need further evidence of the need of this reform, but the following extract from the last edition (at the time of writing) of the *China Mission Year Book* may be quoted, the reference being to the progress made by a certain Protestant Mission, "The reality of demon possession and healing by prayer are now fully recognized."

The Westernised form of Christianity is obviously unsuited to become a native religion in China, and though his foreign status is nowadays one of the chief assets of the missionary, it would seem that it should be his object to disassociate his religion as much as possible from everything foreign, and divest Christianity of all its foreign trappings, if he wishes to found a native Christian Church in China, which shall be independent of the moral and financial support of foreigners, propagate itself, and stand on its own legs (and only by this means can the most optimistic missionary hope that the Chinese will ever become

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PLATE XLIX

THE "CHINA PONY" ON HIS NATIVE STEPPES

THE "CHINA PONY" ON HIS NATIVE STEPPES

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genuine Christians); but the efforts of many Protestant missionaries appear to be rather directed towards the establishment of a foreign church in which the Chinese are taught to ape the foreign style of worship, with unsatisfactory if not ridiculous results.

The Catholics and Protestants are great stumbling-blocks to one another in China, and the latter would probably generally admit that the former are usually more hostile to them than the heathen Chinese and are their most formidable enemies. It is unfortunately a fact that in many places the foreign Catholics work directly and unceasingly against the foreign Protestants, with disastrous results for the Christian spirit of their respective flocks. Though the Roman Catholic priests have long since lost the official status they used to enjoy, the power of the Catholic Church continues to increase in the interior of China. In many Catholic missions today disputes between converts are still adjudicated upon by the foreign priests or bishops without the interference of Chinese officials, and punishments and fines are even imposed, the latter going to increase the wealth of the local Catholic establishment. The amount of land owned by the Catholic Church in out of the way parts of China nowadays is truly remarkable; the properties of the Protestant missions are for the most part covered with schools, hospitals, churches, and the comfortable bungalows of the missionaries; the Catholic priests on the other hand pay scant attention to their personal comfort; but their lands are usually let at a profitable rate to Chinese farmers, converts or others, and by this means many of the Catholic establishments are nowadays probably independent of financial support from Europe. In this respect therefore the Catholic Church may be said to be now indigenous in China, but the management is still entirely in the hands of the foreigners, and one can imagine what an orgy of plunder of Church property would follow the withdrawal of the foreign fathers and bishops. The power of the Catholics is generally speaking much greater than that of the Protestants, and in the case, say, of a lawsuit, a Protestant convert stands but little chance against a Catholic (this is of course in part due to the more correct attitude adopted by the Protestant missionaries in the matter

PLATE I.

SCENE AT A LAMA FESTIVAL, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

SCENE AT A LAMA FESTIVAL, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

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of interference on the side of their converts in material matters). In spite of recent changes the Catholic Church in China remains to no small extent an *Imperium in Imperio*; and one cannot but admire and wonder at its power, based as it is nowadays rather on the remarkable unity and organization of the Church, and on the self-sacrificing zeal and ability of its priests, than on the support of foreign governments.

The methods of the Catholic missionaries in China are very different from those of the Protestants, and in a way they are markedly more successful; though some allege that their registers of converts contain whole families, all the members of which are far from being Christians; while their opponents consider that they but substitute one form of idolatry for another and replace the worship of Buddhist idols by that of images and pictures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin (and the writer has himself seen Chinese Catholics, who have apparently got a little mixed in their ideas, prostrating themselves and burning joss sticks before a picture of the Virgin in exactly the same way as their heathen brothers perform similar ceremonies before their idols). The Catholic plan is to work as far as possible through the rising generation, and to create new Catholic families rather than to convert old ones. To accomplish this end they collect children by various means in their so-called orphanages educate them as Catholics, marry them to one another, and if possible provide them with land to cultivate as a means of livelihood. The result has been that the Catholic Faith has taken root as a native religion more firmly than the Protestant, and Catholic communities have come into existence, the members of which adhere to one another and their faith in a manner only to be compared, as far as China is concerned, with the unity and religious zeal of the Mahomedans; such communities, united for purposes of mutual protection under the leadership of a foreign priest, are often a power to be reckoned with locally. On the other hand adult converts as often as not join the Catholic Church, or enroll themselves as "enquirers," in order to obtain the protection afforded by this powerful organization. This enrolling of enquirers is at times a gross abuse of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant. Cases

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are on record where people guilty or accused of crimes against the Catholics register themselves as enquirers with the Protestants, and *vice versâ*, with the sole idea of obtaining protection. In justice to the Protestant missionaries it should be stated that with them they seldom secure it.

The success of the Catholics is certainly due in part to the manner in which they enter into the lives of the Chinese people and preach their doctrines unobtrusively from amongst them; in contrast to the Protestant missionary, who usually lives a Western life in a Western home, cut off from contact with the orientals amongst whom he is working. In this connection it may be noted that the China Inland Mission, one of the largest and oldest and in the opinion of many still the finest and purest of all the Protestant missions established in China, originally adopted to a great extent the Catholic method of working from amongst the Chinese; but latterly they appear in many cases to have been affected by the example of the newer and more wealthy missions, and to have taken to the "foreign bungalow" method (which does not, however, meet with the approval of all the members).

The celibacy of the Catholics is also greatly to their advantage and enables them to merge themselves with the Chinese in a way impossible for the Protestant missionary, encumbered with family ties and a European home. Especially in the old bad days of anti-foreign risings the single priest, quite prepared to suffer martyrdom, had a great advantage over the Protestant missionary, who, though himself probably equally ready to suffer for his faith, was hampered by his wife and children, and was usually compelled to beat a hasty retreat under conditions of terrible suffering for the latter. Further the celibate priest living on the merest pittance in Chinese style is a much more economical instrument for missionary propaganda than the Protestant living as a European, the cost of whose maintenance with his family in foreign style accounts for a large proportion of the missionary funds collected at home.

The Catholics always work in Chinese clothes, as also used the Protestant missionaries, especially those of the China Inland Mission—until recently. After the Revolution of 1911 most of the Protestant Societies instructed or

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encouraged their missionaries to adopt foreign dress, on the supposition that now that the Chinese themselves were taking to everything foreign, including even foreign clothes, it was absurd and inadvisable that the foreigner should continue to disguise himself in Chinese dress. But there has been a considerable reaction against foreign food and foreign dress of recent years since the people got over their first revolutionary enthusiasm, and in the distant interior nowadays Chinese are practically never seen in foreign clothes. The wisdom of the missionary in giving up his Chinese gown for foreign dress and thus emphasizing his foreign status and that of his religion is therefore open to question, especially as the abolition of the queue has removed the chief objection to Chinese clothes, which are on the whole cheap and serviceable. It is safe to assume that a large proportion of the crowd listening to a foreign missionary preaching in foreign dress are far more interested in his clothes and his boots than in what he is trying to tell them.

Another advantage which the Catholics have over the Protestants lies in the unity of their Church compared to the many sects of the latter; not that this multitude of creeds really surprises the Chinese, who are accustomed to sects of all kinds in their own affairs; but it cannot fail to impair the respect of the heathen for the Protestant religion, especially where two neighbouring Protestant missions are not on good terms with one another, as is sometimes the case, more particularly with some of the newer and less regular missions. Wherever the Chinese enquirer may be throughout the length and breadth of China and beyond, he finds the Catholic priest preaching the same doctrines, whereas his Protestant teachers may be Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, or Congregational, to quote the recognized denominations (sometimes roughly divided up by the Chinese into the Great Wash, the Little Wash, and the No Wash), each of which again may be subdivided into different missionary societies with varying ideas of their work; or he may strike one of the smaller and more irregular missions, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, the Tongues Movement Mission, the Faith Mission, the Church of God Mission, etc., some of which

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PLATE LI

THE "CIRCUMAMBULATION BY THE COMING BUDDHA"
AT A MONASTERY IN EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

THE "CIRCUMAMBULATION BY THE COMING BUDDHA"
AT A MONASTERY IN EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

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hold very strange beliefs, and may offer to instruct him in foreign languages by giving exhibitions of its foreign members rolling in fits upon the ground, or insist on his attempting to cure cataract by prayer instead of visiting the nearest foreign doctor. The missionaries themselves allege that there is unity in essentials and difference only in form; but it is not always easy for the Chinese to distinguish between the two. The China Inland Mission leads the way in unity as in so many other respects, in that it includes followers of most denominations; but its policy is to appoint missionaries of different persuasions to different parts of the country so as to avoid the clash of creeds.

Some Protestant Societies, however, notably again the China Inland Mission, have one great advantage over the Catholics, and that lies in their principle of never claiming compensation for buildings and property damaged or destroyed in times of disturbance, whether anti-foreign or otherwise. In view of the fact that nowadays such damage is usually the work of brigands or rebels over whom the local authorities have no control whatsoever, and that such compensation is in most cases ultimately paid by the innocent local people amongst whom and for whom the missionary is working, to claim it seems an obviously un-Christian act. There are some who maintain that not to put in such claims only encourages the people in the dangerous idea that they can destroy mission property with impunity; but in these enlightened days such an argument is no longer sound, and the mission which follows the Christian principle of relying on its own good influence for immunity from attack, and is prepared to suffer if necessary without retaliating with a claim, scores heavily in the eyes of the Chinese and is not likely to lose in the long run by such a policy. In times of civil disturbance, such as are nowadays everywhere so common, the Chinese flock to the missions, especially the Catholics, to secure protection for themselves and their goods and compensation for their losses. This increases the popularity of the Churches for the moment, but it can scarcely be considered a healthy sign in the growth of a genuine native Christian Church. It would rather seem desirable that the missionaries and their converts should nowadays be entirely cut adrift from the support

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PLATE LII

BEHIND THE SCENES AT A LAMA DEVIL DANCE, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

BEHIND THE SCENES AT A LAMA DEVIL DANCE, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

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of foreign governments, and the missionaries might well surrender, in practice, some of the ex-territorial privileges, such as the right to claim compensation, which were formerly, but are scarcely at present, necessary to their residence in the interior; the result would probably be fewer converts, but more genuine ones.

The financial connection between the home society and the native church is nowadays an important and delicate question. Most missionaries agree that the real object of their work is the establishment of an independent native church in which the foreigner will play no part, and many admit that after all these years of work the time has now come, if it ever will come, when the results obtained in that direction must be put to the test by the withdrawal of foreign management. The connected step of withdrawing foreign funds would probably be disastrous for the moment; and as a withdrawal of the former and not of the latter would probably, from a Christian point of view, be even more disastrous, a compromise has been arrived at in many missions whereby the converts are given a say in the disposal of Church funds collected locally, but not in the disposal of those which come from abroad. As the former are naturally very small compared to the latter, the concession is not a large one, and the Chinese are beginning in some cases to contrast the houses and salaries of the native ministers and evangelists with those of the foreign missionaries, whose support, family allowances, travelling and building expenses account for so much of the money collected from abroad. Of course it is only natural and right that the foreign money should go to support the foreign missionary, but difficult questions in connection with the native church are nevertheless raised thereby. Connected with the problem of the foreign missionary's position *vis-à-vis* the native church is the question of the future disposal of those extensive foreign compounds occupied by the missionaries and their families, which in some provincial capitals of the interior amount to regular foreign settlements, and which are totally unsuited to the needs of the native church. These large and expensive establishments belong, not to individuals, but to the church; but to which church, the wealthy foreign society, or the impecunious native one?

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The medical work of the missionaries is productive of such an incalculable amount of good amongst the hundreds of millions of Chinese, who are otherwise at the mercy of accidents and disease, that it naturally stands far above all criticism. But their educational work is sometimes criticised from the point of view of its relative efficiency and religious bias, and raises difficult problems for the future. These latter are connected with the fact that education in China is a government proposition and that the government schools are progressing and increasing in efficiency every year—indeed they are not infrequently more efficient than the local missionary school, for the missionary who comes to China does not always possess either the necessary training or talents for a teacher. The time will perhaps come in the not far distant future when there will be no place for the two systems of education, missionary and government, side by side, and a fusion or trouble must ensue. The missionaries have to a certain extent burnt their boats by not resting content with primary education and by establishing even so-called universities, of course at great expense in the matter of land and foreign buildings; while the Chinese Government has recently begun to develop its policy in the matter by offering to recognize certain primary mission schools on conditions such as, no religious teaching or ceremonies to take place, no support from the mission, the buildings to be entirely separated from the mission, the name of the mission not to be associated with the school, no distinction to be made as regards the admittance of Christian and non-Christian children, etc. It is therefore evident that a satisfactory fusion of missionary and government educational work will prove a problem requiring careful and tactful handling.

Generally speaking the secular work of the missionaries, medical, educational, and charitable, is not unnaturally more appreciated by the Chinese than their evangelistic efforts, and the tendency sometimes discernible of making the former conditional on obtaining results for the latter is perhaps resented. Chinese who have returned after prolonged residence in Western countries have been known to express the opinion that the best minds in the West seem to show little belief in the miracles, but evince great interest in social reform, and to intimate that a medical or charitable

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mission from which religion were excluded (on the lines of a London hospital), or at any rate kept in the background, would be much appreciated.

Proper selection does not always seem to be exercised by the home boards of the societies in sending missionaries to China, and the idea would seem to be that anyone who subscribes to the necessary dogma is good enough to go and attempt to convert the Chinese. But in dealing with a people of such acute intelligence and ancient civilization the exact reverse is rather the case, and quality would appear to be much more important and desirable than quantity in missionary work. Many missionaries give one the idea of having taken up the work principally as a means of livelihood, and plod along in their daily round like clerks in a city office; and there are stations where such men have been working for decades with practically nothing to show in the way of a native church at the end; others are obviously not fitted by intellect or education for the work; others again, attracted by the romance of travel in unknown lands (and the writer has every sympathy with them), spend their time rushing round the country, preferably on the borders of Tibet, on the pretext of distributing texts and "scripture portions" in Chinese or some tribal dialect, the effect of which in converting the heathen is practically nil. Others again are scholarly men with liberal ideas and full of sympathy with the Chinese, and it is these who are doing the good work. But on the whole there is a remarkable variety in the standard of education and intellect amongst the Protestant missionaries in China; and the Catholic priests would appear to be well ahead of them in this respect.

Another point which may be criticised in connection with Protestant missions in China is the tendency they have to develop as societies. A Chinese convert is almost always referred to by the missionaries as a Church Member, and admission to their particular church usually takes place after the carrying out of some solemn rite, which the heathen probably compare in their minds to initiation into the Ko Lao Hui or other secret society. The society, or *Hui*, has always played an important, and not always a respectable, part in China, the land of secret affiliations of all kinds, and the fact that it seems impossible for a Chinese to become

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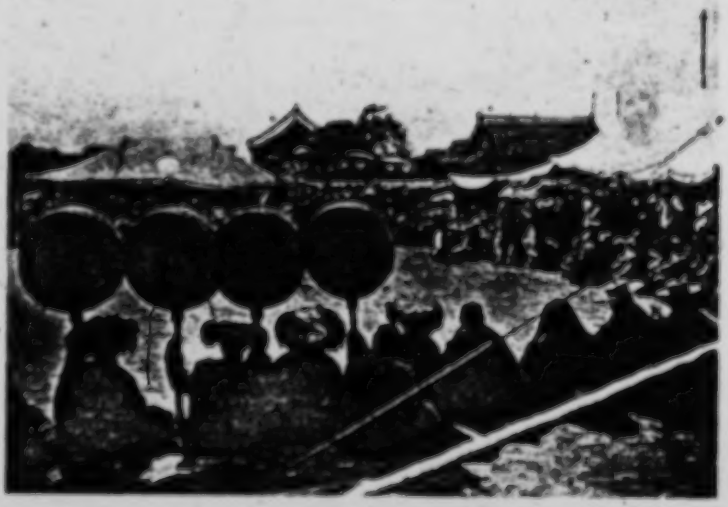
PLATE LIII

RELIGIOUS DANCE AT A LAMA MONASTERY, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA



RELIGIOUS DANCE AT A LAMA MONASTERY, EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

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a Christian without joining some particular foreign *Hui*, and becoming Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, or whatever it may be, strengthens the common idea that he only joins such a society for material reasons. The average Chinese Christian would probably be surprised to find how many foreigners consider themselves Christians without belonging to any particular society or *Hui*.

It seems highly desirable in the interests of the missionary cause in these days of constant rebellions and civil strife in China that the foreign missionary in the distant interior should resist the temptation of acquiring local popularity and influence by interfering in internal politics from the safe asylum of his ex-territorial privileges. This is usually, but certainly not always, recognized in missionary circles in the interior.

Finally the extended summer holidays of the Protestant missionaries, when they abandon their work in the hot cities to retire for months on end to their hill resorts, are often criticised as making a thoroughly bad impression amongst thinking Chinese. The Catholic priests and most of the members of the China Inland Mission never dream of abandoning their work in this way, and naturally gain greatly thereby. Of course it is necessary for the foreign mothers and children to leave the hot and unhealthy plains during the summer, but, apart from the necessity or advisability of the latter being in the interior at all, it is scarcely a sound policy, from the missionary point of view, for the men to do likewise. Few other foreigners in China, whether merchants or officials, though often far less comfortably housed in the interior than the missionaries, think it necessary to give up their work in the hot weather in the way the latter are in the habit of doing.

But quite apart from the splendid work done by the missionaries for the Chinese, and apart from the criticisms which their methods sometimes invite, the fact must not be overlooked that it is the Protestant missionaries who have spread the English language throughout China and turned the eyes of the rising generation of Chinese in search of Western knowledge towards Great Britain and the United States, thus creating bonds of sympathy and friendship between the Chinese and the Anglo-Saxon races to the great and lasting advantage of both.

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PLATE LIV

MONGOL WOMEN IN GALA DRESS

MONGOL WOMEN IN GALA DRESS

[FACING p. 107]

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CHAPTER XV

RAILWAY PROJECTS IN SHENSI AND KANSU

The Lung Hai Railway—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—The Kueihua-Ninghsia Railway—The Han Valley Railway—Other possible railway routes.

NOT a single rail has yet been laid in the whole of the vast region of N.W. China covered by the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, though the need of railways is keenly felt both for commercial and political reasons. In the absence of waterways, such as exist throughout Central and Southern China, means of communication are limited to carts and pack animals, methods of transport which are both slow and expensive, while the vast numbers of ponies and mules employed consume a large proportion of the grain grown in these provinces. This absence of proper means of communication cannot but prevent the commercial development of the whole region, and encourages brigandage and political instability. There is no more vitally urgent reform waiting to be carried out in China than the construction of railways to outlying parts such as Szechuan, Shensi and Kansu. It seems safe to assume that nowhere in the world are there such vast, well-populated, and comparatively wealthy areas still without railways of any kind. Four trunk-lines have been projected through Shensi and Kansu, and there are openings for others. The four projects will first be discussed, in the order in which the concessions or contracts were obtained, for needless to say they are all foreign enterprises.

(1) The Lung Hai Railway from Kansu to the coast, and its extension west to the confines of Turkestan. 471 499

In 1912 a loan agreement was arranged between the Central Government and a Belgian Syndicate (Compagnie Generale de Chemins-de-fer et Tramways) for the construction of a trunk-line from Haichou on the coast of North Kiangsu to Lanchou Fu in Kansu, a distance of more than 1000 miles, with the option of an extension to Suchou in the extreme west of the latter province. The line was to be an

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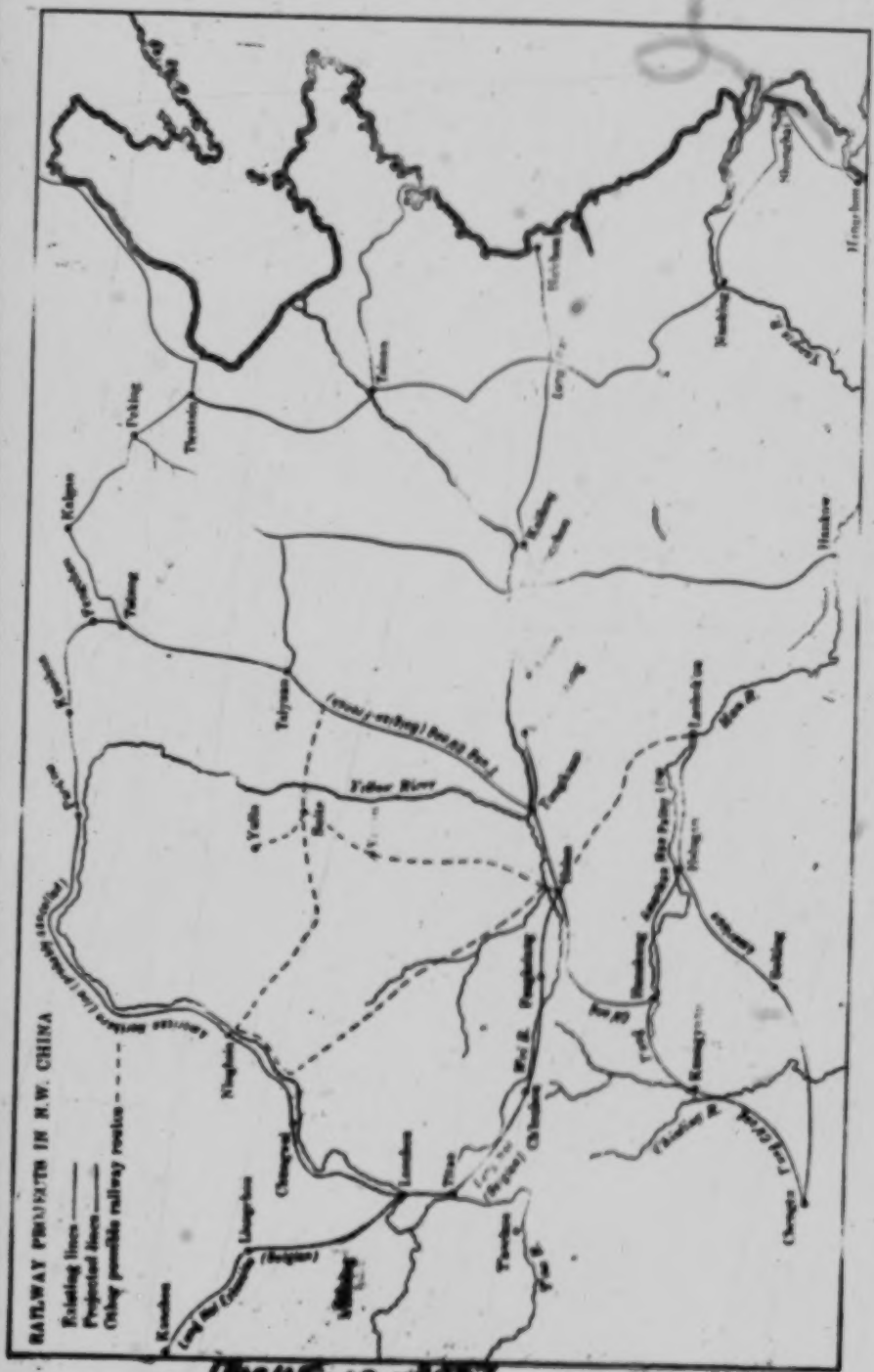
RAILWAY PROJECTS IN N.W. CHINA
Existing lines
Projected lines
Other possible railway routes
Kalgan
Peking
Tientsin
Tsinan
Tsingtao
Tsinanfu
Tsinghsien
Tsingchowfu
Tsaochowfu
Kaifeng
Hankow
Yellow River
Yellow Sea
Shanghai
Nanking
Hangchow
Ningpo
Changsha
Kiukiang
Canton
Kowloon
Lungchow
Nanning
Chungking
Chengtu
Lanchow
Sian
Tientsin
Tsinan
Tsingtao
Tsinanfu
Tsinghsien
Tsaochowfu
Tsingchowfu
Kaifeng
Hankow

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499 extension east and west of the existing Kaifeng Fu Honan
471 Fu Railway (called the Pien Lo). Lung is the classical name for Kansu province.

In 1917 the construction of this railway westwards from Honan Fu had reached, and stopped short at, the village of Kuanyint'ang, half a day's march beyond the district city of Miench'ih Hsien in Western Honan, and about three
000 marches short of the Shensi frontier at T'ungkuan. From here the route projected is somewhat as follows. Through or across a range of mountains to Shenchou on the Yellow River and thence along the big road to T'ungkuan. This stretch presents no great engineering difficulties after the passage of the Kuanyint'ang range, presumably by a tunnel, beyond some deep cuttings in the loess, especially as T'ungkuan is approached. From the Honan-Shensi border the line will cross Shensi from east to west following the fertile valley plain of the Wei River. This section is flat and open, and much of the way the only work required will be an embankment and a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River, the railway keeping to the south of the latter. Traffic will be heavy and remunerative, and the towns touched at will include the great metropolis of the North West, the city of Hsian Fu. From the Shensi-Kansu border near Fenghsiang Fu the line will probably keep as much as possible to the Wei valley up to Kungch'ang and Weiyuan, whence it will pass through the watershed between the Wei and T'ao rivers to Titao. From Titao it can either follow the T'ao River down to the Yellow River, or, more probably, it will cut through the mountains direct to Lanchou Fu. This stretch contains a great many serious engineering obstacles, and is said to entail more than forty kilometres of tunnels; nevertheless it is apparently the easiest way of ascending the three to four thousand feet from the plains of Shensi to the plateau of Kansu, and is certainly less formidable than the existing high road via P'ingliang, which crosses the Liupan Shan at a height of some 9000 feet, and passes for the rest of the way to Lanchou through most difficult loess country. The chief difficulties met with on the proposed railway route are the Wei River gorges between Paochi in Shensi and Ch'inchou in Kansu, and the passage

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000 of the two watersheds, i ..een Weiyuan and Titao, and between Titao and Lanchou.

As regards the extension west towards Turkestan, the chief engineering obstacle would seem to be the passage of the Wushao Ling, 10,000 feet; the P'ingfan valley provides an easy approach from the east, but the descent to the west is steep; there may, however, be a way round further north and east, as this range, the backbone of the Nan Shan, falls away in that direction. Further west the line can follow the main road, keeping if necessary a little further north on the edge of the desert, all the way to the frontiers of Turkestan without encountering any serious obstacle.

Generally speaking the Lung Hai Railway is a most attractive proposition through Shensi, but its construction through Kansu is likely to be very costly, and the traffic returns poor. However, sooner or later railway communication is bound to be established between China and Central Asia, connecting up with the Russian line from the Caspian Sea, and such a railway is more than likely to be an extension of the Lung Hai. For, whatsoever this great trunk line may be called, and by whomsoever it may be built, it is pretty well bound to follow the old fortified highway through Western Kansu along the narrow fertile belt between the deserts of Mongolia and Tibet, by which al. trade and traffic between China and Western countries was once conducted. With the construction of this important trans-Asiatic trunk line, Kansu province will once more become, what it was in the past, the gateway from China to the West.

471 (2) The T'ung Ch'eng Railway, from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan.

499 In 1913 a loan agreement was arranged between the Chinese Government and a Franco-Belgian Syndicate for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi, down the centre of that province *via* T'aiyuan to P'uchou on the Yellow River, thence *via* T'ungkuan and Central Shensi to Hsian, and thence *via* Hanchung to Chengtu in Szechuan. The period of construction was estimated at five years, but work has not yet been begun. 000 This project is remarkable for its magnitude, but is in other respects not a particularly attractive proposition in view of

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PLATE LV

000

NATIVE PONY RACING IN INNER MONGOLIA : THE PADDOCK

NATIVE PONY RACING IN INNER MONGOLIA : THE PARADE

[FACING p. 210]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

000 the great engineering difficulties involved in passing from the Wei valley of Shensi into Szechuan and the doubtful amount of through traffic the line will carry. The contract is of a far-reaching nature, as it includes any extensions or branches for the construction of which the Chinese Government may require foreign capital.

Through Shansi the line will probably follow the important trade route across the Yen Men pass to T'aiyuan Fu and thence run down the valley of the Fen Ho to the plains of the Yellow River. There will apparently be no great engineering difficulties from T'aiyuan south, and this section should be remunerative.

At P'uchou the Yellow River will have to be bridged to reach T'ungkuan. From T'ungkuan through Central Shensi to Hsian and beyond the route is the same as that of the Lung Hai line, and the administration of the latter being the earlier concession will presumably grant running rights to the T'ung Ch'eng over this section.

The great obstacle is now reached, that is to say the passage of the Ch'inling Shan, the watershed between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River. This great barrier range is nowhere easy to cross in Shensi, and the least formidable passage, that from Hsian south-east *via* Lantien to Shang Chou in the valley of the Tan River, leads altogether in the wrong direction for the T'ung Ch'eng project. For the latter only two possible routes would appear to be available, firstly from Chouchih up the gorges of the Hei Ho, by tunnel through the watershed to Fop'ing, and thence down the gorges of the Ch'engku River to Hanchung, and secondly following the main road south from Paochi across the mountains to Feng Hsien. The first is probably too difficult to be practicable, and the second is the route likely to be followed. From Paochi the main road runs due south up a gorge which leads to a comparatively low gap in the main range of the Ch'inling Shan. But the rise is nevertheless something like 3000 feet or more in 50 li, and a long tunnel will presumably be necessary. The descent from the pass leads, however, not into the Han valley but to Feng Hsien on the head-waters of the Chialing Chiang, and the passage thence following the existing trail across the Han-Chialing divide to Liupa and Hanchung will be extremely difficult

PLATE LVI

000

NATIVE PONY RACING IN INNER MONGOLIA : THE START

NATIVE PONY RACING IN INNER MONGOLIA : THE WINNER

[FACING P. 211]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and costly and require much tunnelling. The Chialing River, on the other hand, flows straight down into Szechuan, and a line down its limestone gorges to Kuangyuan, if practicable, is not unlikely to prove the easiest railway route into Szechuan from the north, or perhaps from any side. In that case Hanchung, which is mentioned in the loan agreement as a point to be touched at, could be connected up fairly easily by a line across the Han-Chialing portage in the neighbourhood, that is to say from Yangp'ing Kuan to Mien Hsien. As regards a line south from Hanchung into Szechuan, the mountains on the Shensi Szechuan border in this neighbourhood though rugged and intricate are not to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, and are pierced by a line of gaps followed by the high road with passes less than 2000 feet above the valleys on either side. As regards the line from Kuangyuan through Szechuan to Chengtu, it is only safe to assume that it will not follow the existing high road, admirable as the latter is as an example of ancient engineering work in the mountains. Probably a route will be found down the Chialing Chiang to Paoning or beyond, and thence west to Chengtu.

(3) The Kueihua-Ninghsia-Lanchou Railway to Northern Kansu.

In the autumn of 1916 an American railway group secured the concession or contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, amongst which was the above line. The Peking-Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway, now constructed as far as Feng Chen, a day's march north of Tatung in Northern Shansi, and four marches short of Kueihua, was built by Chinese engineers with Chinese funds provided by the surplus earnings of the fine Peking-Mukden line. It was originally intended to extend this railway from Kueihua Ch'eng across the Gobi to Urga and thence to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line, a scheme which would have entailed years of unprofitable work in the deserts of Mongolia while many densely populated regions of China Proper were crying for railway communication; the present American project consists in a more useful extension of the same line in another direction, namely to the fertile plains of Ninghsia in Northern Kansu.

From the present railhead at Feng Chen to Kueihua

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000 Ch'eng the line, if it follows the main road, will pass through mountainous but not difficult country. From Kueihua to Paot'ou it will run across flat corn-growing prairies, where the only work required will be an embankment. Once Kueihua and Paot'ou are reached there should be a fairly remunerative goods traffic, since this road carries a large trade to and from the vast north-west hinterland of Mongolia and Turkestan, whence camel caravans debouch into China Proper at these two points. From Paot'ou to Ninghsia will be flat going all the way except for the passage of the low ranges on the Kansu-Mongolia border near Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu). This section will follow along the northern bank of the Yellow River, through a region which though partly desert contains an increasing population of Chinese settlers, and which is probably capable of great agricultural development with the assistance of irrigation works. Once Ninghsia is reached the trade of North-Western Kansu will be tapped, and, if it can compete successfully with the cheap transport by Yellow River boat and camel caravan across the desert, the railway will carry large quantities of wool collected from the grass-lands of Mongolia and the Kokonor down to Tientsin. From Ninghsia to Chungwei the line will run up the fertile and thickly populated plains along the Yellow River, with flat going all the way save for the passage of a low range near Kuangwu. The local traffic on this section should be heavy and remunerative, and the connecting of these isolated but comparatively wealthy plains by rail with the coast will be an event of great political and commercial importance to North China. From Chungwei to Lanchou the line would run through desert mountain country and will be neither easy nor profitable to construct until the capital is reached. An easier route, but also across desert, leads from Chungwei to Liangchou along the ruins of the Great Wall. On the whole this railway project is a not unattractive proposition, though there are many other regions in China where railway construction is far more imperative, and would be far more remunerative.

471 It is understood, however, that the above project has
499 been abandoned as far as the American group is concerned, owing to the discovery that another Power possessed

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

previously existing rights regarding the provision of funds for railway construction in that northern region should the Chinese require the assistance of foreign capital for the purpose. 471 499

(4) The Han Valley Railway.

As mentioned above an American railway group secured in 1916 the contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, but when it came to deciding on the actual lines to be so constructed, it was found to be no easy matter to avoid the previously existing railway rights of other Powers. Eventually, however, it was announced in the press in the spring of 1917 that a line from Laoho K'ou in Hupei up the Han valley into Southern Shensi, and across the divide south into Szechuan, had been fixed upon as one of the railways to be constructed by the American group. This line, opening up as it will the rich but backward upper Han valley, and thence penetrating into Szechuan, the goal of so many unrealised railway projects, from the north, is one of the most interesting and attractive of the many projected lines in China. Its passage up the Han valley should be highly remunerative, while the goods and passenger traffic likely to be secured by a line tapping the rich province of Szechuan has always been held by the planners of Chinese railways to be worth the greatest efforts.

From Laoho K'ou to Hsingan there appears to be the choice of two routes, neither very difficult, namely following the Han River to within a few marches of the latter city, or else outflanking the mountains on the Hupei-Shensi border by following a natural gap further west *via* Chuchi and Pingli. From Hsingan westwards the valley plain of the Yo River leading to Hanyin provides a natural railway route which outflanks the awkward mountain gorges of the Han River in this neighbourhood. From Hanyin a short tunnel will be required to regain the Han at Shihch'uan, whence there would seem to be no alternative, at any rate for the first part of the way, to a route along the difficult Han River gorges in order to gain the eastern end of the Hanchung plain, one of the most fertile and richest regions in China, near Yang Hsien. The latter portion of these gorges might perhaps be avoided by following a route *via* Hsihsiang, a rich and important city worth touching, and thence up the

S: Teichman G-6 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE LVII

CHINESE TROOPS ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN INNER MONGOLIA

CHINESE TROOPS ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN INNER MONGOLIA

[FACING p. 214]

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valley of the Muma Ho, debouching into the Hanchung plain near Ch'engku; only such a route would mean two more bridges over the Han.

A route south-west into Szechuan from Hanchung following the main road being barred to the Americans by the already existing Franco-Belgian rights in connection with the T'ung Ch'eng railway (though it is likely to be a long time before these rights can be made use of owing to the intervening barrier of the Ch'inling Shan), another road into Szechuan has to be sought for this project. According to Chinese reports there exists such a route, but only one, namely from Tzuyang on the Han River southwards up a valley, across the divide on the Shensi-Szechuan border, and down another valley to the neighbourhood of Suiting in Eastern Szechuan, whence Chengtu, Chungking, or other great centres in that province can be reached without great difficulty. It is alleged that apart from this route, and the main road further west, the ranges on the Shensi-Szechuan border, with peaks up to 8000 and 10,000 feet, are so precipitous as to render railway communication between the two provinces impossible.

In view of the immense difficulties confronting the engineers on the Szechuan section of the Hukuang railway system, which proposes to penetrate into Szechuan from Hupei, and of the barrier of the Ch'inling Shan which bars the way of the T'ung Ch'eng railway project in its course south from Hsian, it seems not unlikely that this American project, though the last of the three to appear on the scene, may be the first railway to reach Szechuan, and tap the riches of that wealthy but isolated province.

As regards other possible railways in Shensi and Kansu not yet definitely projected, the most attractive is a line from the neighbourhood of Chingtzu Kuan in south-western Honan up the Tan River valley and across the Ch'inling Shan to Hsian. This is an ancient trade route, and provides the easiest passage across the Ch'inling Shan. Its construction will doubtless materialise in time, perhaps as a branch from the Peking-Hankow line, but inasmuch as a branch from that railway is already *en route* for Hsian *via* T'ungkuan (as a section of the Lung Hai) there is no immediate necessity for it. Another line will doubtless one day run north from

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PLATE LVIII

ON A MAIN ROAD IN THE GRASS COUNTRY OF
THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER

ON A MAIN ROAD IN THE GRASS COUNTRY OF
THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER

[FACING p. 215]

R: Teichman G-6 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Hsian up through Central Shensi to Yenan, Suitê, and Yülin, but though easy enough to construct this would not be an attractive project owing to the poverty of the country traversed. The Americans would perhaps have built it had their attempted exploitation of the North Shensi oil-field been successful. A more useful project would be a line connecting Northern Shansi *via* Suitê with Ninghsia in Northern Kansu, following the existing trail along the southern edge of the Ordos desert; though unremunerative until Ninghsia is reached, such a railway would be easy to build, and failing a similar line north of the Yellow River would be most useful in connecting Northern Kansu with the coast. Another route to Kansu, which presents no great engineering difficulties, but also passes through very poor country, lies from Hsian north-west across the loess plateau country and then up the valleys of the Ching and Huan rivers, across the loess divide in North-Eastern Kansu, and down another valley to Chungwei or Ninghsia. Finally when, in the far distant future, railway construction shall have reached a comparatively advanced stage in North-Western China, the railways of Kansu will doubtless be connected up with those of Sïechuan by means of the valleys of the head-water streams of the Chialing River; the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide is far less formidable in Kansu than in Shensi, owing in part to the greater elevation of the country on either side. It is hardly worth while mentioning Tibet in connection with railway construction, but it may be noted that the easiest route for a line into that country from any direction probably lies from T'aochou or Hsining in Kansu, across the grass-lands of the Kokonor.

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THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA

[p. i]

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A TIBETAN CHORTEN.

"The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether."

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THROUGH JADE GATE
and
CENTRAL ASIA

An Account of Journeys in Kansu, Turkestan and the Gobi Desert

BY
MILDRED CABLE
AND
FRANCESCA FRENCH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
REV. JOHN STUART HOLDEN, D.D.

With Illustrations and a Map

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"Anybody might have found it but—
His Whisper came to Me!"

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INTRODUCTION

THE three ladies of whose hazardous journey across the largely untracked spaces of North-Western China and Central Asia this book tells, are distinguished members of the China Inland Mission. After having built up a splendidly successful school-work in the province of Shansi during a period of twenty-one years' strenuous service, to their own surprise and that of their friends they realised a fresh missionary call under circumstances in which most people, even those so devoted as missionaries characteristically are, neither expect new orders nor are ordinarily capable of responding to their challenge. 114

The sense of 'something lost beyond the ranges,' in the vast territories of the far North-West practically unoccupied by the Christian Church, impelled them to pull up stakes and fare forth. And it will be recognised by those who read this simply told and thrillingly interesting narrative that their journey takes high rank in the stories of pioneer heroism and endurance. It would not be true to say that 'they went out not knowing whither,' for they had long studied the available maps and pondered the known problems of the course they must traverse. Nor were they unaware of the certain difficulties which, as women, they would have to meet in any attempt at itinerant evangelism amongst tribes for the most part custom-bound and prejudiced. Long residence in China takes all the sentimental glamour out of travel prospects, and they knew fully 000

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the unavoidable hardships and inconveniences—or at any rate some of them—they would encounter. It was no 'stunt' adventure on which they set out; and this record of their experience is no varnished tale. If, as they tell their story, they say little as to their impelling motive and sustaining inspiration, it is only because these form the background to which they have long become habituated. This is essentially a Christian story.

It is invidious to discriminate between the events they so simply set forth, where all are so far removed from normal experience. Yet, for most of those who will take up this book and read without pause to its last page, their unprecedented journey across the great Gobi desert, marked by a trail of light, will form the outstanding interest of the record. It falls to the lot of few travellers to make that trek; and this story is unique in that the authoresses are the only Western women who have ever accomplished it. They make light of the difficulties, for the joy of service sustained them and love lent wings to feet that were often weary enough.

What they saw and learned is of profound interest and of no small importance alike to the geographer, the philologist, and the student of the human race. They have noted natural phenomena with accuracy, and have read with sympathetic insight the traits of peoples still primitive. Their story adds in no ordinary degree to the tale of knowledge, and in a way which makes it of value not only to the expert but to the ordinary

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reader also. But it is the story that lies enfolded within this story,—the untold epic of dauntless courage, heroic endurance and absorbing passion that makes this book unique. Those to whom the writers are as yet but names will readily identify them as belonging to the Order of the Steadfastly Set Face, by whose members the world's darkest places are still, as of old, illumined and its arid wastes transformed into gardens of God.

J. STUART HOLDEN.

CHINA INLAND MISSION,
LONDON, *July*, 1927.

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PART ONE

FROM HWOCHOW TO KANCHOW

CHAPTER I

SEALED ORDERS

THE large, official envelope marked 'On His Majesty's Service' lay on the table, and the whole projected campaign seemed brought a stage nearer as we opened it, and read its announcement to the effect that 'In virtue of these Passports issued to Evangeline French, Francesca French and Mildred Cable, of the China Inland Mission, it was requested and required that they should be allowed to pass without let or hindrance, and be afforded any help of which they might stand in need in travelling through the Provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Mongolia and Sinkiang.' Overhead hung the map of 'the Great North West,' as that part of China has been styled. It was a Missionary Survey map, and showed the greater portion of Kansu in black, indicating by this means the extent of the territory hitherto untouched by any Christian mission. The challenge of that which the map represented had roused us to response, and all preparations had now been made for leaving the familiar Province of Shansi for that remote region.

It had seemed to be our destined life-work during the twenty-one years of its development—the strenuous,

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000 persistent effort to build up that which had resulted in the large complex organisation of the Hwochow compound. The ramifications of the Church under the direction of the Chinese Pastorate, in immediate succession to the foundation as laid by Pastor Hsi, the overflowing Higher Grade Girls' Schools, as well as the Training School for Women, were the joy and gratification of the whole community. From this important centre for thirty years the Lord Jesus Christ had been proclaimed in clear accents as King and Saviour of mankind. Many had enrolled under His banner and declared their allegiance to Him. It had therefore seemed to all our friends in Hwochow as a foregone conclusion, that the three women, who had grown to middle-age in their midst, should end their lives in that spot. The venerable Pastor Wang had even suggested the advisability of purchasing an available piece of land, outside the City Wall, which might eventually hold the tombs of their beloved teachers, who could rest side-by-side with their pupils 'until the Day dawn and the shadows flee away.' But for months past a secret consciousness of being in receipt of 'Sealed Orders' was upon us, marked, '*To proceed to the Great North-West to a place at present unknown*,' and we recognised that, for us Missionaries, as with all soldiers, such instructions from the Commander-in-Chief brooked no delay, and that consequently all the dear, familiar ties—the severing of which had hitherto seemed unthinkable—must now be broken. The last term, therefore, was brought to a close, the last Sunday Meetings were over, the last Communion Service was ended, and the last farewells said; then in the early midsummer morning of June 11, 1923, we found ourselves standing waiting on the edge of the motor-road, which stretches in one straight line from North to

South of the Province of Shansi. And presently we stepped into our rickshaws; we looked one last look into our weeping friends' eyes; and in a few moments passed out of sight of the City which had given us our loved work and home for so many, many years.

Leaving all our special belongings at Hwochow, we took with us for our journey only such personal effects as we then considered positively necessary, but a few weeks later, when robbers relieved us of several of our boxes, we discovered our modest requirements to be amply met by the slender remainder of our goods, and from this time forward the higher estimate of our real needs steadily diminished. Brigandage was then at its height in Honan and Shensi, through which Provinces we had to pass. At that very hour two women Missionaries were in the hands of robbers, while the whole countryside was being terrorised by roving bands; the outlook, consequently, was not encouraging. We were given no option, however, in the matter of travelling under military escort, for, on the morning of our departure from the railhead, it was with misgiving that we saw the approach of a band of six wild youths, armed with rifles, and wearing cartridge-belts, which presumably held a few rounds of ammunition.

Still, in conformity with our usual habit, we soon made ourselves familiar as to the name and age of each, as well as with the various details of each one's family circumstances. We had been given to understand that we should keep the one escort for at least three days' journey, at the end of which time the men would demand our visiting-cards, and we should reward their vigilance with a suitable and adequate *pour-boire*. Nevertheless, at the end of the first day they reported themselves to an officer at the camp in the town where we spent the

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night, who, for some reason, decided to change the guard. Our visiting-cards and tip were accordingly handed over, and with mutual compliments and good wishes, we parted. The next day the new soldiers took us only half a day's march, when they also demanded the visiting-cards and usual accompaniment; whereupon, seeing that this was going to be an expensive business, we gave them rather less than we considered the men of the previous day had earned. This incident occurred in a crowded market-place where the excited and uncertain mob surged to and fro, eager for any event which might lead to high words. In a few minutes the Honan blood was up, and with loud voices and excited gestures they demanded exorbitant sums for their services, while the surrounding crowd took sides in the discussion. Years of experience had taught us that such situations can only successfully be met by the adoption of an attitude of heavy indifference, and thus we sat, like three images of Buddha, expressionless, while our officially appointed defenders called on their protective deities to see to it that our carts were overturned, our baggage stolen, and we ourselves the victims of the brigands, in retribution for our miserliness! From this time on, each successive escort took us less and less distance on our way, until the demands for money for a three-mile ride became so outrageous that we informed them we neither desired nor valued their protection, which on our part had been wholly unsolicited. They came or stayed according to their superior officer's wish, but not one cash would we pay until we reached our destination. From this hour trouble ceased, and a suitable band escorted us to the gates of Sian.

It is difficult adequately to describe the dilapidated condition of the inns along this road. The towns had been taken and retaken alternately by government

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troops and brigand bands, till not a door, window-frame, or loose furniture of any kind remained in the mud-sheds where guests were supposed to be entertained. Yet even so each night brought us a sense of gratitude that this forlorn shelter was provided, and we slept peacefully to the soothing sound of the crunching of their fodder by the tired mules. But sometimes the quiet hours were interrupted by the wild gallop of an unharnessed beast ; and once we awoke at midnight to see the form of a gaunt, white mule, like a phantom in the moonlight, standing within our room, licking its lips over the last crumb of the breakfast laid ready in view of an early start.

The condition of Honan was in striking contrast with that of the neighbouring Province of Shansi, where a firm and able hand had held brigandage in check all through the troubled years since the introduction of the Republic. The roads were deserted by ordinary travellers, and for many hours at a time we would meet no one. Both the carters and ourselves were oppressed by the sense of uncanny loneliness in a district which normally should have been teeming with life. Once, in a deep gully, at the turn of the road, suddenly we came upon a marching regiment of soldiers in ragged uniforms from which all the badges had been torn. Lean, dirty and dishevelled, they eyed our carts and baggage with fierce and hungry glances. In a second our own military escort vanished, only to reappear a full hour later, when the coast was clear. 'We were watching from a point of vantage,' they explained on joining us. The carters, however, had hastily ranged their teams to one side, so as not to incommode the troop. 'Road guests! road guests!' was the terrified whisper which passed from one to the other. Many hundreds filed past, and later we learnt that it was

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000 a Moslem regiment from distant Kansu—marching whither? At that time, mercifully, we were not aware of what atrocities such men were capable; but on that journey the Hand that led protected.

CHAPTER II

SIAN TO PINGLIANG

492 THE beauties of Sian have been too often and too well described to need any mention of them here, much as we enjoyed our visits to the Mosque, the Nestorian Tablet, and other monuments of historical interest. After a short stay our litters were hired for the eighteen stages which lay between us and Lanchow, the pro-
[493] vincial capital of Kansu. Our experience of this mode of travel in Shansi was considerable, and in view of the many minor accidents with which we had met, it was no satisfaction to us to find that in this case the matting-covered body of the litter was set high over the backs of the mules, instead of hanging between them, as those had been to which we were accustomed. 'It is for greater safety in the bad mountain roads,' was the reason given, but the knowledge that in the case of a probable overturn we were farther from the ground, brought little comfort. The well of the litter was ballasted with our boxes, and over these were laid the bed-bags, containing our wadded quilts. Cushions, rugs, lunch baskets, and all the miscellaneous articles which can be classed as 'hand-luggage,' were slung into the back of that portion reserved for our personal accommodation, in hope that these varied and incongruous objects would, somehow or other, amalgamate into a solid support for our weary frames. There was,

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of course, the inevitable fuss with the litter-men, who, when they saw the baggage (which in this case was compact and well under the recognised load suited to the occasion), commenced the invariable protest: 'Too small and too heavy! My mules can never drag this over Lupan mountain. If you had made big, soft bundles they might have been heavier still, and I would not have said a word, but such a dead weight, who can deal with it?'

We learnt later that in the loading of a camel its grumblings commence as the first bale is placed on its back, and continue uninterruptedly until the load is equal to its strength, but as soon as it shows signs of being in excess, the grumbling ceases suddenly, and then the driver says: 'Enough! put no more on this beast!' This is a test equally applicable to the Mongol's camel, and to China's carter.

Into the tunnel-like aperture we finally crept, while with a sickening heave, first the back shafts, then the front were lifted into position on the creaking wooden saddle, whereupon the restive mule dashed for the narrow gate of the courtyard, while the yelling bystanders rushed to its head, to stop the seemingly inevitable smash. Thus through the West Gate of Sian we plunged, past the great well which supplies the city with water, and into the open country where the roads were inches deep in mud. The mules, however, which had stood for several days in the stable, were excited, consequently when we came to the mud-pits, where the driver left us to pick his way on a narrow side-path, two of them seized the chance of liberty to pull in opposite directions for one agonising moment, thus flinging the litter and its occupant to the ground, but fortunately with no unhappy results. With frenzied curses yet with skilful and careful movements,

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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue ; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [443] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees 346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery 723 on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

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rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773
sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491
incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485
Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture; no opening had been left for a window; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276
ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

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conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path ; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he sought shelter and died. The gathering which we witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation ; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

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A Chinese Beggar.

"All too familiar is the sight of the corpse of a man frozen to death on the side path."

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797 the Church, and the hospital, where he daily received men and women patients. At the time of our meeting his position in the city was amply assured, but many years previously the people of Pingliang had combined to refuse him all admittance by forbidding anyone to sell him food, and it was only due to the secret kindness of one woman in supplying him with a meal of flour and water pancakes each day for several months, that he existed at all; but in the end he overcame every opposition, outlived suspicion and came to be regarded with universal respect.

080 We studied together the map of Kansu, and he told us of his own various itinerant journeys to districts reputed to be almost uninhabited, but where large audiences had collected whenever he made halt to proclaim the Gospel. Laying his finger on a spot at the extreme North-Western boundary of the Province, he said: 'Here stands the Great City of Suchow. You who care so much for Kansu, this is the town which awaits your coming!'

CHAPTER III

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA TO LANCHOW

487 On the second day after leaving Pingliang, we took the Pass which rises to nearly nine thousand feet over the Lupan Shan. All the morning we had followed the course of a rushing stream, which we crossed and 494 recrossed many times. It was still early winter, and the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of our litters, so that we often had the unpleasant experience

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494 of breaking through into the water below. On these occasions the driver is always compelled to leave the litter-side, and controls his beasts from a distance by means of shouted directions, enforced by skilfully-thrown stones. A pebble alighting on the mule's nose warns him to back, while one hitting him in the hind-quarters is equivalent to an order to move on. In spite of the undoubted understanding existing between man and beast, there is a moment of extreme nervous tension on the part of the occupant of a litter, when the ice collapses and the startled animal crashes into water of quite uncertain depth. From the moment, however, that we took the well-made road leading over the mountain, the anxieties of the valley were (temporarily) at an end, and we were free to enjoy the fine views which every turn of the road revealed to us. The short-cut downhill was less pleasant, for the road was so steep as to be only just negotiable.

731 The next few days brought us near to the centre of devastation by the great earthquake of January 1921. The face of the land had been completely altered by the mighty upheaval, and its surface still suggested the semblance of boiling mud suddenly petrified. In one place a mountain had been removed, in another a large lake of brackish water had suddenly appeared. Scarcely a human habitation was to be seen, for the cliffs had overwhelmed all the cave-dwellings which formerly the industry of man had hollowed out. Nevertheless, the road over which we travelled was newly-made, while huts had already begun to appear at intervals. They were poor little places, composed of four mud walls, a mud roof, a mud bed, and a mud trough at the back where a few sheep could be fed, and the children we met were almost naked, in spite of the then extreme cold. A missionary in charge of the relief works assured us

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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster. 731

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent. 491 744 731

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead. 797

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected 583 292 533 485 563 783

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
291 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

36 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

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bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [50]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

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502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel erected below a basin

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which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

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634 magisterial business. She held her office by inherited right, and was reported to us as a person of remarkable ability. This chance meeting subsequently led to some correspondence with this very interesting lady, to whom we sent a present of a well-bound copy of the New Testament, and from whom we received a cordial invitation to visit her at Lotus City, and to instruct her people, an invitation which so far we have not been 142 able to accept. Père Huc, in writing of Pingfan over a hundred years ago, spoke of the ruddy complexion and brown or even red hair not infrequently seen, as well as of the religious habits of its people. We were immediately struck by the same characteristics. One afternoon we were visited by a group of fortune-tellers. An old woman, aged seventy, was escorted by two younger ones, whose hazel eyes, red cheeks and brown hair differentiated them entirely from the Chinese 010 around. The object of their quest was quite definite: 'We have heard,' said the old woman, 'that you are able to show us how to obtain remission of sins, and we have come to ask you to instruct us.' Two days later she was back again: 'All you told me is true,' she began; 'my son has been reading to me the book you sent, and I want some more of the same kind.'

All too quickly the month of our stay passed by, and the missionaries, whose house we were occupying, returned; we then moved on to Liangchow. On the day of our departure, we were deeply touched by the love and courtesy shown us by these townsfolk. Presents of food for the road were brought to us by several of our newly-made friends, and after dark a little boy arrived with a bag of extraordinarily good anthracite supplied by the mines of Chenfan, and suitable for burning in our foot-warmer braziers.

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter

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Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures.

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more.

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is

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733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily [448] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the [237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and [567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

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CHAPTER V

FROM YUNGCHANG TO KANCHOW

As we left Yungchang and were walking across the fields, a young woman alighted from her ass to join us, and to satisfy her curiosity upon certain matters concerning us. Judging us by our speech and style of dress, she accepted us as fellow-countrywomen; conversation, however, revealed some striking differences of habits between us and those of all her previous acquaintances. It transpired that our feet had never been bound, and yet we were obviously not of the slave class, as also that we were literate.

'Can you read that proclamation on the wall?'

'Why certainly'; and we read it to her.

'My husband cannot do that, and he was at school for three years. Can you write also?'

'We can,' was the answer.

'How clever you are. How many children have you? What, none? Not one of the three? Unmarried! Why, you have white hairs! On whom will you depend when you are really old? Perhaps you are too clever to get old as we do. Look at your hands how soft and smooth they are! Compare them with mine. I have just come from the temple of the Goddess of Fecundity, where I have paid a vow'; and with a meaning look in her eyes she added, 'Do you go there too?'

'We go to no temple,' was our answer, 'for we worship the true God, Who made heaven and earth. He is our Heavenly Father, and He provides for us.'

This led to further talk, and at the cross-roads, where our paths diverged, she said: 'I have heard of your

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000 country. You come from Woman's Land, don't you?' This mythical kingdom, to which she referred, is a fabulous place known by name to all Chinese. Its inhabitants are solely women, and doubtless by virtue of their isolation, they there develop independent and Amazon-like qualities!

494 We had been accompanied from Yungchang by Mrs. Kao, the wife of the Chinese Missionary already referred to, for she, with two small children, under the escort of one of the Kanchow deacons, had come travelling forward to meet us. The road over which we now passed was varied in character, and presented many interesting features, besides being very rough. The cart alternately bumped over boulders, was dragged heavily up and down sandhills, or squelched its way through semi-solid mud-lakes, and we encouraged each other with the reminder that now, as in the days of the first great missionaries, the work on which we were engaged must of necessity be carried on through hardship and labour, hunger and thirst, in heat and in cold, and in dangers oft from all that lay before us in the Unknown. Our starting-time was never later than 4 a.m., and was often earlier, and in the evening the darkness frequently overtook us still on the desolate expanse far from any habitation. On one occasion, being diverted from the main track simply by reason of its being impassable, we sat for hours leaning back against the Great Wall of China, as our cart was up to the axle in a mud-pit, from which all efforts hitherto had failed to extricate it. There was no hope, therefore, but from the assistance of chance passers-by. At the end of what seemed an interminable time, it was with much relief that we saw, slowly emerging through an opening in the wall, the head and body of an ox, which animal fastened wondering and meditative eyes

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upon us sitting there. And the ox was soon followed by a man *riding* a donkey, whose spirit apparently so failed at the sight of the mud-pit and ourselves, that after standing for a moment transfixed, it sank peacefully to the ground as if in a state of mental collapse. The rider consequently had no option but to dismount, and come to our assistance, and in a few moments the ox and the ass, together with our own mules, triumphantly drew the cart from the watery depths.

Our next stage lay over sandhills sparsely covered with a scrubby growth. Here, by means of our field-glasses, we were able to follow herds of antelopes, which paused to watch the movements of our cart-wheels with fascinated interest, but which always flee at the approach of a pedestrian. On either side the horizon was bounded by mountain ranges, silhouetted against the deep, blue sky, and on one afternoon the wind blew with terrific force from the Tibetan hills, chilling us to the bone in a blinding cloud of sleet. The strip of land which divides the snowclad Richthofen Mountains from the sandy Mongolian hills was narrowing, so that when we reached Kanchow we were at the point where the two ranges most nearly approach each other. On the last morning of this stage we left our inn at 3 a.m. in the hope of reaching Kanchow early, but by 3 p.m. we began to get into difficulties. The cart was, as usual, in the slough of despond, and we were, as usual, standing by the roadside trying to keep up the family spirits by teaching Mrs. Kao's little girl a finger-game: 'This is a cup, and this is a cup, and this is a pot of tea,' a fictional feast of Couéistic value.

At the moment when our courage reached its lowest ebb, for the short daylight was rapidly waning and there seemed no prospect of extricating the cart, two galloping horsemen appeared on the horizon, and in a

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494 few moments Dr. Kao swung himself from the saddle, and advanced to meet us with cordial and cheering words. He turned from us to the carter, who, with an abashed grin, acknowledged his presence.

'Hello, Old Sheep!' he exclaimed. 'You out of jail again? That last trip of yours turned out badly.' Then turning to us he said: 'This carter has just finished his third term of imprisonment for destruction of travellers' property, through carelessness. Whatever induced you to hire him? He'll never get in to-night. But we must do so.'

361 A few swift orders were then given, and the second
133 horseman galloped back to the city for help. Mean-
494 while as many of the party as could be crowded into our own small cart drove on, while the rest proceeded on foot. The soil formation in and around Kanchow is peculiar. The city is built on a crust of earth covering underground springs. During the period when the water is still frozen the place stands firm, though buildings are thrown out of the perpendicular, but during the spring months the earth trembles and yields under the slightest pressure. On this occasion a thaw had set in, and water was welling up from below the surface, so that the condition of the roads baffles description. We picked our way cautiously over this swampy, unstable district, and where rivers intersected our path, the cart was obliged to take us over in relays. Horsemen now appeared coming to our rescue with galloping steeds, two saddled for riding and two more ready to be hitched to the carts. These fine horses, we were told, belonged to a Mongol Prince, who was staying in Doctor Kao's house.

326 It was long after sunset when we entered the great gates of Kanchow city. We passed through between the flaring smithies which always ply their trade in the

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neighbourhood of the inns, and threading the dark 326
streets with their many turnings, where the dim roofs of temples could just be distinguished, we at last alighted at the door of a large compound, closely shut in behind high walls.

In a few minutes we were seated before a delicious 797
meal and a longed-for cup of tea, in a room which to some might have seemed bare, but which to us presented the very acme of comfort, for we had been travelling for eighteen hours in the teeth of a bitter North-Easter, with no food but cold dough-cakes fried in pungent, linseed oil, and we were broken with fatigue. It was after midnight before we laid our weary heads upon our pillows. We had left Hwochow in June; it was now March, and we had already come about 1,500 miles since leaving the railhead.

CHAPTER VI

A CHIEFTAIN OF THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS

SHORTLY after dawn, we were conscious of the peculiar sense of Sabbath-quiet that permeates a Christian community, which, of course, is alone in recognising the Lord's Day in a heathen land. Everyone on the compound though he may own but one garment, is expected to wear it newly-washed and clean. Every room and courtyard has been swept and tidied up, and from sunrise the sound of singing is heard. On this day also every carpenter or mason employed is given his day's wages, although no work is done by him.

This was a red-letter day for the Kanchow Church; 000
indeed, far more so than we were at first in a position to

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realise, for whereas we believed ourselves to be spending the first day of a brief visit among them, they knew better, being in possession of certain spiritual facts not yet communicated to us. The rally, therefore, at morning service brought every Church member and enquirer to the festival.

The inward meaning only became clear to us when Dr. Kao, rising to address the congregation, called them to witness that during four years he, with them, had constantly prayed that God would send them women of His choice to supply that which was lacking in their Scriptural instruction and upbuilding.

'As you know, brethren, it was not young women that we were needing, but those seasoned by experience, trouble, and hard work. Therefore I would have you remember that when we prayed it was for two elderly women, who yet must have retained all the vigour of youth, as, I need not remind you, Kansu is no place for the feeble! All these things were in our minds, nor did we see for ourselves where those could be found to present such a combination of qualities, yet behold! God has supplied us, not with two of this unusual type, but with three! Here they sit with us this morning, and if you look at them you can see how old they are by their grey hairs; yet the very fact that they have reached here at all, proves them capable of enduring hard conditions. Until recently I feared that they might settle down in some city further south, and it was in view of this that two or three of you rode out with me three weeks ago to a Tibetan Lamasery that we might secure absolute quiet to lay this matter before God. He has granted us over and above what we asked; let us now thank Him.'

In the course of the meeting reports were received from delegates who had been out during that week

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on Evangelistic trips, two having recently returned from an expedition to the region known as Kow Wai, which lies beyond Suchow, and outside the Great Wall of China. Their statements were listened to with deep attention by all, and it became evident to us that this Church was in the true Pauline succession of recognising itself debtor to all men.

We were soon met with a definite request to spend the summer months instructing a class of Christian men and women, and our only demur was caused by our determination that nothing should be allowed to interfere with and deter us from advancing into the unevangelised land, of which we had now reached the threshold, but, to our joy and surprise, we found that this subject had also been foremost in the thought of Dr. Kao and his band.

'We have a proposal,' he said, 'for a plan which, if it appeals to you, will give us the greatest satisfaction. If you will make yourselves responsible for their training, I will guarantee a band of men and women to accompany you on your pioneer journeys.'

In a moment the hitherto 'Sealed Orders' lay open before us, and we recognised the adequacy of the provision which made possible the organisation of a Preaching Band, where the gifts of each, whether Easterner or Westerner, would find their full expression

Our fellow-guests at that moment under this hospitable roof were a Mongolian Prince and his Princess. The Prince, who was a former patient of Dr. Kao's, accompanied by an immense retinue, was taking one of the fantastically long journeys which are common in this part of the world, in order to pay a vow at a distant Tibetan Lamasery. He was chief of a Kalmuk tribe, whose home is in the more distant regions of Mongolia, among the Altai Mountains. When yet nine days'

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000distant from Kanchow, his little son developed pneumonia, and the Princess, in an agony of anxiety, and fearing for his life, had ridden nine stages in five days, holding the little boy in her arms, that she might reach Dr. Kao before it was too late. A galloping horseman dashed through the streets to bring word of her arrival, and rooms were prepared for the reception of herself and immediate suite. The condition of the child was critical, and the disease was nearing its crisis when the father overtook them. On being warned that the child's life still hung in the balance, he lifted his head with the authoritative gesture of an autocratic ruler and exclaimed: 'That is your business, not mine. I brought him here, and you must heal him. You are the doctor, not I.'

The Princess only consented to be cramped between four walls until her tent could be erected in a large courtyard. Into this the little patient was moved, and it was here that we first met her. Our impression on entering the tent was that some Arabian Night's fancy had materialised before our eyes. The ground was spread with beautifully-woven rugs, while inlaid boxes stood against the wooden trellis-work, which formed the lower support of the felt tent. The smoke from a smouldering fire rose through the opening above, which likewise served to admit light and air. On a low divan lay the sick child, and his mother sat beside him. At our entrance she rose with a stately grace, and advanced to receive us. Her hair hung down in two long, glistening plaits, outlining the pure oval of her face, and was gathered into jewelled sheaths forming part of her regal head-dress. Jade, gold, and silver ornaments covered her breast, and a satin garment of sombre richness fell from her shoulders to her feet. A second tent held the servant, and was used as a kitchen.

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A MONGOLIAN PRINCESS.

"Her hair hung down in two long glistening plaits, outlining the pure oval of her face, and was gathered into jewelled sheaths forming part of her regal head-dress."

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000 The third tent was so small as to provide very limited accommodation even for one person, but here dwelt the family lama, and here he prepared his own food, which he ate alone. An enclosure held about twenty horses for immediate needs, as neither master nor man ever considered the prospect of walking, even the smallest distance. A few miles outside the city is a locality where pasture was plentiful, and here their flocks and herds were grazing. The miscellaneous company of body-retainers roamed at will over the compound. They climbed the roofs, peeped through holes in the paper windows, and pursued the doctor in search of medicines. The Prince himself was thirty-six years of age, and a man of magnificent physique. Blue-green eyes, set far apart in a tanned face, revealed an untamed and roving spirit. His simplicity was that of a child, but his look that of a warrior. His Chinese was none too fluent, but he was always accompanied by a half-breed interpreter, an almond-eyed youth, quick-witted, and ready with his tongue. A pistol and hunting-knife hung by the Prince's girdle, and one was in no sort of doubt that at the slightest offence the pistol would be rapidly used with unerring aim. Within a few days these liberty-loving people flagged under the restrictions of town life, and an order was given to strike camp and pitch the tents eight miles outside Kanchow. With amazing rapidity the goat-hair felts were rolled up, the inlaid boxes placed in their cases, and rugs strung into bales, the whole being secured to the pack-saddles of the kneeling camels, which, while chewing the cud, eyed the bystanders with a malicious, resentful look. The Princess herself rode her own splendid camel, whose saddle was of most curious inlaid metal-work.

The whole cavalcade then moved away to the vast

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pastures outside the city, and there Dr. Kao subsequently attended the little patient until he completely recovered. The result of this happy incident was a cordial invitation to visit the Kalmuk tribe of which the Prince was chief, and thus an entrance was made possible to an otherwise inaccessible people.

CHAPTER VII

A CHINESE MISSIONARY

DR. KAO is a native of the Province of Honan. At the time when we reached Kanchow, he was in his thirty-sixth year. Tall, and strongly built, his mobile face and genial manner commend him to the stranger, and endear him to his friends. His parents were not Christian, but he himself became one at the age of sixteen. His first introduction to the Westerner, and to the Faith which he fearlessly preaches, was at a village fair, when, at the close of a solemn discourse, the hearers were requested to close their eyes, while prayer was offered on their behalf. With characteristic quick-wittedness, little Kin Cheng (for such is his first name) while appearing to cover his face with his hands, in reality converted his fingers into spy-glasses, the better to enable him to detect any suspicious act on the part of the strange man, who was, doubtless, using this means to take some nefarious advantage over his audience! His boyhood was spent under the stern discipline of poverty. Knowing within himself the capacity for absorbing education, he was yet removed from school after a few months' teaching, for though the education was free, his father would not give the needed money to provide him with necessary books.

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With the close of his school-life it seemed to the desperate boy that the door of liberation was closed for ever, and that a vendor of peanuts he must remain to the end of his days. 000

After a time, the resilience of youth restored to him some measure of hope, but though eminently a boy of action he found himself completely hemmed-in by circumstances. He knew, however, as a result of his intercourse with Christians, that God has promised to hear prayer, and to succour even a child in need, who should call upon His Name. For months, consequently, he besought God with a continual petition that he might have a 'chance in life.' The miraculous occurred when a letter came offering him work in a mission hospital, and from that time his path was cleared until he received his medical diploma. Being a man of remarkable humour, industry and adaptability, the Medical Profession afforded him an easy field for money-making. His company and presence were acceptable to rich and poor, and he was welcomed into Chinese Official circles on account of his nimble wit and amusing talk—valuable assets, undoubtedly, but such as bring the feet of a young man into slippery places. But for this man there could never be more than a temporary disunion from his aim, and, ambitious as he was, nothing less than the most worthy object could finally meet the demands of his aspiring nature. After various vicissitudes in the course of which some lucrative posts were offered him, the second great decision of his life was made in response to an inward Call bidding him leave Honan, and become a missionary in the far-off province of Kansu. This final determination was reached in the loneliness of a midnight hour, when, as he knelt by his bedside to say a formal prayer and acknowledge the Divine protection which had been his

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600 throughout the day, a Voice came to him through the silence saying, 'Why do you thank Me? You know that your present life is in no wise My choice for you.' In a flash the whole gaudy construction of his self-arranged career stood revealed in its tinselled tawdriness, just as the shabby decorations of a theatrical scene appear under the rays of the noonday sun. The early dawn found the young man packing up his clothes, and preparing to leave the town without delay; and so soon as arrangements could be made, he, with his wife and two small children, were on the road to the North-West. He was at this time twenty-seven years of age.

After a period at the Lanchow hospital, he slowly made his way alone, preaching as he went, to the town of Kanchow. As he entered its gates, the same Voice which had spoken to him in distant Honan sounded again within, saying: 'This is the place of My Appointment for you.'

In Dr. Kao's own words: 'That day I walked through the streets of Kanchow with the drops of sweat falling from my brow, as I realised something of what lay before me.'

The first weeks of his stay were spent in shifting his lodgings constantly from inn to inn, each landlord discovering in turn that it was not conducive to good business to have an itinerant preacher occupying his rooms, for this man was of the kind that could not be quieted, and from early morning till late at night a motley crowd would hang around his door listening to his strange talk. After flitting again and again, and on more than one occasion returning from a house-hunting expedition to find his few belongings standing out in the courtyard, he secured the use of a room in a large temple. The priests in residence welcomed a diversion

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to the even tenor of their monotonous lives, and even derived considerable enjoyment from the racy talk and apt anecdote with which his preaching was enforced. Moreover, there was a medicine-chest and its contents, which are a never-failing source of joy to a Chinese heart, not to mention the diversion of tooth-drawing, and other minor surgical feats.

One day a woman, whose jaw had been dislocated for some weeks, came as a forlorn hope to see whether this famed man, who alternately preached and healed, might save her from the lingering death with which she found herself faced. She arrived in a cart, escorted by a dozen women cronies, hurrying and hobbling up the street on their tiny feet, fearful lest they should be too late to see the fun. As soon as Kao appeared, the patient gave him a kowtow while her son besought him to favour her with his superior brand of medicine, and not to waste time by using less expensive materials upon her serious case. Dr. Kao made her sit on a bench, and realising how much of his future standing in the town depended upon a successful issue to this small but showy operation, he laid his fingers on her jaw, and the next instant a click was heard, and the woman was well. The crowd which had collected to watch the operation, and witness its success or failure, included soldiers, business men, Yamen runners, and all the temple priests, not to speak of a concourse of small children, whose business it is to carry the news of the town to every distant courtyard.

For the next few days the crowds surged in and out of the temple grounds, bringing with them sick folk at every stage of disease, slight or mortal. But the healing of the body was never Kao's primary object, and he seized his chance of proclaiming Christ to the large audiences. He stood boldly on the temple steps,

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and told all the people that gods fashioned by the hand of man were not gods at all, but only lumps of clay or chunks of wood. Such sentiments did not seriously annoy the temple priests, but certain individuals of importance in the town seized the chance of exciting the mob by saying: 'This fellow, Kao, is so disrespectful to the gods that we shall all suffer punishment at their hands, unless he be turned out of Kanchow.' For some hours the situation was critical, and it looked as if this would be his fate, but at the moment of greatest tension a wealthy patient, who was a member of the town council, arrived, and haranguing the mob, demanded that Dr. Kao be treated with the courtesy which was his due. 'I gave large sums of money toward the repairs of this temple,' he said; 'and if Dr. Kao be summarily turned out, as you threaten, you will refund me all that I have given.' With these words he dismissed the assembly.

A few days later the doctor was quietly approached with an offer tc purchase a large piece of ground, including a small tumble-down house, standing in the centre, and he quickly closed with the offer. From that day, unfettered and unhindered, he preached the Gospel to all whose disease of the body or the soul brought them to his consulting-room, and the words which he addressed in the hour of danger to the inimical mob in the temple-court came true: 'You may turn me out of this temple to-day, but I declare to you, in the Name of the True God, that before many years have passed there will be a Christian Church in your city, for the Lord of Hosts is with me, and you are powerless to defeat Him.'

In process of time these prophetic words were realised. A suitable site presented itself, and a reasonable price was fixed; the transfer was concluded, and Dr. Kao's

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Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The 000
land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations.

In the course of the next few years a convenient 797
dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added[1] about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children.

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of 425
land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; 789
the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce

[1] [to the Mission at Kanchow -- Analyst]

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425 his arrival, and also his intention of sitting on this piece
789 of land to 'bask in the sun.' A few minutes later a strange figure could be seen walking down the street, one half of the face blacked while the other was white, and with party-coloured garments covering his limbs—the whole representing one of the greatly dreaded deities acting as Judge in the Buddhist Courts of Hell.

Naturally all the neighbours flocked to see the fun.

'What do you want?' asked Dr. Kao.

'Just to sit and bask in the court,' was the answer.

'But the courtyard is mine.'

'So it is. I sold it to my loss, but what did you give me for the air and the sun? I did not sell those, they are still mine.' A bystander here whispered to Kao, 'You *must* give him money, and get rid of him. You bought the land too cheap, and he will certainly bring ill-luck. It is a Kanchow custom; but give him money and he will depart without bringing a curse on you.'

The answer to this was a front door thrown wide open, and a cordial invitation to the sun-basker to enter, for, not only were sun and air at his disposal, but the element of water also, with which the doctor was immediately prepared to wash his face!

Needless to say, the Presiding Genius of the Courts of Hell beat a hasty retreat, and never troubled the dauntless Christians again.

CHAPTER VIII

A CHINESE COMMUNITY

000 It is quite evident that a man of this calibre could not fail to attract kindred spirits. To see one whose qualifications placed him high in the ranks of citizenship,

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cheerfully enduring hardness and privation, as well as freely giving his services to the poor, gained him the respect of many. Young men from his own Province, who had come to the North-West in order to fill lucrative business posts, soon rallied round him, and before long some were convinced that the Gospel he preached was indeed the 'power of God unto salvation.'

The first convert was a woman who had been a frequenter of the temple-court preaching, and gradually an interested congregation met weekly for Sunday worship. From the larger circle, by the time we arrived, there had emerged a small group, whose whole time was given to the work and service of the Church. They lived with the Doctor on a communal basis. One of them had been trained to act as medical assistant, another was a very capable business man, through whose hands all moneys passed, and by whom the general accounts were kept. All medical fees, together with profits resulting from the Church-owned farm and flocks of sheep, were placed in a common fund, and used at the discretion of a small financial committee. It was by this means that they were able to meet the expenses incurred in connection with the Bible School, which was opened on our arrival.

We found ourselves handling an unusual group of men and women, who were young, enthusiastic and vigorous, and who were natives of six out of the eighteen Provinces of China. Though barely middle-aged, the Elder, Mr. Liu, was as a father in their midst. He distinguished himself among them all by a sense of experience of life, so that to him naturally fell the duty of investigating any difficult case, and of representing the Church where exhortation or reproof was necessary. Both he and his wife were natives of a district which has

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gained a reputation for the cleverness, industry, and capacity of its women, so that in matters of weaving, dyeing, cooking, and household economy, Mrs. Liu was a recognised authority. Their little boy of five years old would play in the courtyard while his parents sat at their desks. They had received him as a gift of the gods, he having been granted to them in middle-life, after a pilgrimage to a famous temple, where his father had recorded a vow in verse on the walls of a shrine. As a Christian, the terms of that vow might not be met, so he discharged the debt by dedicating his child to the service of the One God, and by stating the fact at the side of the original poem.

Our best student was Mr. Chang, who combined exceptional mental ability with the gifts of perseverance and industry. As a boy of eighteen, he left his Honan home and came to Kansu hoping to find a lost brother who had not been heard of for some years. Insufficiently supplied with money, at Liangchow he came to the moment when he had spent his last coppers on six small rolls of bread, of which he ate one a day until he reached Kanchow. By this time he was faint, starving, and utterly discouraged. As he rested by the road, just outside the city gate, a horseman passed, and for a moment their eyes met. That rider was Dr. Kao, who, looking down at the unfortunate boy, in whose face he read the unmistakable signs of hunger and despair, longed to help him, and immediately felt the strong conviction that they would meet again.

Young Chang wandered through Kanchow without a cash in his pocket, hoping for the charity of a free lodging, and in the last inn of the most remote suburb he found it. Pleased with his well-bred manner, the landlord said: 'I see that you come from Honan. There is a Dr. Kao here, also from your Province. He

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is building a house, and I should not be surprised if he gave you a job. Go and see him.' Thus it was that Dr. Kao and Chang, who were to learn to love each other as father and son, first met. In payment for his food, Chang was engaged to mix mortar, and to carry bricks and other building material as required, and this he willingly did, in spite of the fact that his hands were soon blistered with the unaccustomed toil. His faithfulness and industry received their due reward when later on he was promoted to personal attendance on the doctor in his dispensary. Each morning at dawn it was his duty to sweep the courtyards, and while doing so through the open windows he could hear his master praying aloud, and often caught the petition that he himself might come to know Jesus Christ as his Saviour. The kindness and just treatment which had been meted out to him in this household had already made an indelible impression on his mind, but to feel that prayer was offered for his conversion by his employer was an expression of interest on his behalf such as he had never imagined possible. The springs of love and gratitude within him were stirred to their depths, resulting in a receptivity of mind and quickened understanding, which enabled him to comprehend in some degree the 'love of Christ which passeth knowledge.' Before long he said with his whole heart and strength: 'Thy God shall be my God.'

Friend and constant companion of Mr. Chang was Mr. Kwo, the capable business man. A few years older than Chang, he was of a more impetuous and less well-controlled nature, so that the elder man would look up to the younger, hoping in time to gain the maturer gifts of the serious youth. Chang, on the other hand, envied the fearless attitude adopted by Kwo where wrong or injustice required reproof. The companion-

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ship of these two resulted in a constant provocation of each other to good works.

Our most ignorant pupil was a clever woman whose husband had but recently renounced his idols. He brought her riding in from the farm one Sunday morning to see the foreign women. Presently, with characteristic swift decision, she sent him back home alone, saying: 'I am going to have a week's Bible-study here. Bring the donkey with my week's provisions next Sunday, and then see if I want to go home or stay longer!' Her intercourse with Christian women was so successful that she stayed on to the fourth week of the class, taking meanwhile her definite stand as a Christian. A few days before the session ended, she was sent for in a hurry, her father-in-law having been suddenly taken dangerously ill. He died as she entered the house, and there were, of course, many neighbours round who said: 'See now! what trouble she has brought on her people by becoming a Christian!' Nothing daunted, however, she strengthened her husband's hands to demand a Christian funeral, and also to refrain from the observance of any heathen rites, whose plain object is to protect the living from demons, these demons having evidently already gained an entrance into the house, the death of one member of the family being obviously the result. This couple subsequently proved entirely steadfast.

The routine of the students' day was as follows. The first gong sounded each morning at sunrise, and an hour later the whole household assembled for family prayers, which were of a brief but very happy character. These were followed by breakfast, and at 9 a.m. the teacher entered the class-room, where all were assembled. For the next half-hour community singing was unrestrained, and occasion was afforded for the free expres-

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sion of that invading sense of joy which, in truth, is the heritage of 'the Church militant here in earth,' but which is far too often extinguished by the conventionalities of Western Christianity. The joyous abandon of spirit naturally affected the neighbourhood, and a crowd always assembled in the playground below to hear the Christians sing. Dispensary patients would come early in order not to miss it, and a band of ragged urchins became so familiar with our songs as to swell the chorus from outside. Fear had hitherto dominated these souls—fear of death, of demons, of ill-luck, of disaster; of torments, too, in the After World, with its relentless wheel of requital. In the joy of their new-found liberty, small wonder that they sang!

Bible-study was in progress until midday, and by 2 p.m. every student was once more in his place preparing for the next day's question-hour. At 3 p.m. graded classes were held, and were followed by a lecture on hygiene, conducted by Dr. Kao. The sight of the merry group of children who gathered to our singing class had also decided us to hold a Children's Service, consequently every evening one of the students patrolled the streets beating a gong, from which trip he returned followed, like the Pied Piper, by a crowd of small people, skipping, jumping, and dancing, and whose enjoyment of the next delightful hour knew no bounds.

In this way the early summer came and went, bringing the sultry June days when the class-room throbbed with heat, and the evening dusk was sibilant with the shrill hum of mosquitoes, which drove us back from the cooler but insect-haunted courtyard into the stifling house again.

The sight of the distant snow-capped ranges, however, now held a promise of good things to come, for it was

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000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 The town is beautifully placed and abundantly
285 watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where
788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

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a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simultaneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID. 788

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many Kanchow women. Not content with being under a vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles. 262 785 796 [536] 796 302

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descriptions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of 796 265

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796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
234 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.

796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

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to the embroidered satin banners and brilliant clothes of the crowd, forms a feast of riotous colour which is a delight to the eye.

Where such crowds of men and women congregate, the missionary cannot afford to be absent, and our whole Christian community spent some strenuous days in sewing together a large tent capable of holding about 300 people, which would afford us a vantage-ground at the fairs which now were going to be visited. The first occasion for its use was in the town of Shantan, two marches distant from Kanchow, when all studies were suspended to enable a band of eighteen students to accompany us. Under Dr. Kao's superintendence, four men went ahead, and secured an empty courtyard for our accommodation, being also instructed to display Christian posters wherever possible.

The preparations for such a campaign necessitated considerable forethought. The only sleeping accommodation supplied in inns or hired houses is a bare mud sleeping-platform in an empty room, therefore each member of the party must take a wadded quilt in which to wrap at night, and serving as both mattress and coverlet. A couple of iron pots, large enough to serve the whole company with boiled rice or macaroni, must also be supplied, and each member of the preaching-band carried his own bowl and chopsticks. The tent ropes and pegs were placed at the bottom of the cart, and 2000 lbs. weight was made up with bags of rice, flour, and the preachers' ammunition in the form of the Christian literature as supplied by the Bible and Religious Tract Societies. On all these trips, leaders and students, whether foreign or Chinese, ate and shared alike.

The clean white tent, flying attractive flags and decorated with bright Scripture posters, was a gay and

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000 striking object in the fair enclosure, and from the first moment when the strains of the baby-organ and the sound of hymn-singing were heard, a crowd of spectators poured in. For four days the preaching, singing, and book-selling continued uninterruptedly, nor could the tent, spacious though it was, hold the people who flocked to hear and to see the strange sight.

Brown-bearded Moslems and turbaned Turkis stood in the crowd shoulder to shoulder with Tibetans and flat-featured Mongols, to each one of whom we were able to supply the Scriptures in his own tongue, for though these border tribes all speak and understand Chinese, they are unable to read the written language. Once a couple of Siberian youths, whose business was in the Tibetan skin-trade, joined the throng, and they also went away possessors of a copy of the Russian New Testament.

The fatigue entailed by such an expedition is considerable. From dawn the whole community was astir, and meals were then prepared under such conditions as to allow for no tempting of the appetite. At breakfast each one was served with a bowl of rice and a small saucer of pickled turnip; the midday meal was dough-strings boiled with cabbage; and before we went to bed, a drink of rice-water was supplied. The June heat under canvas was intense, nor could we call a halt so long as we had willing listeners. Nights were crowded and disturbed, as the season described in the Chinese calendar as 'excited insects' was now at its height.

Towards evening our courtyard was filled with young Moslem recruits from the military camp near by, who came to hear our singing and to enjoy Dr. Kao's free and easy talks on matters religious. We taught them many hymns, and none proved more popular than 'Onward Christian Soldiers,' in which they eagerly

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took part, shouting lustily. With the last of the daylight there came always the Muezzin's call to prayer from the Mosque, and our soldier-band vanished in response to the voice of authority.

Two incidents in connection with the Shantan expedition will never be forgotten.

It was the last day of the fair, the tent was struck, and we were wandering in the late afternoon through some of the temple buildings. The idol in whose honour the festival had been held still wore his gala costume, and the furniture of his wardrobe was still on view—the bedding, the changes of clothing, his wash-hand basin, and his mirror—a pitiably childish display. Around him sat other gods, his hideous attendants or fellow-deities, who grinned, threatened, leered, ogled or smirked, looking doubly frightful in the half light. But at his feet a group of men were gathered, listening so intently to one of their number reading aloud that they were wholly unconscious of our presence; and what he read was the story of the Prodigal Son from the Gospel of St. Luke.

The next day we left Shantan, and, as is our habit, we walked ahead of our carts for the first few miles in order that we might secure at least some quiet and privacy. Being weary we sat down at the edge of a field in which the opium poppies were in full bloom—an opal-tinted expanse, washed with exquisite, soft, silvery lights. A few minutes later a Turkestan Moslem appeared, riding his donkey, and carrying in his hand a sheaf of Christian booklets. Dismounting, he approached us saying: 'I saw you in the tent yesterday when I bought these tracts. You are tired; perhaps you have no money to hire a donkey in order to get home. I should like you, therefore, to use mine; and you might take it each in turn to ride, for I also am returning to Kanchow, and

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the sixty miles are far too long a journey for you to walk.'

CHAPTER X

A TIBETAN LAMASERY

THE Kanchow oasis reaches to the very foot of the Tibetan hills, and of all the North-Western towns which we visited, this city is the one most frequented by Tibetan travellers. We constantly met them strolling about the streets, or bartering their gold, silver, peacock-feathers and skins for the necessary grain which their nomadic life, as well as the climatic conditions, make it impossible for them to produce. The Christian community was deeply interested in these people, the more so since a recent visit to a Lamasery, where some of them had been hospitably entertained. It was therefore decided that a band of us should spend some time at the Kang Lung Lamasery, on the occasion of their yearly temple dances.

The first stage of the three days' journey was done by cart, and brought us to a large farmstead owned by a Christian man, who was making arrangements to supply us with sufficient mules, horses, and donkeys to carry us and our goods over the mountain pass. We were a party of twelve, and carried the tent in which we were to sleep, a folding-organ, a load of books, and a good supply of rice and flour. Five miles outside Kanchow is a wide and treacherous river, difficult to cross in the summer when snows are rapidly melting, and when thunderstorms in the mountains are frequent. Experienced men watch the river, and word was brought to us on the morning of our departure, that the waters

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were too high to permit of a safe crossing before midday. 491
The sun was therefore high in the heavens before we started, and we reached the bank still uncertain as to whether we might not be obliged to return home and come back again the next day.

The water was very high, and divided itself into ten separate channels, some wide and fairly shallow, others narrow and deep, so that the furthest bank was half a mile distant. It was a critical moment when the mules and carts plunged into the muddy, roaring, tumultuous stream, in which large stones were swirled round and round like pebbles, by the force of the current. Only by long experience does a man learn how to keep his head. He must know, as the Chinese express it, 'how to look at water,' and how to restrain his eye from being drawn off by the rushing eddies from that distant bank which seems so far away. Happily, animals have this gift by nature, and keep cool and quiet, even when the driver may have temporarily lost his bearings. Bullocks are the most reliable under these circumstances, for they at once take to swimming when their footing fails.

We were more than an hour fording, and as we approached the furthest bank, the shaft-mule of our cart stumbled badly, so that for a moment we thought we were going to be swept away. A shout went up from the men on the bank as they prepared to plunge in to our rescue, whereupon the mules, realising the danger, recovered themselves with a tremendous effort, and promptly drew us into shallow water.

It was already dark when we reached the house 574
where we were expected. The fierce dogs were chained, the other animals had been fed, and the sheep folded so that the farmer's brief leisure hour had come. We were met at the door by the whole family, who emerged

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574 to greet and welcome us. Rooms had been swept and got ready, and we were immediately served with bowls of hot, slightly salted milk, and fried doughnuts. Willing hands relieved our tired drivers of the work of feeding and stabling the mules, and within an hour we sat down to an abundant evening meal of the best food procurable. A sheep had been killed in view of our arrival, so there was meat and vegetables, with hot steamed bread. The kindness we received in this home is but typical of the grace of hospitality as understood by the Chinese, and such as has ever been extended to us on innumerable occasions by rich and poor alike.

Before dawn the farmyard was noisy with the braying of many small donkeys, hired and borrowed from neighbouring farms for our use. All our baggage was transferred to the pack-saddles, and shortly after sunrise we started to ride across the burning sands of the plain, towards the shady ravine, the entrance to which we could only just discern in the blue hills ahead.

471 The whole of the day was spent in following a narrow, uphill path through the gorge, where we crossed and recrossed a brawling mountain torrent. About midday we passed the watch-tower marking the frontier, and then knew ourselves to be actually on Tibetan soil.

002 By early evening we called a halt, and pitched the tent on a grassy plot near a hut, which was the only human habitation we came upon. In it lived one old man, who cultivated a tiny garden, and whose house supplied the only possible shelter to the traveller overtaken by a blizzard. A large saucepan was filled from the stream, and a meal of boiled rice, this time without any accompaniment of pickles, was cooked over the camp fire, and round it we hungrily gathered, each

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000

A Tibetan Obo.
A pile of stones each with a number of poles bearing prayer flags.

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with bowl and chopsticks. Before we had finished eating, however, a mountain storm gathered and the rain fell, while a violent gust of wind laid the tent flat on the ground. The women of the party then decided to creep into a beehive-dwelling near by (used by the hut-keeper for storing hay), even in spite of the warnings that it was likely to be a refuge for snakes, but which scare fortunately never materialised, so that all night they slept in peace.

It was late afternoon on the next day when we at last came out of the long ravine into a sunny, grassy valley, carpeted with blue iris, edelweiss and gentians. In the distance lay the low buildings of the Lamasery, and by the roadside stood the white Chorten, an elegant monument with a slender spire, the mere passing of which brings good luck to the traveller. As the wind blew down the valley, it fluttered innumerable prayer-flags, and swayed the boughs of the trees from which the prayer-bones, inscribed with petitions, hung and rattled. In the stream flowing down the centre of the valley revolved a beautifully carved prayer-wheel, before which every passing Tibetan would without fail dismount and make obeisance. The hill-slopes here were densely wooded with fir trees, under which the ground was carpeted with cyclamem-coloured orchids and golden moss, while the bushes were overgrown with yellow and also black flowered clematis.

Our arrival was the signal for a stampede from the Lamasery, and we were now soon surrounded by a crowd of red-robed lamas and Living Buddhas. Willing and skilful hands helped with the erection of the large tent on a suitable site, between a bubbling stream where we could take our water, and the pine forest which would supply us with wood for the camp fire. A few minutes later, a band of Tibetan women came

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000 striding over the grass, and daringly crossed the river on a pine-trunk bridge. Their interest in us was extreme, and with easy familiarity they fingered our hair, examined our hands, and tried on our stitched-cotton hats. The Kang Lung women themselves wore high, white, felt hats, surmounted by a jaunty tassel. Their dresses were gaudy in the extreme, but their feet were thrust into clumsy top-boots. Adornment was supplied by an elaborate head-dress, falling from the nape of the neck to the knees, and which is always beautifully embroidered with coral beads and plaques of white sea-shells, relieved by ornaments of turquoise and jade.

We found no difficulty whatever in meeting them on a footing of free and spontaneous camaraderie, and instinctively we completely put on one side the stiffness of Chinese etiquette, abandoning ourselves to merry laughter with our new-made friends. The discovery of a wrist-watch, worn by one of the party, caused intense delight, and the veracity of the information that its face could be seen in the night was immediately tested by the clever erection of a dark-room, made by the lamas, who sat in a circle and spread their red shawls above their heads. Cries of joy came from the group as they announced the success of the experiment, and then each one in turn was admitted to the peep-show. This wonderful news being immediately reported to the Lamasery, the Living Buddha-in-Charge dispatched a messenger, helter-skelter, to secure the loan of the watch till the morning.

There were in residence in Kang Lung seven Living Buddhas, the chief of whom had reached his seventh reincarnation. These Living Buddhas are believed to be the spiritual sons of Celestial Beings, who, in order to help mankind, themselves voluntarily remain outside

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Nirvana, from whence, having once passed in, it is impossible to reappear on this earth. Owing to their compassion for mankind, these Celestial Beings produce spiritual sons, that through them an opportunity may be given to all men to escape from the pains and terrors of subjection to recurrent transmigrations. The eighth Living Buddha belonging to this Lamasery had recently died, and the lamas were still searching for an infant who, being born at the moment of his death, was made the recipient of his departing spirit. About seventy lamas made their home in the monastery of Kang Lung, some of them being mere children, the religious system of Tibet demanding that each family shall devote one son to the temple service; for in this land religious claims, whether upon life or goods, are never questioned for an instant by this absolutely priest-ridden people.

CHAPTER XI

MASQUERADE-DANCING

As the days went by, bands of Tibetan women came galloping on their horses at full speed along the narrow, precipitous paths which skirted the grassy hillsides far overhead, gathering for the approaching festival.

The Tibetans are matchless horsemen, and the feats performed by the women are in no wise behind those of their menfolk. Not only girls will start off, bridle in hand, in chase of a runaway horse, but a grandmother of seventy will assist in heading off the excited steed, on whose bare back when brought to a standstill she will be the first to leap, while her daughter adjusts the bridle.

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Each rider brings some present in kind, such as meat, butter, cream, or granulated cheese, as an offering to the Lamasery. The presentation is made by laying on the outstretched hands of the priest a length of cotton material, or a blue silk *khada* (a scarf into the fabric of which is woven the figure of the Buddha), and together with this the offering is made. In exchange, the Living Buddha puts on his robes of office, and surrounded by his acolytes walks in procession to the temple, where he recites liturgies in favour of his devotees.

On the morning of the sixteenth day of the sixth moon, we were awakened soon after midnight, by a hellish blast from the temple heralds, who stood on a high balcony, blowing instruments ten foot in length, from which a hoarse, prolonged groan was produced. Throughout the day this call was the prelude to each separate ritual, which included the procession of the priests to the court of a Living Buddha, and its return with him to the temple grounds.

By 9 a.m. the grassy enclosures of the Lamasery were crowded with worshippers, collected for the great event of the day, which was the masquerade-dancing by the priests. From all sides processions arrived, escorting the Resident and the Visiting Living Buddhas to their seats of honour. In each case they were preceded by attendants carrying a yellow satin umbrella. Finally, the greatest of them all made his appearance, dressed in yellow damask silk, and wearing a head dress shaped like an immense cockscomb. On his arrival the whole congregation bowed to the ground before him, and the more earnest pilgrims collected the dust of the earth on which his foot had pressed, in order to carry it away and so bring luck to their homes, flocks, and herds. At a given signal the great temple-doors were flung open, and two grotesque figures appeared on the platform, in

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harlequin dresses surmounted by death's-head masks. With light bounds they skipped and jumped from side to side in rhythmic precision. In a few minutes they were replaced by couples representing the various protective deities of the cattle, flocks, crops and home, and the worship of the forces controlling fecundity was plainly suggested in every dance by movements, gestures, and subtle allusions. The sacred bird of prey, represented by a vulture-headed dancer, received a great ovation, for on his good services depends the happiness of the departed individual, whose corpse, having been placed on the mountain side, if speedily picked clean by this scavenger, will be spared prolonged torment in hell. The effigy of a dead body having been laid upon the grass, the vulture-dancer, after hovering over it with delighted movements, made a sudden pounce, and piercing it with a small dagger, left a gaping wound from which blood spouted out. Near the close of the performance the dance of the God and Goddess of Thunder commenced. The midday sun was at its height in the deep blue sky as they advanced, dressed in magnificent embroidered satin robes, and wearing huge black masks with yawning mouths and protruding eyes. The character-dance was one of delicate, mincing steps with outstretched palms lifted to the sky. The music which accompanied this part of the performance was cleverly adapted to suggest the sound of hail, rain and wind, with occasional clashes from the cymbals as of a clap of thunder, followed by a long, shivering sibilance like that of a storm of rain among trees. Round and round the enclosure they pirouetted, curtsied and bent towards the four corners of the earth. And then, strangely enough, as the cymbals clashed forth a mock peal, they were answered from the heavens above by a tremendous crash of real thunder,

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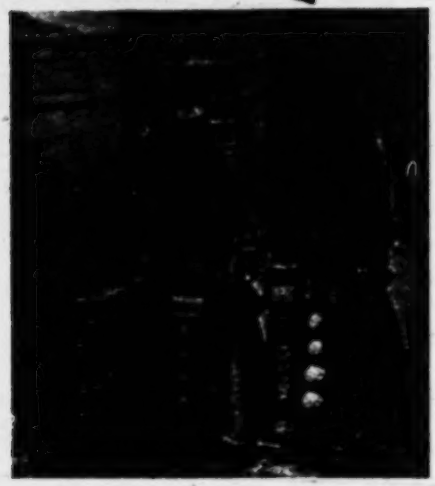

TIBETAN WOMEN.

"Their dresses were gaudy in the extreme, embroidered with coral beads and white sea shells."

A TIBETAN LAMA.

"Only one who is the Giver of Life Eternal can overcome this darkness."

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reverberating from range to range of the surrounding hills; the heavens were suddenly darkened, flashes of lightning darted, while rain and hail fell in a deluge on the prostrate bodies of the worshippers. In a few minutes all was over, and the sun shone out again on the figure of the Living Buddha seated on his throne, in his immobility scarcely distinguishable from the idols round him, but whose eyes, however, had meanwhile been busily scanning the groups of young women near. The dance was barely over before his acolytes, without the slightest concealment, were busy among the girls, and choosing here and there among them such as seemed goodliest, led them to his court, there to do the pleasure of the Buddha Incarnate.

The afternoon ceremony took the form of a propitiatory rite, the Chief Lamas sitting in semicircle round a brazier, whose flames were continually fed with oiled butter. Each one wore a diadem, in shape something like a triple crown, with a heavy black silk fringe concealing the forehead. The priestly robes were very magnificent, and each hierophant held a bell in his right and a rattle in his left hand. As the liturgies proceeded, a gradual intensifying of frenzied fervour set in. The fire, fed afresh with liquid streams of butter, leaped up, devouring the offerings of wheat and other grains thrown into it by handfuls, together with chips of wood, fodder, and loveliest Iceland poppies. Then did the flames crackle merrily, the bells rang, the rattles were shaken, the cymbals clashed and clanged, and the fumes of the incense rose in a dense, aromatic cloud, wrapping the whole congregation in its coiling folds.

Buddhism adopts many guises, but in watching these rituals one felt in the presence of very old and very evil influences. From the faces of most of the child lamas

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000 all boyishness had fled, leaving only lack-lustre eyes and a dull apathy, while on the features of the greater number of the older men, nameless, convulsive passions had left their hideous traces, showing unmistakably the disintegrating nature of the Power at work. In a country where personal cleanliness is practically impossible during nearly three quarters of the year owing to climatic causes ; where women are the common property of a plurality of possessors ; where one sixth of the population is segregated in a so-called celibacy given over to idleness, and where such family life as exists is destitute of the very rudiments of decency or sanitation, nothing short of the deliverance of the individual—body, soul, and spirit—from the grasp of this stultifying Power can effect anything radical. We are dealing here with a fundamental problem of human existence, for which there is but one Master-Key. Only One, Who is the Giver of Life Eternal, can overcome this darkness.

When the worshippers left the temple grounds they trooped to our tent, where a religious service of a very different character awaited them, and they were delighted by the cheerful strains of the hymn-singing, the little organ, and the simple, picturesque preaching and apt illustrations of the Chinese Evangelist. From this hour the tent became the centre of social intercourse, and our lean larder also was replenished by the generous gifts of food brought in by our visitors. True, the butter was rancid and full of yak's hairs, the cream was sour, and the cheese so strong that it had to be kept outside, but our provisions were running low, and the open-air life in the bracing air engendered a keen appetite which itself supplied a relish to everything. We ate the Tibetan food, and were glad of it !

In Tibet the population is divided into but two

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distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

On our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for conducting classes in village centres. These were very

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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 891
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

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your sins to God, and ask Him to incline the heart of the Mandarin to restore the water to this district. Meanwhile, let everyone of you fetch his own spade, and supply my men and myself with tools, and we will see what can be done by clearing the canal in preparation for the water for which we have just been praying.' In an hour's time the preacher and men, having thrown off their coats, were digging hard, and repairing the channel. Two days later, Dr. Kao received a summons from the Civil Magistrate of Kanchow, requiring his medical assistance. Before he left the Yamen, the Mandarin said: 'What is this I hear about you and your men, digging out an irrigation-canal at Hehcheng—Black City? I really think something ought to be done for those people over there; as soon as I am rid of this illness, I will enquire into the matter.'

A few days later the water which so long had been withheld poured down the canal, and a new life began for the inhabitants of Black City.

On the occasion of our visit, they had just reaped their first harvest, and some were eating wheaten-bread for the first time in two years. Their homes were almost denuded of the necessities of existence. When we entered many of the barest farms, the women dared not descend from the *kang* to receive us, their rags only covering their nakedness while sitting huddled together, and girls of eleven years of age went about entirely unclothed. Yet even in this poverty-stricken place gifts of food were brought us daily—a few eggs; a bowl of green wheat steamed till the grains burst; a handful of garlic picked wild in the fields, or a bunch of the desert-grown, edible plant (Nostoc commune flagelliforme) known as 'hair-grass,' from its likeness to black human hair;—all these things and many others were presented to us in token of friendship and goodwill.

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At length, with the close of all the village classes, came the day in Kanchow when the rite of baptism was administered to fifty men and women. Outside the North Gate of the city, a clear stream runs between grassy banks. Here we pitched the great tent and held the service. The open-air meeting began with singing, followed by a few words of exhortation to the catechumens, and of explanation to the small collection of onlookers. This was followed by the descent into the water, where each in turn was required to answer the question: 'Dost thou believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?' An almost breathless silence fell on the crowd as each made his or her confession of faith, and was then immersed, 'in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Very courageously and reverently the women, dressed in their white baptismal-robes, entered the water, under the eyes of a crowd so subdued by the arresting solemnity of the occasion, as to refrain from even the suggestion of levity.

Meanwhile, the formation of the Pioneer Band was in progress, for the hottest weather would soon be over, when it would become possible for a landowner to make his arrangements by which he and his wife would not be required on the farm until the next sowing season. Finally, a list of thirty names was drawn up, and the date of departure for Suchow fixed, this city being determined on as the base of the campaign.

Dr. Kao, with a few leaders and ourselves, were leaving earlier than the remainder of the party, as premises had to be secured and arrangements made on the spot for receiving so large a number. Our own immediate household included an old and faithful servant, who had come with us all the way from Shansi, having already served us there for over ten years. His

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was a simple nature, and having made our interests his own, he guarded us and our belongings with uncompromising fidelity. In his case the journeys were generally undertaken balanced on the top of a hired cart, packed with the heavier luggage, and woe-betide the carter who might attempt to filch a rope, a nail, or length of string which belonged to us! As is the habit of old retainers, every article of household use was referred to by him as 'ours,' and in his dealings with the younger servants he did not hesitate to say: 'If your work is not properly done *We* intend to dismiss you, and engage someone else!'

We three Missionaries travelled in a conveyance known in North China as a 'Peking cart,' which, in addition to our persons, could hold no more than our bedding, one valise, and a food-box. This cart was drawn by a large, white shaft-mule, answering to the name of 'Lolly,' together with a beautiful little brown mule, 'Molly,' who also came from Shansi with us. Our second servant acted as driver. This young man was twenty-three years of age, and five years previously had run away from his father's house on account of ill-treatment by a stepmother. Although his family were in good circumstances, and owned many acres of land, he left home without any cash in his pocket, and thus had known great hardship and hunger while making his way West, until he reached Kanchow, where he found permanent employment in a coal-mine. His work was to shoulder the sacks of coal, filled by the miners, and then carry them to the pit-mouth. It was arduous toil and never ceasing, for as there was no Sunday break, it lasted daily from dawn to dark. His name was 'Welcome Home,' and had been given him at his birth during his father's absence on a long journey, his mother taking this means of expressing pleasure at

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the thought of her husband's return. Down in the coal-mine was a man who had attended one of our village classes, and there had learnt the Phonetic Script. Young 'Welcome Home's' greatest ambition was to secure some degree of education, and after the work of the day was done, he induced his friend to teach him how to use this wonderful, easy method of reading. The instruction was given by means of a copy of one of the Gospels, and before long the young man became deeply impressed by the story they read together. He took a day's holiday, walked to Kanchow, where he attended his first Christian service, and there met Dr. Kao, of whom he begged permission to attend the elementary classes for enquirers. Dr. Kao's recollections of his own struggles during the period of his youth are so vivid, that he can never bring himself to refuse a helping hand to any young man who is ready to work. He admitted the boy to the Mission Compound on condition that he would help in the kitchen, in exchange for his keep. 'Welcome Home's' progress was remarkable, and he proved to be so satisfactory, both as pupil and worker, that within a few weeks we took him on as our personal servant, and the coal-pit knew him no more. The fellow-members of his class at once supplied him with a necessary suit of clothes, his own being in rags, and he now became a very useful member of our band. These two attendants remained with us all through our period in Kansu, and made a most valuable contribution to the work of Evangelism in which we were engaged, by their fidelity and reliability. It lies largely in the hands of the missionary's servant to make or mar the work of his employer, for it is from him that all enquiries, as to the personal character and object of the said missionary, are made, while the reputation given by these men is never questioned. In

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these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a [7/2] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. [312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. 361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first 346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the 342 number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

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which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

[1] T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- E Analyst]

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flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

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The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

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bought enough opium to kill herself, and kept it at hand for use when needs-be. A few nights later the Huei Huei appeared in her room, and informed her that she was his by right. Without a word she swallowed the opium, and then said: 'I shall soon be dead and you may do as you please with my body.' Meanwhile the neighbours, aware of what had happened, climbed on to the flat roof and shouted for Dr. Kao. He jumped out of bed, and seizing his medical bag, was soon over the roof. The woman was not yet unconscious, but when he wanted to give her treatment she said: 'Dr. Kao, it is useless for you to try and save me, for I shall cut my throat rather than consent to go with that man.' 'If you do as I tell you,' answered the Doctor, 'and trust me, I will protect you.' Then turning to the fierce, bearded bully he said: 'This woman is going to my wife this very night, and when you have anything to say to her you may come to me.' The Moslem slunk away and was seen no more, but the rage and hatred which Kao's uncompromising condemnation of evil stirred up in official and Moslem circles, burnt the fiercer, and vengeance on the Doctor was the more determined. The woman lived for months with Mrs. Kao, then having confessed her Christian faith, became one of the band of women who accompanied us to Suchow.

Besides the Chinese and Moslem populations of Kanchow, there are most interesting traces to be found of aboriginal races. It is not infrequent to meet men, women and children with fair, reddish hair of a finer texture and more curly than that of the Chinese, and light eyes, not blue but fawn-colour. They intermarry with the local people, have no distinctive customs, and are only recognisable by the constant reversion to type.

Soon after our arrival in Kanchow, it was reported

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to us that the Panchan Lama would pass through the city on his way from Tibet to Peking. The whole town was decorated for his reception, and Officials, with regiments of Moslem soldiers, went out to meet him. He himself was escorted by a body-guard of armed Tibetan warriors, and travelled in a cart upholstered in the same material as that of his own robe of yellow, brocaded satin. We were able to get a good view of him sitting cross-legged in the cart, and fingering his rosary whilst he looked round with interested eyes on the assembled crowds. The following day a message arrived from a famous Living Buddha, Hsia Fu Ye, of the Altai Mountains, who had just arrived, to find himself too late to pay his respects to his chief. He asked if he might borrow our cart and mules, which would enable him to overtake the great lama, and give him the required kowtow. We were glad to grant his request, for he was an old friend of Dr. Kao's, and forty-eight hours later he returned, his mission accomplished. He spent the evening with us, and as he is keenly interested in all matters of the soul, the conversation naturally centred around the Person of our Blessed Lord. He listened intently, and at each mention of the Name of Christ, he gravely bowed his head. The next morning he left us for the long journey back to his Mongolian Lamasery.

The Buddhist temples were during these days full of lamas, performing rites at the numerous shrines, and many of them came to the Mission House to sit and talk, and drink tea. One morning a tall, handsome young Tibetan walked in, and asked a direct question: 'Have you any use in your Church for a man such as myself?' We asked him what he knew of Christianity that he should make such an unusual enquiry. 'I

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live,' he said, 'very far from here, but I travelled down through Kang Lung recently, and stayed there with the lamas. They told me of your visit, and they are all reading the books you left with them.'

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PART TWO

IN THE FAR NORTH-WEST

CHAPTER XIV

LEAVING KANCHOW

It was a soul-inspiring event for the Kanchow Church when its members gathered to escort their missionary delegates three miles outside the city, and to bid them God-speed on their way to Suchow, and the regions beyond. On one of the last days a very good meal was provided by the Church, to which all were invited, being pressed to take full advantage of this last opportunity of eating the familiar dishes, for according to the Chinese proverb :

> 'Stay at home and your joys are sure,
> Travel the road and your food is poor.'

The delays of the final departure seemed innumerable, and when the farewells had been said, we were still near the banks of the Black River, and the sun was already sinking. Six miles further on brought us to the first possible halting-place, and here we spent the night. On these missionary journeys we made a practice of travelling as slowly as possible, in order to secure every opportunity of intercourse with the lonely dwellers even in the most remote and unattractive hamlets,

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000 through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

133 The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running [245] from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just 136 over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

[361] Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but [712] stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous 622 farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

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capable and intelligent Mandarin was evidenced as soon as the gates were reached, for on the plastered walls appeared practical precepts regarding the duties of good citizenship, and a series of pictures illustrating the downward course of the gambler and opium-smoker. 622

We were desirous of calling at one of the large farms in the neighbourhood, as it was the home of a young man who had been received into the Pioneer Band. This student, who had graduated from a Government Normal College, was a member of one of the most affluent and influential families of Fuyi. On his way back from Lanchow, he had come to the Kanchow Mission House with a request that he might be supplied with necessary dressings, having lately undergone an operation in hospital. He presented a pathetic appearance, being thin, pale, and melancholy, and at first sight, as he stood fingering the books of the lending-library in the guest-room, we read in his face an appeal for the help which would satisfy a longing deeper than the needs of the body. With characteristic cordiality and genial words, Dr. Kao made the necessary introduction. 'This is Mr. Tu,' he said, 'who is coming to spend a few days with me. He has been ill, and I cannot allow him to remain at an inn.' Then turning to his visitor, he continued: 'These ladies will be passing through Fuyi in the autumn, and I hope they may call then and see your mother and wife.' A few days were sufficient to transform this sad youth into one whose whole being, spirit, soul, and body, was irradiated with a new life. He read the Scriptures as one who found great treasure; but he also shrank from the difficulties of the return home, when, as a matter of course, incense would be burnt, and he himself would be expected to give thanks to the family idols for protection on the journey. 600

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596 The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical
609 of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded
596 the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at
609 bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds
231 were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip.

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to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feeding in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand sheep were spread over the fields around.

A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction.

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609 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left
596 the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

799 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the
212 Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at
871 his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

244 THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very 244
good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also
to be bought, as this district[1], unlike many others, pro- [248]
duces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and [286]
weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also
supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when 316
burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used 491
alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the 172
ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

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172 wandering through the deserted temple-courts, where huge, grotesque, clay-images of gods loomed, we perceived, in the corner of a small shrine, two men fast asleep, with their heads pillowed on their bulging cash-bags. A few moments later, we saw these same individuals quietly remove the stones barricading a side door, through which they then slipped and vanished. The action seemed suspicious, for the honest traveller in China is always ready to exchange road-information with other passers-by. We therefore asked the old woman who they might be, but for answer she drew one of us by the sleeve into the recesses of her hovel, and then whispered: 'Nobody knows, and we dare not question them, but they have been hiding here for two days.'

233 Having explored the shadow-filled temple, we proceeded to visit the lonely guardians of a camel encampment, whose tents were pitched about a quarter of a mile distant, where the animals fed on the prickly herbage abundant in the neighbourhood. Seeing us coming, the drover called in his fierce dogs, who at a word slunk behind the tents. Round these the camel packs were symmetrically stacked in a semicircle, while the browsing camels themselves were to be seen outlined against the horizon.

000 The head-man now came forward, and to our surprise we found ourselves confronted by a Lanchow College graduate, the son of just such a wealthy house as that we had lately visited at Fuyi; and presently, over a cup of tea, a delightful hour followed of unconventional, human intercourse, not only with this intelligent, well-educated man, but also with the drovers, for China is a land where a real, though unconscious, democracy exists. When we rose to leave, our host gave the signal for rounding-up, and all the savage dogs then rushed

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forth in full cry, driving each camel to its own load, 000
which was promptly secured, to the accompaniment of groans and grunts from that morose animal.

As the disc of the sun fell behind the skyline the cavalcade moved off southwards; fainter and fainter came back the sound of the sonorous bells, and at last the long caravan disappeared into the dim, purple distance.

It is on the occasion of such an encounter that the missionary feels keenly how much he owes to the work of the Bible and Tract Societies. This scholarly man had been delighted to accept, not only well-bound and well-printed copies of the Gospels, but a whole sheaf of leaflets, each one of which presented some side of Christian truth in an intelligent and literary form. No experience in life affords a better opportunity for facing spiritual issues than does the enforced quiet of a long journey, for this student had already been fifty days travelling by night and resting by day, amid the vast silence and space of the desert, and many more such stages lay ahead, giving him time for deep, concentrated thought.

By means of that mysterious sixth sense the Chinese use for picking up secret information, our carter met us on our return to the temple with the news that a robbery was expected to-night in Camel-Town, and consequently we must forthwith depart. 'The mules are already harnessed,' he said. 'Those two men are up to mischief, and we must be clear of this place before dark!' Realising that all argument was useless, and that our fatigue must be overcome, we had to embark anew on a long night-stage, without the slightest chance of sleep being possible.

Three stages from Suchow, we passed a hamlet which 317
takes its name from a salt lake lying about a mile

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

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any transition, from wastes of sand into a fertile zone, in which the city of Linshui stands. We arrived there in the evening, and after supper strolled out through the quiet street to the canal which bordered the watered land. Here we sat on a bank and looked down on what was to us a very beautiful and a very thrilling sight. The plain was wooded, and the early autumn frosts had painted the foliage with gorgeous tints which glowed under the level rays of the setting sun. A winding river showed here and there between the trees, and we knew that, hidden among the groves, lay the city of Suchow, around which our thoughts had centred for so many months, ever since the day at Pingliang when David Törnvall had laid his finger upon the map and said: 'Here is the city which awaits your coming.'

We sat until the sun had set nor did we care to speak, so full was the mind of each, of thought concerning all we had come through, and all that yet lay before us. Gradually the darkness closed in, and by starlight we slowly walked back to the inn, our hearts beating with high courage and great confidence in God our strength and our exceeding joy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPRING OF WINE

ANCIENT Suchow, known as Chiuchüan—the Spring of Wine—has vanished, having been replaced by the present town which has only arisen within recent years. The destruction of the former city being caused by the last great Mohammedan rising in 1862, the new settlers enforced a regulation ordaining that no Moslem should be allowed to reside within the walls, in consequence

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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
522 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

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axles, since the gauge required for the desert is a foot wider than that used in the provinces of North China. 485 326

The first night was spent in a very cold, damp, north room of a noisy, dirty and crowded inn. The next day, however, we secured the use of a small private court, containing an apartment with a tiny kitchen, where our servant was able to prepare the meals. This small court had been built by a Kashgar merchant, whose business necessitated frequent journeys to Suchow, Hankow and Peking. A few years previously, a deal in business involved him in a transaction through which he incurred the displeasure of a high official, the result being that he was placed under arrest, and forced to reside in that portion of a Chinese prison corresponding to the old English 'Debtors' Gaol.' No trial had taken place, and consequently no judgment had ever been passed on him. Any representations that he might make had been bandied from court to court, as each successive official refused either to investigate the case, or to take any action which might bring upon himself the wrath of some other notable, from whom depended the tenure of his own office. When we reached Suchow, Mr. Li's imprisonment, now ancient history, was merely nominal, and he was free to come and go at pleasure, provided he did not leave the precincts of the town. He was one of our first visitors, and we found him to be a man of alert mentality, and of great knowledge of the world. His morals and general outlook were those of Islam, to which he had added under the stress of trouble the Chinese vice of opium-smoking. He seemed, however, much pleased that we should be occupying his premises, and urged us not to hesitate to report to him if the manager failed to make us as comfortable as possible. 681

The news of our arrival spread rapidly through the 100

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town, and even before we had time to pay our respects to the head military and civil officials, some of the young students of the local colleges arrived asking us to accept them as pupils for the study of English. It took us several weeks of steady refusals to convince these eager young men that neither offers of money nor prospects of prestige would induce us to teach languages, nor would we coach young aspirants to the government offices!

One afternoon the inn court was invaded by a body-guard of grey-uniformed soldiers, the escort of the Minister of Defence, who came in person to return our call. This clever old gentleman was within a month of the celebration of his seventieth birthday. He was keenly interested in all matters, both Eastern and Western, and the one-and-a-half hours of his visit passed quickly in conversation on many topics. Unfortunately, however, young 'Welcome Home' let us down badly, for during this interview, unaccustomed as he was to high society, the excitement told so badly on his brain that when he served the tea it was evident he had omitted all tea-leaves from the pot, a stream of clear water being all that issued forth!

From the very first day we began our search for permanent premises, and visited all available empty houses in the city, but not one of these proved possible, being either dark, dismal, or rat-infested, not to mention the usual reason for their vacancy, namely, a troublesome ghost which refused to be laid! It was, nevertheless, essential to the work to secure suitable headquarters, and we knew it must be part of the Divine plan to supply our need. We therefore decided not to entangle ourselves in any way, but to wait quietly in the inn till what we required should be forthcoming.

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Our expectation was not in vain, for only a few days later Dr. Kao informed us he had been approached by one of the leading gentlemen of Suchow, with the suggestion that he should rent his vacant house for the Bible-School premises, and also he had added the polite words, that it would give him the greatest pleasure if the three ladies would occupy the pavilion standing in his flower-garden, and which was now quite empty. It sounded rather like a fairy-tale, somewhat too good to be true; nevertheless, a few days later we moved our belongings bodily to Chang-si-yeh's attractive property.

On the west side of the roadway that traversed it were the two Bible-School courtyards; one filled with living-rooms, while the other contained a spacious hall, suitable for the Class-Room and the Sunday services. The third courtyard was only waste ground, but our students soon levelled and planted it out as a vegetable garden; here, also, the preaching-tent was pitched. On the east side was the entrance to Mr. Chang's own private house, and through this we passed into a charming flower-garden, backed by an orchard. Under the cloudless October sky, the autumn-tinted fruit-trees looked very lovely, and we felt the lines had indeed fallen for us in pleasant places. An ornamental building of carved wood faced the parterre, and if the structure was somewhat flimsy (being mainly composed of delicate fretwork and white paper), it yet commanded a delightfully sunny aspect, and a glorious view of the snow-capped Tibetan mountains, some rising to 15,000 feet. The single room within was of considerable size, and held two recessed *kangs*. The central portion we immediately arranged as our dining and guest-receiving room, while each end was furnished to suggest a bed-study-sitting-room.

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797 The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there
342 was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

776 It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

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other hand, am under the power of these influences, 776
and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

OUR new home was situated in the best residential 361
quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free 776
from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is: 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large 778
grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

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778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood. 772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we 775 entered,[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of 532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1] [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

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their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

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527 to be *en fête* to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the Minister of Military Defence. Thousands of people gathered from the surrounding districts, and scores of officials and their families came long journeys, to offer congratulations. Theatrical entertainments were provided for the guests, and great and prolonged feastings were in progress. We gladly saw in this an opportunity to reach a far wider circle than we could otherwise have done, and at once set the whole of our band to work in preparing parcels of books and tracts, done up with strips of scarlet paper, this being a necessary adjunct to every festal presentation. These were then distributed among the guests, who expressed themselves as delighted to receive them, and subsequently carefully carried them away.

The arrangement of the students' work was next planned, with a view to combining a consecutive course of study with a large amount of practical Evangelisation. Promptly at midday the men left home for a two hours' period of street preaching in town, suburb, and near villages, combined with the sale of Gospels. Every shopkeeper was personally visited, and the restaurants, for which Suchow is famous, were approached with an offer to decorate their walls with pretty floral posters, an offer which was in many cases gratefully accepted. The most tactful and experienced men were told off to the Moslem settlement in the eastern suburb, for any man doing this work must be prepared to receive insults without retaliation, and to be able to keep his temper when his books are bought only to be torn to shreds before his eyes. A group of the more genial and simple souls was deputed to the north suburb, which is almost entirely composed of spacious enclosures used by the Mongolian drovers to install their caravans of camels, which bring cotton from

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Hami, raisins from Turfan, camels' hair from Barkul, and black lamb-skins from Kuche.

The women students with ourselves undertook the house-to-house visitation throughout the whole city, this being a most important item, for the pioneer missionary is faced with a very big proposition on first entering a town, the doors of which are instinctively closed against him, as the minds of their inhabitants are instinctively hostile to his message. It is uphill work, and the law of gravitation is in favour of the obscurantists. The missionary, therefore, cannot afford to neglect the smallest opening by which human intercourse may be established. A woman sewing at her front door will generally respond to such a remark as: 'You are a good needlewoman! Where did you learn that fancy stitch?' and will often proceed to question us as to whether we can sew and cook and make shoes. Sometimes it is our turn to answer the remarks made in our hearing by two old dames, who thus are testing our knowledge of the language. 'They wear a skirt every day! How does she stick those glasses on her nose? You can see by the look of them that the lucky stars met in their horoscopes!' No such remarks are allowed to go unanswered, and the pince-nez will pass from hand to hand. Curiosity thus aroused often leads to an invitation to come in and rest, and no such advance is ever met by a refusal. As we leave, we are generally encouraged by overhearing such comments as these: 'They are quite easy to talk to! They might be one of ourselves! We will go over and see them next week.' And it sometimes happened that having come to stare, they stayed to believe.

The autumn days soon gave way to early winter, and the restrictions placed on his devotees by the 'God of Earth' were removed, so that we were able to buy a

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cartload of loess soil, and at last proceed with the putting of our house in order. A fireplace built entirely of mud-bricks, into which a grating of half-a-dozen iron bars was fixed, made a very satisfactory cooking-stove, and a paraffin-oil tin let into the back served as a boiler. We also set up an iron stove we had brought with us, at great labour and expense, but which proved to be not only an immense comfort but an absolutely vital necessity, when the real depth of winter came upon us.

We visited several carpenters' shops in the hope of finding ready-made furniture, such as a table, bench, or stool, but the only articles for sale were, in every case, nothing but coffins. Red, black, blue, varnished or unvarnished coffins were temptingly ranged before us, but for the living, nought! Fortunately, however, our kind landlord came to the rescue by lending us a table and three stools, while the coffin-shop supplied us with as many planks as we required. These, supported on bricks and packing-cases, made the dresser, bookcase, writing-table and beds. A side-shelter was next transformed into a sleeping apartment for our women students, and thus, all being in order, we fondly imagined ourselves comfortably settled, but the neighbours shook their heads sagely, saying: 'Wait till the winds come!'

Our happy illusions were soon dispelled, for one night, not long after, we were suddenly awakened by the alarming roar of a tremendous gale, shaking the boughs of the poplar-trees and stripping off every leaf that remained. This preliminary onslaught was then quickly followed by an unearthly yell as the whole force of the tempest descended upon the city, carrying with it volumes of sand that whipped and cut against our pavilion like a volley of musketry. Without a moment's interruption the gusts swept in through the

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fragile paper windows, deluging us with grit as we lay in 132
our beds. No sleep was possible, and when daylight came we found our room literally buried under a thick layer of Gobi Desert dust, the shape of each one's head being defined on the pillow, while the soft earth of the floor was ripple-marked like the ribbed seashore at low tide. Experience taught us, subsequently, that the only way to smooth it down was to sprinkle the surface with water, and then spend all our spare moments in stamping it flat. This process, however, was not very successful, for the powdery soil remaining loose through the winter, small articles were frequently buried in it, only reappearing at intervals when an extra watering brought them once more to the surface!

For forty-eight hours the fearful blasts persisted, without one moment's pause. Not a drop of rain fell throughout, and we finally emerged with hair, eyebrows, skin and clothes heavy with the particles, and with bodies exhausted and nerves strained by the tension and magnetic quality of the storm. The danger to caravans when overtaken by such a visitation is extreme, and many instances are recorded of carts, horses and drivers, all of which having been first battered to pieces disappeared for ever under the roaring sands.

The sight of our room afterwards made us realise that
something must be done to stop up the crevices and holes in the woodwork. The large sheets of brown paper used by the Bible Societies in sending their goods by post met our difficulty, and for one whole day we cut out strips, which our old retainer with the help of a basin of paste affixed to every crack through which, only too plainly, the daylight gleamed. Suchow being totally unprotected from the vast expanse of Gobi on the west, and the sands of Mongolia on the north, this last experience proved to be but the first of many, and

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000 we began to view the incoming winter, under present conditions, with a certain amount of anxiety. Seeing therefore that our life must necessarily be somewhat rigorous, we added a layer of camel's hair to our already wadded Chinese garments, and thus equipped we were subsequently enabled to meet temperatures registering fifteen degrees Fahrenheit below zero.

262 During this first winter we were fortunate in securing from a Moslem farmer excellent milk, but food supplies in these localities are very variable, not only from city to city, but from year to year ; and after a few months, cattle disease carried off most of the cows, so our dairy supply failed completely. Mutton, yak beef and pork could be bought, but all were of a poor quality. Vegetables, however, were excellent and eggs plentiful. Our daily dinner was a Chinese meal of rice or macaroni, but for several months of each year no fat of any kind was obtainable for cooking purposes, with the exception of linseed-oil, which is commonly used by Kansu people ; unfortunately, in spite of every effort, we were never able to accustom ourselves to the strong taste, nor eat it without revulsion. Our winter preparations also included a large quantity of wheat, which we ourselves ground as needed, and which gave us a good store of bran with which to fill large baskets of eggs, this being the only way to prevent their freezing.

133 712 Our first expedition was taken before the winter closed in, when travelling would be too hard. It took the form of a trip to the fortress of Kiayükwan, which was only twenty miles distant. The road was over a barren and stony waste, leading slightly uphill, so that the journey took six and a half hours to perform. It was a dismal landscape, though the Richthofen Range looked magnificent with snow to its very base, and we also crossed a good many beautifully clear streams on

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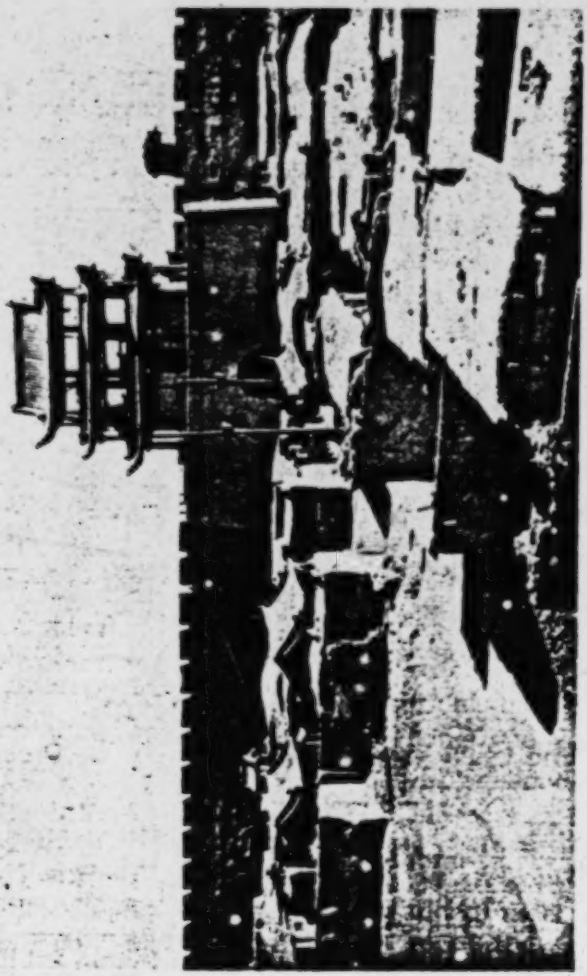

THE FORTRESS OF KIAYÜKWAN.
"When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan
My tears may never cease to run."

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the way. At a distance of about two miles a high gate-tower of many storeys came in sight, flanked on either side by a clay wall, which on the south stretched for seven miles to the foot of the Tibetan mountains. On this side lay green meadows richly watered by springs, and for this reason the name Kiayükwan has been given, meaning 'The Barrier of the Pleasant Valley.' The position of the fortress has indeed been well chosen in view of excluding invaders from the west, this being the narrowest point between naked hills on the north and south. Under the shadow of the walls a stream is crossed by a wooden bridge, and from here the path mounts steeply to the door of the southern quarter, where all the inns are situated. We passed through two great vaulted gates into the first enclosure, which holds within it the ruins of a small town, now mostly uninhabited. The splendid outer walls, with their loophole battlements and towers, and the Yamen and military barracks, still occupied, give an impression of mediaeval importance to a place which otherwise would be only a tumbledown village.

487

A most imposing gate led out on the north side, and beyond this, as far as eye could reach, was an undulating desert over which the wintry wind was blowing. A hundred yards from the gate a stone tablet proclaims this to be 'Earth's Greatest Barrier.' The scene was desolate beyond words, and if ever human sorrow has left an impress on the atmosphere of a place, it is surely at Kiayükwan, through whose portals for centuries past a never-ending stream of despairing humanity has defiled. Disgraced officials, condemned criminals, homeless prodigals, terrified outlaws, the steps of all these have converged to that one sombre portal, and through it have for ever left the land of their birth. The arched walls are covered with poems wrung from

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487 broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

> 'When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan,
> My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye can see it: '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

805 527 THE Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day!'

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Part of the complicated debt-system in which the whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting.

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, throughout the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our

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527 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom
574 that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted
525 into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when
79b this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

1 [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

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fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the 74L
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302]
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

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596 ventionally blameless life. He was but sixty years of
627 age, but sought in inactivity and premature decrepitude an excuse for shelving all responsibility as regards disciplining his children. On this occasion, however, the disgrace being flagrant, his self-esteem was so humiliated as to wound his pride to the quick, and to disturb his wonted equilibrium. Having decided what should be the culprit's punishment, and requiring for its execution the help of some of the younger men, he now proceeded to address the family council in the following terms:

'I have no option but to take action, the disgrace brought upon my country and family being so great. This boy ought to die; but because, if I hand him over to an official, the family name will yet further be dragged in the dirt, with your help we can carry through what honour demands. To-night we will dig his grave, and in it shall my son be buried alive.'

There was no one present to plead the young man's cause, while even his wife could only silently weep, and bow her head under this fresh sorrow. One relative, however, did grasp the terrible urgency of the situation, and slipping unnoticed from the room, he ran to Dr. Kao, whom he roused from sleep, and presently both entered the room, where things were still unaltered. After expressing great sympathy, Dr. Kao now came forward with a suggestion: 'You must not despair,' he said. 'You know nothing of the Grace of God, nor of His power, through Jesus Christ, to change the heart and save sinners from themselves. Give me charge of the boy and I will deal with him.'

A party of men, accordingly, set off at once to the thieves' quarters, and in an hour's time the prodigal, bound with ropes, was standing before his father. The alternatives were then placed before him in a few

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forcible words—to remain in his father's hands meant a living death; in the Doctor's hands unrelenting discipline. He might take his choice. The decision was quickly made; he gave Dr. Kao a kowtow, and then followed him home, to taste, for the first time in his life, a régime of justice tempered with mercy. On entering the class-room the next morning, knowing nothing of this incident, we saw sitting on a bench by the door a terrified specimen of humanity, with his toes thrust into ragged shoes, and wearing an indescribably ancient, greasy, sheepskin coat. Together with the other men present he stood up on our arrival, when we naturally took him for an opium patient—the dull eye, the sniggering leer, and the plain marks of enfeebled will-power being glaringly evident, stamping him as a moral delinquent of a particularly degraded type. Dr. Kao gave him just four days to get over the shock of quitting the drug, during which time he was forbidden to leave the premises, and then, immediately, certain duties were appointed him. But still no sort of improvement showed itself; he neglected his work; flounced about with an unpleasant smirk on his face; and when an enquiry was held as to the whereabouts of the fur robe, giggled and sniggered, persisting that he knew nothing whatever about it. The end came swiftly and summarily. He received a sound flogging, from which he arose, potentially, a reformed character. He immediately produced the pawn-ticket from some greasy pocket, took his broom and set to work to sweep the courtyards, clean the rooms, and carry water. He soon proved himself an industrious and capable man, toiling from dawn to dark without a word of complaint. The expression of his face changed, and showed the satisfaction which he felt in knowing that someone had taken him in hand who was strong enough

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596 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in
627 this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 AT the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period,
484 we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

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'A little luggage, more or less,' said he. 'What's that? Look at my team. The best mules in Suchow!' 494

However, on the morning of our departure, the strong animals displayed the day before had disappeared, being now replaced (on account of sudden illness!) by three underfed and skinny mules, whose harness only half-concealed sore backs, yet to which the customary red-paper tickets were affixed, which assured the simple-minded traveller that the average pace was 'one thousand *li* by day, and eight hundred *li* by night.' 484

'The main road is under water,' the driver casually remarked, 'but I know every path in the whole district, and will take you by a route which, although it means *one* night on the journey, will save you from all mud-pits!' We had heard roads were bad, so easily fell into his well-prepared trap, and saw nothing strange in passing the livelong day in a featureless, arid land; but at sunset, a few trees on the horizon showed that we were reaching an irrigated belt, and we drew up before a single, lonely farm nearly surrounded by sand. We had expected an inn, but this house contained only two rooms, in one of which twelve men were sleeping, while the other seemed already overflowing with women and babies! The cart was turned round to shield us from the fierce wind, and we were preparing to spend the night in it, when the women, taking pity on us, made room for us on their *kang*. When the longed-for cup of tea arrived it was painful disappointment to find the water was brackish, so that the more we drank the thirstier we grew. After we had settled for the night, our deceptive carter called outside the window: 'You must rise,' he said, with a merry chuckle, 'at dawn if you wish to get in by nightfall. It is but ten miles, but those miles are long!' Accordingly, before sunrise we started once more on the lonely track and for

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hours travelled on, meeting no one. Once we passed a tiny fragment of humanity, the corpse of a little baby, thrown away by some traveller. Now and again, wherever a slight eminence showed itself, a mound of stones, constructed to look like a human figure, had been erected by the Mongols as an altar to their god. Our chariot wheels drove very heavily, and by common consent we sank into a deep silence, lest conversation should increase our thirst. Towards midday we met a traveller, who genially enquired whither we were wending? 'To Kinta,' was our reply. 'To Kinta!' he exclaimed, leaping up in his seat, 'but you are going in the opposite direction!'

At this juncture our resourceful carter came running up. 'I am taking this road,' he explained, 'to avoid mud-pits,' and with one meaning look he immediately made an accomplice of the stranger, who now in a level voice remarked: 'Certainly *this* way you will find neither mud nor pits,' and promptly drove on. This led us to speak straightly to our deceiver, whose quick wits immediately supplied him with a subterfuge.

'Kinta *city*? That is still a long way off, but your man, who engaged me, said you wanted to preach your religion in Kinta *district*; we shall enter that in a few hours.' Nightfall found us wandering over boggy ground, where various farmsteads dimly outlined themselves against the sky. And here our perfidious guide for once showed his hand. 'I have relations living near here,' he announced, his eyes sweeping the landscape; 'charming people! a good house, too; plenty of room, plenty of fodder; why not spend the night here? So much better than an inn, you know; more like your own home.'

There was no choice but to acquiesce, and in a few minutes (the cart having meanwhile stuck in the

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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town) was carried into the country in a sedan-chair. Here he was required to bless the sown fields, and also to call in his subordinate demons, whom he holds in check while the grain is ripening, lest they work mischief on the peasants, but whom he again releases after all the crops are gathered in. He was escorted by a big official procession, to the sound of pipes and cymbals; but so soon as the idol was safely deposited in the village shrine, where it was to spend a few days, the whole company made a rush for the courtyard, where we were staying, and listened attentively for over an hour to our singing and preaching.

One other afternoon was spent in the house of a man whom we had first met at Suchow, at the New Year's festival. He had then heard us speak, and being much interested had bought a copy of the New Testament. On learning that we had now arrived at Kinta, he invited us to his home in order that we might meet the women of his family. We were received by them with a deference that was almost reverential, the younger members of the house, dressed in their festive garments, being ordered to kneel before us; and it was with the greatest difficulty we prevented their doing us homage as to 'Holy Women.' Mrs. Ma, the wife, was a vegetarian of the third generation; neither her grandmother not her mother having ever broken the vow of a most rigid asceticism, which forbade their tasting any condiment to relieve the insipidity of the dough-string diet, or even the refreshment of a cup of tea. We found her to be extraordinarily understanding in spiritual things, and she responded with an alert mind to the story of the suffering Saviour.

She showed her confidence in us to a remarkable degree, by consenting to take a meal with us the following day, when she returned our call, feeling sure

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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'—situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

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788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of
778 shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition
of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

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barely entered the river-bed when we were joined by a party of Tibetans, who had come three days' journey to worship the Living Buddha. The young women with babies were mounted on camels, small children sitting before, and others clinging behind, and the remainder of the party rode little donkeys; one young woman holding before her, across the saddle, a live sheep which was to be their offering to the 'holy man.' As we overtook the party, an old woman, obviously very tired, and whose donkey was flagging, asked if we would let her little granddaughter ride on our cart, as the ass could no longer carry them both, so for the rest of the journey little Arti was our companion. She was a child of the mountains, and this was the first time she had ever ridden in a cart, this being her first visit to the plain.

The Tibetan ritual took the usual form of liturgies, intoned by rows of chanting lamas, who sat cross-legged facing each other, in the great, dark, pillared temple, below the dais on which the Living Buddha sat motionless. Round the door the groups of worshippers rose and fell in innumerable prostrations, bowing each time with their heads to the ground, until the whole forehead was black with dust. During the intervals of the liturgies an attendant ran in and out with a huge brass kettle full of 'butter tea,' and each lama drew from the folds of his shawl a polished wooden bowl, which was filled with the boiling beverage, then licked clean with the tongue, and replaced in the bosom.

The tribes which gather at Wenshu Miao belong to the 'Black Tibetan' group, and the women wore a handsome head-dress, high-crowned hat made of corrugated felt, and encircled with a splendid fox-brush. At one point of the ceremony a procession was formed, in which all the old women laid the volumes of the

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563 sacred books on their shoulders, and marched through the temple courts and out into the valley, led by the chanting lamas, then returned to the temple precincts and piled up the holy books once more in the dark recess of the inner hall.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHILDREN OF THE NORTH-WEST

600 WHILE giving all due credit to the Pioneer Band of men and women, without whom the work accomplished would have been quite impossible, our highest tribute for sheer capacity and pioneering genius must be paid to the Children of the North-West! In spite of persistent poisoning of the mind by superstitious parents warning them that, harmless as we looked, we were steeped in guile, these plucky little people determined to stick it out and see us through. True, they half believed the gruesome stories told of being enticed to remote haunts, where eyes would be gouged out and hearts removed, then cleverly treated by magic and replaced, so that the victims, losing all power of resistance, might blindly follow us to the ends of the earth; but, meanwhile, they would 'wait and see.' We should be under their supervision, and they would prove for themselves whether the parents' old tales turned out to be right or wrong. Accordingly, from the day of our arrival, they watched us—watched us closely! Scouts were appointed to keep us and our doings continually examined, and every detail of our daily life was discussed by them. Did we go for a walk, then a gang escorted us; did we give a singing lesson, then a crowd outside the window soon formed,

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till there were more listeners without than within; and as for pretences such as picking up sticks in the garden, or sweeping up leaves—they were as barefaced as they were numerous! At last we boldly announced a Children's Service, when their open delight was unbounded. For a few weeks the class-room sufficed, but as the attractions increased we had to move into our large tent, and there, every evening, the children of Suchow, in spite of everything that had been said, won the day!

The setting sun was the signal for the gathering. A large incandescent paraffin lantern having been lighted, and a few simple decorations to the place added, everything looked gay and felt comfortable, even on a winter's night. Then began a most unusual concert, the baby-organ being supported by a children's orchestra of tambourines, mouth-organs, jingles and pipes, when hymns were sung to the accompaniment of bangings, clangings, clapping of hands and stamping of feet, all in excellent rhythm, and all forming a definite part in a service which proved ultimately irresistibly attractive to the grown-up, cheerless-hearted, weary populace of this great heathen city.

Half the tent was kept for children, but behind the reserved seats crowds of men and women gathered, so that the enclosure was often packed to its uttermost limit. Soldiers, business men, and farmers attended regularly, and even the high officials would slip in to see what was going on; moreover, soon it became the fashion when country cousins came to town, to entertain them with a visit to the Children's Assembly. Each service opened with a brief ritual, including the ceremonial bow and greeting, and a short hymn, which told of the one God, the only Saviour, and the renewing Spirit; and then the whole assembly burst into song,

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600 emphasised with actions. The tambourines clanged, the mouth-organs skirled, the bells rang, and every child abandoned itself to the joy of self-expression.

One student, Mr. Tu, developed a great talent for writing easy hymns, and preparing rhythmic adaptations of Scripture words to fit popular tunes. The brief address was an invaluable opportunity for training students, and they learnt to use a blackboard, give an object-lesson, or handle a sand-tray with considerable skill. The meeting finally closed with a simple prayer, in which all joined, and a rally-call to come again the next day.

Wise Confucius taught his disciples that one of the characteristics of 'the Superior Man' is that he never loses the child-heart, and we found that the work among the crowds at fairs and theatres gained immensely as a result of the special service always held for the children. In our city-visiting we soon discovered that the first difficult ploughing of the ground was being done for us by the children. Everywhere we were welcomed, and mothers, whom we had never seen, repeated Scripture-texts, hymns, and sentences of prayer with surprising accuracy. A little band of our bairns would always join us on our visiting expeditions, ready to sing hymns when called upon to do so, to the unutterable delight of the elders.

One little fellow, unconscious that he was being watched, walked down the street singing at the top of his voice, 'Dare to be a Daniel, dare to stand alone'; then coming to a stop before a peanut vendor, and looking him in the face, said, 'Did you *know* that there is only *One* God? and *One* Lord Jesus Christ?' 'Why, no,' said the old man, bewildered. 'Well, it is true,' answered the child, and passed on singing, 'Dare to have a purpose true, and dare to make it

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known.' Whenever we used our cart, a row of three children would occupy the luggage-ledge at the back, but one place was always reserved for a little beggar girl who was born deaf and dumb. When only a few months old she had been bought by a childless woman, attracted by her beauty; but when she came to an age that made it apparent she would never speak, affection turned to hatred, and she was thrust out of the house to beg her bread, or starve. One morning she had appeared in our court, dressed in rags, with a tiny stick in one hand and a little bag in the other, which she held open, as it were, to plead for a piece of bread. Her thin legs were bleeding with bites from the fierce dogs she had been unable to keep at bay. We dressed the wounds and gave her a hot meal, and from that day onward she became a daily visitor at our home. The women students soon taught her to comb and plait her hair, and wash her face, and after a month, with one daily-assured meal, she developed into a handsome, fresh-looking girl. But her cup of joy seemed full when she discovered the Children's Service, and there, though she could hear nothing, she opened her little mouth like the others, and made a joyful noise to the Author of such happiness as had now, for the first time, come to her.

We soon got the name of being lovers of children, and little derelicts, in danger of being frozen to death, were eagerly sought out and told by the scouts that 'the Teachers' would be sure to help them. We were going to our class one bitter winter's morning when we found, behind the outer door, a naked boy of about ten years old. He was sobbing with pain and hunger, and in answer to our questions told us he had been out all the night, and could get no food anywhere. Taking him by the hand we led him to our kitchen for a meal,

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when on the way we were met by Dr. Kao, who had made himself responsible for investigating all such cases. 'Where is your daddy, my child?' he asked.

'Dead,' was the answer.

'Then I suppose you want *me* to be your daddy now?'

'Yes, please,' said the boy; and having verified his story, this Christian doctor fed and clothed yet one more orphan.

One night after dark a man arrived at our door with a pencilled note, asking if the women could take charge of the little object he was carrying in his arms. It was an unfortunate slave-girl, looking like a wild beast, with tangled hair, unwashed body, filthy rags, and a foot hopelessly gangrened from frostbite, who turned out to have actually been rescued from the hands of the Governor of the Suchow prison. During the whole of the cold weather this baby of only eight had been made to sleep on a reeking floor, without any sort of covering. Her hair was worn away in places, while her head was permanently bent from the punishment of carrying a brick upon it for hours at a time. Her brutal master had been unwilling to allow Dr. Kao's medical attendance to be enlisted, hoping for her speedy death, but another kindly-hearted official brought pressure to bear and it had ended in the matter being made known to a few people, so that, annoyed by the fear of disgrace, the Governor reluctantly had consented to an operation. The foot was ordered to be amputated, but it was stipulated that her master himself must be present. When the limb had been removed, it was carefully wrapped up in paper and then handed to him with these words: 'You bought the child, so now you can alsc dispose of this property!'

Little 'Flower of Grace' spent four months under

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our roof, after which she was restored to her own family, and, to the lasting credit of the Suchow Chamber of Commerce be it said, their pressure compelled the unwilling official to endow the child with a sum of money, in compensation for the loss of her foot.

So far so good; but that Governor of the Suchow gaol also secretly vowed vengeance on the Christian community and on its leader, against whom he proceeded to work persistently and undeviatingly, until Dr. Kao himself was a prisoner in his hands!

CHAPTER XXI

BEYOND THE GREAT WALL

BEFORE the end of May we revisited Kanchow, this time taking the lower road which, though still boggy, was passable, but before we reached Kaotai we had crossed many swamps and flooded fields. We also met with salt-encrusted friable earth, where at each step the outer crust broke, and our feet sank into the soft soil beneath. Here no single blade of grass can live, not even the desert lizard darts across the track, and the sunshine reflected from the ash-grey ground diffuses a dead and bluish light. Two miles outside the gate of Kanchow city a crowd of Christian men, women and children stood to welcome us. During the past year this community had been subject to serious persecution, which was even now heading up to a crisis, yet the services were crowded, there were many desiring baptism, and before the summer was over ninety-eight men and women confessed Christ publicly. The whole of June was spent instructing these catechumens, but during the month of July we made an expedition to a

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000 third Tibetan Pass and Lamasery at Mati, about forty miles due south of Kanchow. The temple buildings, which proved to be both interesting and extensive, were built against a hill of yellow sandstone, and approached by a flight of one hundred stone steps. The most ancient shrines were in caves hollowed out of the stone and connected by tunnels and galleries which penetrated deep into the cliff. Many of the temples were inaccessible, except by the underground passages, and were lighted by windows cut in the most unexpected parts of the hill, high overhead. The various figures of the Buddha were finely carved, and among his attendant idols, which were Indian in style, were little, slim, alert, female figures with limbs swathed in light drapery and bangles on the ankles. Other rooms were in purely Tibetan style, with walls covered by small earthen *plaques* representing the sitting Buddha, or with well-preserved frescoes said to be the work of Tibetan artists.

During our visit there was masquerade-dancing by the lamas, whose costumes, used in the historical representations, were fine specimens of applied art of the Ming period. The Emperor Chien Lung endowed this Lamasery with one of his own imperial-yellow silk garments and a splendid inlaid saddle. In a dream he saw a unique temple and sent out messengers to seek the place of his vision. They wandered far and wide, but at last came to Mati, in which they at once recognised the object of their quest. The divine origin of the dream was confirmed when they saw a stone bearing the print of a horse's hoof supernaturally impressed by the steed of a deified rider, and to which Mati—' Horse's hoof '—owes its name.

563 Near our camp two families of Aborigines had taken possession of two disused caves in which they lived,

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cultivating a small patch of ground. The women wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent. 563

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription. 249 437 000

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter 493 322

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493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

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returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having 000
bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the 132
cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by 484
the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with [206]
their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of 494
carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we 202
heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Maïs.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

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202 responsible for the weight of his pack, and he was overheard to say: 'If it were not for those Christians my load would be light! If I am not carrying books for them, then it is letters; and if they have no letters, 361 then it is books!' The far-distant barking of dogs sometimes warns us of an encampment,[1] and we can just catch the gleam of the fire glowing like a jewel in the velvet darkness. In the daytime the low, sand-coloured tents are indistinguishable from the universal tawny shade of the ground, and being pegged down very low they seem to melt into the general outlines.

000 We took the journey very slowly, stopping at each little walled town or village, to hold meetings, visit the homes, and distribute Christian literature. Three days brought us to the city of Chikinpu. Had we been choosing its name, however, we should have called it 'Pain Sec,' in memory of a certain little place in the Rhone Valley, where the bread is said to be made only three times a year. At Chikinpu the date for baking must surely have been near, for the bread we ate was certainly three months old! The kindness and hospitality with which we were received were most refreshing and greatly added to our enjoyment of the trip. Here we also met a gentleman who had been one of the Suchow enquirers, but whose officials duties had now brought him to this far-off spot. Through his courtesy, on arrival we found our inn rooms already engaged, and in one of these the unusual luxury of a table and two chairs. He told us an interesting incident which had naturally much impressed him. Many years previously, in witness of a vow, he had set up a tablet in one of the shrines of a famous rock temple a few miles away from Chikinpu. Quite recently, hearing he was again in the neighbourhood, the priest-in-charge had hurried down in alarm to inform him that the tablet had unaccount-

[1] [Between Kiayükuan and Yümen—Analyst]

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ably become detached, and had then fallen down. Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows: 'You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side-path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were

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485 we were however, obliged the next night at 1 a.m. to pass the same spot[1]—one lonely shed inhabited by an old man, who provides boiling water for passers-by. But on this occasion he would not permit us a moment's delay, and urged us to proceed to our destination with all possible speed; which, needless to say, we did.

CHAPTER XXII

JADE GATE TO TUNHWANG

712 174 FIVE days' journey from Kiayükwan the traveller sees on the farthest horizon a light, elegant tower rising high above the city wall. This is Yümen—'Jade Gate'—through which he passes to Central Asia, and which being visible from a very great distance, is the one dominant feature of the beautiful little town of the same name.

Ancient records dating back to 104 B.C. speak of Yümenkwan—'Jade Barrier'—as terminating the line of guard-houses which were planted at intervals from Chiuchüan—Ancient Suchow—in a north-westerly direction on the Kansu border. A great deal of research has been made by Sir Aurel Stein as well as by other *savants* to elucidate the exact position held by this particular fort. Sir Aurel Stein places it beyond Tunhwang, one hundred and thirty miles west of the little town which now bears its name, while others believe this elusive gate to have been no other than the original structure of Kiayükwan which is, all agree, the modern equivalent of the ancient Barrier. Local opinion, however, confirms Breitshneider's assertion that the modern Yümen is built on the site of the ancient Jade Gate.

1 [outside the village of Chikinpu--Analyst]

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The appearance of the town[1] is not very different from others of the Gobi border, except for its unusual gate, of which the inhabitants are almost unduly proud. It stands in a well-watered belt, and the land is cultivated right up to the city wall. We reached it through a sea of mud, as irrigation was in progress, and in accordance with the careless custom of the Kansu agriculturalist the stream, not being required on the land, had been turned off and allowed to flow down the main road. 361 312

We spent several busy, happy days there, as the people were particularly interested and listened willingly. On the morning of our departure, as we left the inn, an old woman pulled one of us by the sleeve in a mysterious manner, and whispered: 'A word about those things that have been lost!' We wondered, what things? Could it be that she had information of our own lost parcel of books, and a sheepskin coat dropped by one of the carters? Seeing our look of interest, the old crone was emboldened to go on with her story. 'You are "Holy Women"; you know secret things, hidden things, things that we cannot divine. Will you, please, tell me before you go, *the name of the thief who stole my cow?*' 000

Thirty-five miles further on is Pulungki, a city that once must have held at least fifty thousand inhabitants, but which now is nothing but scattered ruins, a few poor inns, and an encircling wall of immense area. During the next few nights we counted ten more deserted towns and villages, and no words can adequately convey the extraordinary sensations evoked by crossing in the moonlight, or in the uncertain pallor of dawn, these abodes of the past, whose deserted streets are sometimes still clearly defined, and where abandoned houses, with yawning doorways, stand tenantless on either side. From dateless ages the Gobi Desert has approached 361 133

[1] [Yümen -- Analyst]

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361 with stealthy steps; moving, like some sluggish
133 organism, till with soft, hungry lips it has seized its prey and absorbed it; and then, replete and satisfied, has lain down triumphant. The surrounding scene is of an unspeakably desolate character, reminding one of a landscape in the moon, only that instead of extinct craters, here are dead and forgotten cities, towns, and villages.

173 All sorts of legends are told about this region.[1] Pulungki is said to have been the original Eden of the human race; any amount of buried treasures lie concealed in caves underneath the soil; demons haunt the whole neighbourhood; a hole in the ground with steps leading down may mean a robber's den, or, on the other hand, it may be the entrance to some Arabian Night's grotto, piled with glittering stones!

Circumstantial stories of such discoveries were told us. Men, whose names were known, had dug into such a hoard, and by the flare of torches had actually seen the booty, but when they were just on the point of seizing it, a rush of wings had passed overhead, throwing the searchers violently to the earth, and filling them with such terror that to escape with their lives was all they could hope for. Bats? No, not bats, they were too far in for that; besides, the cave had never been opened within the memory of man! Again, one party of excavators entering the far recesses of another subterranean shaft, had seen, to their amazement, a faint glimmer of light. Drawing near they had found a tiny oil lamp burning—a mere speck of flame, but undoubtedly of human origin, as there was a wick, which wick was fed from some enormous vat of vegetable oil, the supply of which had been sufficient to keep the light going for centuries! And to convince us of the truth of these assertions, we were shown certain remarkable,

[1] [Between Yumen and Tunhwang—Analyst]

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and obviously antique, vases dug up from the same locality, and which were worthy of a place in a museum. One can wander from end to end of these lonely, melancholy, derelict cities, where on stormy nights the howling winds make play, and the swirls of sand spin down the forgotten avenues like Dancing Dervishes; and nothing can be too weird or too fantastic for the imagination to devise after lingering, even only for a few hours, in such surroundings.

By day we were subject to the illusion of the desert mirage. Again and again our field-glasses assured us of the existence of a large lake ahead, whose shining waters were bordered by standing trees, but as we came nearer there was only the lion-coloured sand, and the long line of the horizon.

We reached the next inn at midnight, and received the following morning the gift of two small cabbages, three turnips, and a little vinegar from a very old woman, who having heard that three 'Preachers of Righteousness' had arrived during the night, was determined to be the first to give them a welcome.

We found her living alone in a miserable hovel. Nevertheless, the ruling desire of her whole being was to be well-pleasing to the gods by purity of actions, hence her ardent desire to meet us, and be taught by us 'the Way of Life.' Living by herself and having no near relatives left, a young man had been fetched in to listen to our words, so that when we were gone he might help her to remember the precious instructions.

There was something inexpressibly pathetic and moving in the way in which she drank deeply of the truth as it is in Jesus, memorising with the utmost reverence the brief prayer we taught her; and when, on the morning of our departure, we went at dawn to

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bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484
neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the
name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487
hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the
nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in
getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every
available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of
flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the
animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line [135]
for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted
on coming, and which we now followed the whole way.
The aspect of these hills was different every hour,
seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-
grey, according to the course of the sun. They were
bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable
watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping,
barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485]
marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by
two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The
last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135]
stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-
light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484
the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply
being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough
left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours'
time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us
through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly,
after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to
the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want
of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

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484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly ou
There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being
line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidan
on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which
daylight was visible for many miles. At last our cart
stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the do
until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes
crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we sto
round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fum
Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we w
with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a
of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in wh
restorative powers she professed the greatest belief.
may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness,
perhaps the combination of all three, but most certai
we were presently able to go on our way with r
strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwa
and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise
were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of str
dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set lig
361 and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated.
245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like charac
watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousa
of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for
fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early fr
had already touched the leaves, and the whole sc
776 was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourtee
day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of
782 Moon Festival, when offerings of every description
fruit are made to that luminary, and the street st
were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes
nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after
weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as

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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

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Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

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of the place are on the downward grade, being unable any more to hold their own with the Moslems, who are forbidden by the laws of their religion to indulge in this vice, and so easily get its victims into their hands. Nevertheless, the memories of past prosperity, and the present post of importance held by the Military Commander, impart a certain consciousness of self-respect to the inhabitants of Tunhwang, so that the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the populace in this isolated spot.

563

Among our first visitors were two women from Kashgar. They were remarkably picturesque, and with splendid physique and deportment. They wore long, straight gowns of brilliant-coloured cloth, and a finely-woven veil falling below the waist, which softened the strong, handsome features, and gave them a most attractive appearance. They immediately mounted the *kang* barefoot, and it was a sight to see the face of Mrs. Liu—a model of Chinese propriety—as they slipped off their shoes, and the shapely feet were exposed. However, as they spoke Chinese fluently, she was soon in happy conversation with them. These ladies insisted that we should come that very afternoon to return their visit in their own home, and in an hour's time sent two charming children, wearing miniature Wellington boots, to escort us there. They led us safely past several ferocious dogs, through a spacious courtyard, to a living-room, where the whole family was assembled, the patriarch of the group being an Ahung, which corresponds to a Levite among the Israelites. After we had been seated for about half-an-hour, during which time they all listened attentively to the Gospel Story, a woman-servant appeared bearing a large dish of boiled lamb, the joints of which, being of the minutest size, were easily handled. The hostess,

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with unimpeachable manners, lifted the joints by the knuckle-bone, and gave us each one, saying, 'You know that it is not our custom to use chopsticks.' We accordingly sat, as to the manner born, and gnawed meat from the bones, greatly enjoying the entertainment. We also were specially pleased by the vivacity of the numerous small children, who sat in a circle on the floor round the brass dish, into which their elders from time to time threw their own half-stripped bones, to be further polished.

Several hours every day were afterwards spent by us in house-to-house visiting, and by this means we came into close contact with all sorts of people. After family prayers every morning, a couple of hours were spent in meeting the requirements of various early callers, many of whom came to buy literature, and also in arranging the day's campaign. Our method of gaining an entrance into the distant farm-houses was to carry an English book, and after walking a suitable distance, sit down and read aloud in the foreign tongue. On not one single occasion did we get through a page before some woman came out, greatly interested by what was taking place, and invited us into her home.

In one house we found an old lady of seventy, trembling with excitement at the prospect of seeing us, for the news had reached her that we were preaching 'the forgiveness of sins,' a blessing for the attainment of which she had vainly devoted all the years of her life, and she was now almost blind, and with death drawing near. No sooner did we appear in the doorway than she knelt up on the *kang*, calling out to her granddaughter: 'Burn the incense! They have come!' Protest was useless, for she had heard a report of our doings, and, in her eyes, our celibacy, combined with our age and the long and fatiguing journeys which we

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took for the sake of preaching our religion, marked us out as women to whom reverence, not to say worship, was due, and nothing we could say could dissuade her from paying us this tribute. 'I am too feeble to get down off the *kang*,' she said, 'but come up here and sit beside me, and tell me how sin can be wiped out. I have kept all my vows, and made many pilgrimages; now tell me what more I can do?'

'You have done all this, Granny,' we replied, 'but has any of your sin been forgiven?'

'How *can* I know?' she replied, with a pathetic shake of the head; 'how *can* I know?' And this was the answer that all these earnest, sincere ascetics gave, when pressed to estimate the value of their rigid, painstaking, unremitted self-denial.

With an interest into which the whole endeavour of a lifetime was concentrated, she listened as we spoke to her of a Saviour who has taken upon Himself the sin of the world.

We returned home to find about fifty men in the inn court listening spellbound to an old gentleman who was explaining the why and wherefore of our stay in Tunhwang. We recognised in the lecturer an old schoolmaster who frequently attended our open-air meetings. He wore large horn spectacles, his queue was long and thin; and his purple-tinted silk gown was of extreme antiquity, the back glistening from many years of contact with the plait of hair. Extending a skinny hand, and pointing a long-nailed finger, he was emphasising the points of his speech. 'You know nothing about it,' he said. 'I have read all their books, and I understand their religion thoroughly. They are good people, I tell you, and the reason for their coming here is this—*The King of Europe* has sent them! It is he who meets all their expenses! Ever since the War, girls are

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scarce over there, and so he has appointed these persons to select brides for the young men of his household!' 000

At this point, first the audience, and then the lecturer, caught sight of us, and the discourse came to an abrupt close. The crowd greatly enjoyed our amusement, as well as that of the staid and sober Elder Liu, who now set to work to dispel any remaining illusions as to our authority for negotiating royal alliances!

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS

ALMOST from the day of our arrival, both gentry and scholars continually asked us the question: 'Have you ever heard of the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," eighteen miles from here?' and all were proportionately delighted when we told them that the fame of these works of art was world-wide. 'Then go and see for yourselves how they compare with the paintings in your own country,' they urged; but in view of the late experiences of the Harvard party we felt the situation to be a delicate one, and allowed ourselves to be a good deal pressed before signifying our intention of making Chienfutung a visit. And even then, when, after the lapse of some days, we began our arrangements, we were quite prepared to abandon them if any objection from official quarters had been raised. When the day came, however, and the animals were being harnessed, an officer made his appearance in the yard, and with great courtesy announced the fact that a military escort was to accompany us, the road being difficult and lonely; and he added, seeing we were now ready: 'Start when you like, the escort can easily overtake 484

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484 you.' We had not gone very far when a mounted soldier galloped alongside. 'Ask him his honourable name,' said the senior member of the party from the recesses of the cart, 'and how many children he has.' This led on at once to a friendly conversation, and soon we were supplying the soldier with pears, and a share in the lunch we were carrying, while in return he gave us an immense amount of information, more or less reliable, 491 about the whole district. The road proved indeed difficult to find, and as, from the moment of leaving the 133 fertile land surrounding the city, until we reached 172 Chienfutung, we did not meet a single human being, we should have inevitably wasted much valuable time had we been unescorted. For some time we ploughed our way heavily through the loose sand, to emerge finally on a gravel *glacis* of uncompromising sterility. Eastward stretched a range of sandy foothills, whose outlines were always changing under the bidding of the winds, but which, tradition affirms, hide beneath them the ruins of a very early civilisation, while ancient records speak of at least two towns, at one time ruled by Mongol princes, no traces of which can now be found. The whole impression given, is that of a thickly-inhabited district overtaken by some cataclysm, which has left Tunhwang to stand alone—an island of verdure in an ocean of sand. After three hours' travelling, the coarse grit gave place to boulders, with flakes of mica glittering on the ground; then, following what seemed to be the bed of a former river, bordered by cliffs of conglomerate, rising gradually to a great height, we were led to the back of the sandhills, where unexpectedly we entered upon a green oasis planted with fine young poplar trees, some still vividly green, while others had already changed to clearest yellow. Here were the rock-temples.

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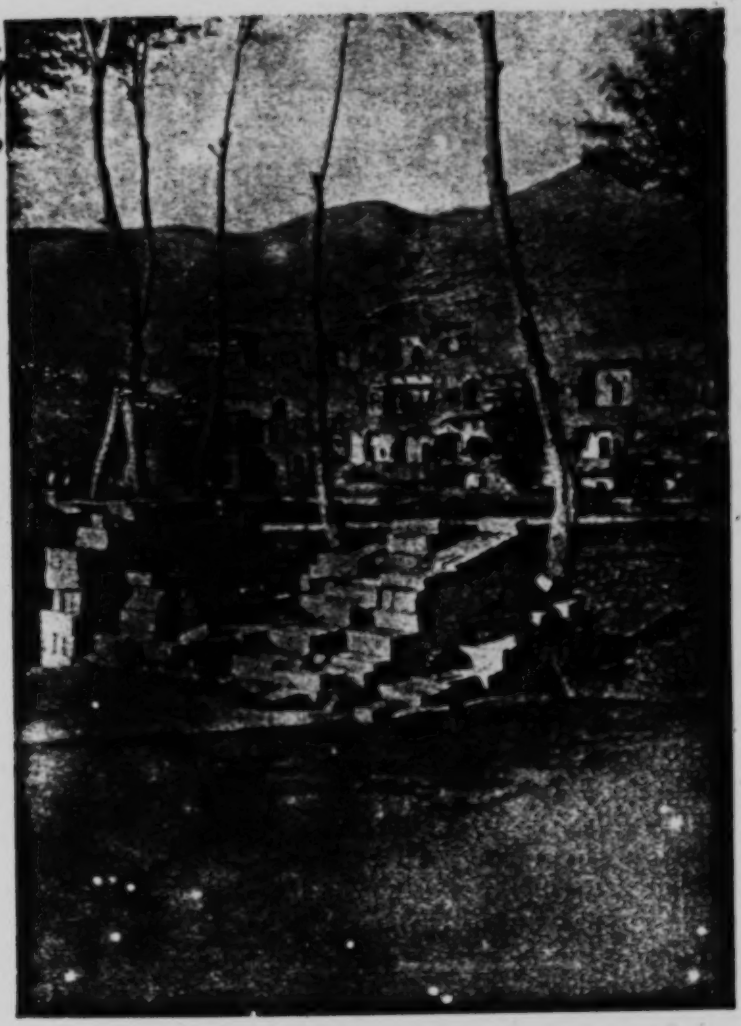

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS.

"Many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below."

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The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

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cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou*.' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

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On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

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172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
346 commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
532 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

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the work of man, but the Crescent Lake is the work of the gods,' we were told. It was only three miles from the city, but proved to be so curiously located that one might easily be only fifty yards from it and yet remain unconscious of its existence. We were warned that the road was heavy, so we left in good time, having harnessed our three best beasts to the small cart. An hour's drive brought us to the foot of the sandhills lying to the south, and then we looked right and left, knowing that so far we had not missed our way, yet being quite unable to determine in which direction we should continue.

Finally we turned to the right, when almost immediately our shaft-mule had a bad accident. Failing to disentangle her feet from the soft ground she was pulled over by the two others, falling on her head with nose and mouth completely buried in the loose sand. A yell from the driver brought our second man to the rescue, and they were fortunately able to lift the poor creature up before she was completely smothered. Meanwhile Elder Liu, who had been made responsible for the enterprise, went on ahead, climbing a sand-dune about three hundred feet high. A signal from him, and we proceeded to follow, undertaking one of the most difficult of ascents, as at every step we sank well above the ankles, and finally were obliged to take off our shoes and climb in stockinged feet. When we reached the upper ridge, still we saw nothing beyond the vast expanse of sandhills, but one step more and below, in the narrow space dividing us from the next hill, lay a most exquisite miniature landscape—a small, crescent-shaped lake, in colour a sapphire-blue, while owing to a strange optical effect, the sand slopes around took on a wonderfully soft, mother-of-pearl iridescence. Behind the lake and opposite to us stood a small temple and

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133 rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole
137 picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

133 There is another curious phenomenon,[1] the facts of
833 which we were able to test. We were told to slide down
778 the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sandhills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

[1] [At the Lake of the Crescent Moon --Analyst]

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Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two women, who determined to force an entrance to Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters. Throwing aside their garments they plunged beneath the surface and were never seen again, but the lake immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great subterranean caverns, which account for all these mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it surprising that many tales are related to account for them. The whole neighbourhood is full of interest, and some day, doubtless, will be called upon to give up its secrets to scientific excavators.

Just when we were leaving the rest-house, a lama came towards us, having travelled barefoot from the sacred mountain of Shansi, prostrating himself at every few steps. It was near sunset; his red and yellow robes were soiled, and he himself weary and travel-stained, so that he was now calling in at this temple for a night's shelter. We stopped and spoke to him, and then all sat down by the wayside to talk.

'From what Province do you come, lama?' we enquired.

'From Utai Mountain, in Shansi,' he answered, 'and the road is long; it has taken me six months to reach here.'

'And where are you going?'

'To Lhasa, through those mountains,' waving his hand in the direction of the Southern Hills.

'What is the purpose of your pilgrimage?'

'To fulfil a vow made many years ago.'

We handed him a copy of St. John's Gospel, in which he at once read aloud the opening words: '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and*

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the Word was God.' The happy expression used in the translation gripped him at once, and he listened with profound attention while we preached unto him Jesus.

His face lit up.

'I know about this,' he said. 'This Jesus, of whom you speak, has been greatly troubling me lately in my dreams. I know I shall *have* to believe in him!'

So we parted; the lama to pursue his journey to Lhasa, and we to turn our faces towards Suchow, from which place we had been absent about two months.

Some days later, when we were once more nearing the region of Chikinpu, where we had lost our books, the mules of our cart took fright and bolted over some very rough ground; the driver was knocked down and Elder Liu was thrown out, falling senseless by the roadside. When the animals were brought to a standstill and we were able to reach the Elder, we found him unconscious and bleeding freely from severe cuts. With the greatest difficulty he was hoisted on to a mattress and placed in the large cart, where he was able to lie at full length, and we proceeded on our way. Presently the wind veered, and we were soon overtaken by a blizzard, while the necessary delay caused us not to reach our stage until after dark, when every inn was full. We wandered to and fro looking for a shelter, but even the temple door was locked and we were at our wits' end when a kindly man invited us into his house; his wife having recognised in Mrs. Liu's speech the tongue spoken in a distant town of which she herself was a native, whereupon our welcome was assured. Her husband was a butcher, but little we cared that carcases of his victims hung about our room. Luxury is a matter of relativity, and that night we experienced it when we gathered round a brazier of burning thorns and feasted on tea and dry bread.

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Only those who have crossed Gobi roads can possibly understand the thrill and excitement of the traveller when the first tower of Kiayükwan comes in sight, about three miles before the town is reached. Drivers and passengers always raise a shout of delight at the prospect of once more passing the portal of China. In spite of the fatigues and dangers of the way we were back again, and the thought of the simple comforts awaiting us, as well as the prospect of seeing friends, was so pleasant that we responded hilariously to the greetings of guard and populace which met us at the entrance of the fortress.

CHAPTER XXVI

GATHERING CLOUDS

THERE was now in Suchow a group of Christians to welcome us on our return, and a larger number who came regularly to Sunday service and associated themselves with us. The first to profess belief was a woman, wife of a tinsmith, who some years ago received into her house two men sent on an evangelistic tour by the Kanchow Church. Her husband was interested to sit and talk to the two preachers on many subjects, but it was the wife who sat quietly to one side, giving her full attention to the Gospel which they proclaimed, and from the time of our arrival she took her stand courageously as a Christian. Another was a woman from 'Kow Wai.' She was of Moslem parentage but married to a Chinese merchant, who brought her to Suchow, left her there, and returned to Hunan, since when she never saw him again, and from being a rich woman she came to know poverty. She was sixty years

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of age, tall, handsome, strong of body and independent of mind. She walked into our courtyard on the first Sunday we were in Suchow and heard us speak of the Saviour we were there to preach, whereupon she turned to the crowd of women, saying: 'Every word of this is true.' From that day she never missed attending service, and helped us in every way she could.

As has been already recorded, the first night in Suchow was spent at an inn which was very cold and uncomfortable, and we could not remain there. The landlord was a tall ex-soldier of a Shantung regiment, and although we left his inn, he came to see us in our new quarters and was extremely friendly. A few weeks later his wife brought the little baby with her to Sunday service, then returned home, and before night the child was dead. Instead of yielding to terror and superstition she asked her husband's leave to come and stay with the women-students for a few days, for they talked with her of Christ, and this comforted her.

A Moslem merchant was also among those who believed, and his gentle little wife very gradually, but surely, yielded to the faith which recommended itself by the change it had wrought in her husband's treatment of her.

We commenced the winter term of the Bible School under apparently auspicious circumstances, yet those who were leaders in the work were profoundly conscious of a persistent premonition, pointing to impending trouble. The crowds were greater than ever, and praise of the Christian community, its kindness and philanthropy, was heard on all sides. The victories already won, however, were not to be allowed to pass unchallenged. The hostility of those spiritual forces which had met us, on the threshold of the Temple Courts of Hell with a sneering query: '*What? So* you *have*

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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be. 798

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kanchow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of 249 798 651 624 798 624

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money, a few days of feasting, and the promise of generous sacrifices after death, in exchange for the risk he should run of losing his life in an organised mêlée at the time of a coming fair. After some bargaining the matter was settled, and the tax-collector proceeded to secure the services of certain young roughs, always ready for a fight. The compact, however, was not kept as wholly secret as the parties intended, for some young girls overheard the conversation, and subsequently repeated it to their friends. On the morning of the fair a band of Christian men and women were selling books near the theatrical stage, when the tax-gatherer's gang began to pick a quarrel with them concerning the offence offered to the gods by their preaching. In a moment others joined in, and there were hot words and hard blows on both sides. Benches were used as weapons, and shortly afterwards the old beggar was lying dead, while the Christians were falsely accused of having killed him! It so happened that the more important Christian farmers were detained that day at a village three miles distant, but in a few hours' time a squad of soldiers arrived from Kanchow and took prisoner twenty Christian men, including even those who could prove an *alibi*. For weeks they lay in prison, without trial or proper investigation, wholly dependent for food on the charity of the Christian community, and not until one of them died, as a result of neglected wounds, was release on bail obtained for the remainder, the official refusing even to coffin the dead man until his old mother made her wrongs known by sitting the whole day wailing, in Eastern fashion, in the Yamen court, while the birthday festivities of the Mandarin were in progress! The facts of the story gradually became known, but no trial was held, and the accused were left in the supremely unsatisfactory condition of

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being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798
although the whole populace declared them to be 624
innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant
Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, 798
however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow
Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on
a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had
been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied,
it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their
agreement by feasting !

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635
the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701
diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

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flung himself on the victim so as to receive the blows on his own body. This so startled the assailants that they desisted; he then took possession of a young soldier's cap, for purposes of identification, saying, 'This is a matter for judicial investigation. If this boy has done anything wrong, take him to the Mandarin.' This the soldiers refused to consider, and followed the Doctor to the Mission House, finally begging him to drop the matter, and not to report them to their officers. To this he consented. A few days later our own carter was sent out to a village near by to bring in grain for the mules. A band of soldiers, acting in accordance with their irregular custom, commandeered the cart and animals for their own use. The carter questioned their right, whereupon he was beaten, and filth of the worst description was rubbed into the wound. The soldiers then moved away, leaving him semi-conscious by the roadside, to which place our small scouts soon fetched some of the students, as well as Dr. Kao, who indignantly called attention to General Feng's placard above his head. This happened close to the residence of the Minister of Defence, who, hearing what had occurred, came out himself and saw the man still lying wounded near his own gate. He ordered the offender to be brought before him, whereupon one of his own soldiers was produced, and by his order was stripped of his uniform and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The Commanding Officer was likewise degraded, and the Minister himself called at the Mission Compound to apologise for the insult offered, expressing himself as exceedingly angry that we, who were his friends, should have been exposed to a public insult. Meanwhile, the carter developed a severe form of blood-poisoning, and his life was despaired of; and in the civil prison lay the soldier, whose life was to be taken

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the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement :

' The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me ! '

' To arrest you ! ' we exclaimed. ' Impossible ! On what plea ? '

' I am accused,' he quietly said, ' of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous ; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added : ' This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

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798 people. I expect you agree with me ; I had better go ;
635 and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and
701 death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

798 Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926,
697 and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window ; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

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and in it was a small grating through which the food could be passed. Next to this was the gaoler's own room, and beyond that again was another cell, in which twenty prisoners were incarcerated, most of them heavily ironed; this room, too, was in almost total darkness. None of all those wretched prisoners were permitted to leave their cells except for a few minutes once in twenty-four hours, and all were entirely dependent upon their relatives or friends for their food; consequently death from starvation was all too frequent, while, according to Dr. Kao's own account, the nights were made hideous by the agonised cries and groans of these most miserable of men. 798 697

For some days after the arrest we suffered intense anxiety from the fact that no message whatever could reach us direct from the Doctor; moreover, persistent rumours were afloat that he was to be shot. Of course he was regularly supplied with food from the Mission Compound, but we had no certain means of knowing whether he really did receive it or not. Those first days of suspense were, indeed, terrible. The Civil Magistrate, it must be explained, had secured to the accusation brought by him against the Doctor the signatures of the two other most important officials of the city, each one thereby declaring himself personally cognisant of the offence. Consequently, when the answer ultimately came from the provincial capital of Lanchow, it was couched in these terms: 'Since you affirm Kao to be guilty of breaking open the prison of Suchow with an armed mob, you may inflict the extreme penalty of the law; but if later investigations should prove him to be innocent, you will personally be held responsible for your action.' The three officials then pronounced themselves prepared to take this responsibility; but did so as a means of currying favour with the local garrison, 798

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798 in the secret hope that the ever-shifting sands of the political hour-glass would produce new conditions, capable of manipulation, if needs be, to cover over such an insignificant incident as that of the execution of a Christian leader. They were strengthened in this expectation by reports of successful demonstrations by the anti-Christian organisations in large cities.

To us the reply from Lanchow seemed to hand over the situation to our enemies; nevertheless, prayer was constantly made by the whole Christian community to God for Dr. Kao, and we waited for the answer to come.

798 692 By the law of China, it is the Civil Magistrate who pronounces the sentence upon the prisoner; nevertheless, it cannot be carried into execution without the additional authority of the District Judge; therefore, when this Official was approached and asked to ratify the sentence upon Dr. Kao, he very indignantly replied: 'I refuse to condemn a man whom we all know to be innocent. Every child in the Suchow streets knows that the prison door has never been forced, nor has any prisoner there been unofficially released.' And from this position no persuasion moved him, although he was perfectly aware that such opposition might ruin his magisterial career. We, on our side, at Dr. Kao's request, refrained from any kind of interference or interposition, with the exception that we duly informed our Lanchow friends of all the facts, urging them, if possible, to use their influence to secure an impartial enquiry, which must necessarily be held by officials other than the local authorities. As a result of this appeal, a telegram was presently received from Lanchow, ordering the case to stand over until the arrival of a Special Commissioner appointed for the examination. T natural effect of this communication, following on the action taken by the District Judge, caused some degree

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of trepidation in official circles, one result of which being that it immediately secured for Dr. Kao the privilege of receiving visitors, ourselves among the number. We always found him cheery and serene, although the sanitary conditions were so bad that they told seriously on his health, so much so, that when at last he emerged into the open day, he fell to the ground overpowered by the effect of the light. Many a time did we remind each other that although he had not broken open the city gaol and released its prisoners, we were yet all at that very hour seeking to preach liberty to the captives held in the strongholds of the Power of Evil.

It was with a peculiar sense of triumph that we brought the news to the prison, one Sunday afternoon, of the first baptismal service in Suchow having taken place that day.

The turnkey was increasingly friendly to his genial, though intractable prisoner, and when the doors were closed for the night, allowed him to leave his cell and preach to the other captives. The accusation was hanging on the evidence of one witness, namely that of the Governor of the gaol, and owner of the little slave-girl mentioned in a previous chapter. He was a man of weak and shallow nature, to whom cruelty of any kind partook of the nature of an amusement. He had bought over several witnesses, but when they heard the rumour of an investigation by a Commissioner appointed from Lanchow, they backed out and declared that only fear of torture had led them to give evidence. He began to realise, when it was too late, that each of the other officials had left himself a possible loophole of escape, which, if acted upon, would leave the whole burden of the responsibility upon his own head. Surreptitiously, therefore, he began to make preparations for a hasty exit into Turkestan; but this being prevented by his

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798 superior, it soon became the city talk, that whereas
692 formerly he looked like a man, now his face resembled that of a terrified ghost.

Meanwhile the Commissioner from Lanchow arrived, and only made himself known after spending several days *incognito* in an inn, under the guise of a merchant. He easily satisfied himself that the accusation brought against Dr. Kao was without any foundation, and he collected witness from every tradesman in the vicinity of the prison, to the effect that the gaol had never been
798 attacked at all. He personally visited the prison court, and noticed that this cell now bore a new red paper
692 notice stating that : ' This room is to be called a House
697 of Detention.' This was a ruse by the Civil Magistrate, to justify himself for having placed an untried prisoner in a condemned cell.

Before returning to Lanchow, the Commissioner insisted upon immediate removal to the real ' House of Detention,' where was a sunny courtyard, surrounded by decent rooms, each containing only one occupant. Here, Dr. Kao soon resumed his normal appearance ; he was allowed to shave and keep his hair cut ; visitors came freely, and things in general were decidedly better. All the same, it was still a prison, and many of his neighbours had lived there for years, awaiting a trial that never came ; fed from their homes by little slave-girls sent in with their meals, and who slipped their slender bodies between the thick wooden bars of the locked entrance gate, with basins of rice for their masters' dinner. Some of these men had settled to a dull apathetic endurance of a wrong that could not be righted, many found a solace in the deadening fumes of opium, but there were a few who abandoned themselves to such a frenzy of despair that within a few months they were released by death from the hands of their enemies.

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One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until this system of bribery and corruption should be overturned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some months previously General Feng's troops had assumed authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

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701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
694 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for
635 Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

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PART THREE

ACROSS THE GOBI DESERT

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOBI EXPRESS—THREE MILES AN HOUR

WE bade Dr. Kao 'farewell and God-speed' at the Temple of the Spring of Wine, and stood for a few moments in silence watching as he and his mounted guard disappeared in a cloud of dust on the Lanchow road, and then turned back to face an important question. The time when we must visit England for a period of furlough could not be far distant, and for some weeks our minds had been greatly exercised by news from home which called for our speedy return. A telegram had come telling of sickness and death in the immediate family of one of us. The strain of the last months had been greatly increased by the realisation that the Mandarin clique, which had leagued itself to oppose the Christian Church, had power to prevent us from communication with the outer world. Our letters were censored, while every manner of difficulty was placed in the way when we attempted to communicate by telegram with our home friends. Urgent as was this call, no move on our part could be even considered so long as our fellow-worker lay in the Suchow prison, but now that he was certain of a public trial in the

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000 provincial capital, our continued presence in Suchow was of no further assistance to him.

Of the various routes by which we might reach England, that which would take us through Central China seemed the most precarious, as the armies of the War Lords were now on the move, and were preparing to besiege Sian. The route which would take us through Kashgar, Osh and by the Trans-Caspian Railway was temporarily unfeasible, and there would have been barely time to attempt the Karakorum Pass before the early snows made it impassable. For several years it had been our cherished plan to take a missionary journey across Central Asia, following one of the ancient trade-routes, and preaching the Gospel at every stage of the way. This now seemed to be the time for carrying the plan into execution.

487 After much deliberation, we decided on a route which would take us via Kiayükwan, Yümen and Ansi to the Turkestan border at Hsinghsinghsia; then across the desert to Hami; through the Pass of the Tian Shan Range at Tsikioking, and so to Kucheng and Urumchi; and from thence by a road still leading north-west, through Manas to Tsuguchak. From Chinese travellers we had learnt that we might expect to cross the Russian border at Kuswun, proceed to Lake Zaisan, and there board a Russian river steamer which would take us up the Irtish to Omsk, where finally we could join the Trans-Siberian Railway. We were also informed that if we arrived at Lake Zaisan later than the end of September, the last steamer of the season would have left.

Many had been the Chinese and Turki travellers with 600 whom we had talked during the past three years, questioning them concerning the ancient trade-routes of Central Asia. The reports were so varied, however, and the calculations of the distances covered and the

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length of time required to accomplish the journey differed so widely, that in the end we reached the firm conclusion that there was one only way by which to ascertain the truth, and that was to do the journey ourselves! A near neighbour of ours was a native woman of Khotan, the city which supplies the rough jade which, when it has passed through the hands of a Peking craftsman, has a world-wide reputation. Her appearance was striking. Her dark skin, gentle, full-orbed eyes, and general demeanour made her a conspicuous figure among the Chinese women, although she spoke their language freely.

'It took me four months to get here,' she said; 'the stages are very long, and often one can get no water to drink!' Her eyes then filled with tears, and she said: 'You and I are both strangers here; we know the loneliness of being so far from our own people!'

A fellow-prisoner of Dr. Kao's told us that he had travelled between Hankow and Kashgar by every route available. Through Ili he had touched Russia, and taken the Trans-Siberian to Peking. To him no journey seemed difficult, and the glowing account he gave us of Kashgar, with its Consular buildings, foreign houses, wide streets, and incomparable restaurants were such as would lure any unwary traveller across desert wastes only to view them! 'The miles,' said he, 'are long until you reach Hami, but beyond that they shorten considerably, and I have often ridden 170 li a day!'

One turbaned Turki had travelled to Stambul and Mecca, by which feat he gained the privilege of calling from the Mosque minaret, and in answer to our enquiries he said: 'It's a long, long way to Urumchi. Do not reckon on doing that part of the journey under sixty days.'

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One of our students had crossed the Gobi to buy a stock of the medicinal plants which grow in the oases. He strongly recommended us to take the journey as he had done. 'Cheap and easy,' was his comment; 'I joined the camel drivers, and took it slowly. For twenty taels I rode their beasts, slept in their tents, and they fed me for over two months.'

'You may spend a lot of money in hiring carts and buying mules,' said one old wiseacre, 'but believe me the best way to travel is with a string of small donkeys. They eat little, are quick on their feet, and if some die the loss is insignificant.'

Some of our lady friends, the wives of officials had travelled these roads, and their comment generally was: 'We get into the carts at sunset, and know nothing until we reach our inn the next day'—a statement which we easily believed, knowing as we did that the opium tray is always served to official parties as the mules are being harnessed. Upon two points, however, all agreed, namely, that when travelling at midsummer, all stages must be taken by night, and that mules are preferable to horses, as the latter suffer severely from drinking the medicinal waters of the desert.

Having therefore duly listened to all possible expert advice obtainable from the Asian tribesmen who incessantly roam from end to end of that vast country, we proceeded to make our preparations for the expedition in accordance with their instructions, beginning by asking the help of friendly innkeepers in the important matter of securing suitable animals. It is a common occurrence for carters to find themselves short of money on their long journeys, and therefore to dispose of both carts, horses or mules in Suchow so as to raise sufficient funds, but a great many of the beasts offered were such

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miserable specimens as to be refused out of hand by the Deacon-in-Charge, without even referring the matter to us. Some owners, however, being very persistent, it soon became necessary for us personally to put in an appearance, to view the lame, blind, aged, bony and sore-backed creatures which presently paraded the compound court in a long, melancholy procession. Some of the worst specimens, however, wore splendid harness and finely-wrought saddles, borrowed for the occasion; but we were not to be taken in by such childish deceptions! Having ourselves already had some experience both in selling as well as in buying, we remained quite unimpressed by the flashily-groomed beast which clattered down the road, urged to a gallop by the owner, who declared himself in despair at having to part with the 'finest mule that Shensi has yet produced,' but which, stripped of its trappings, generally stood revealed as antique and emaciated, and with flanks heaving with exhaustion consequent on such an unusual effort. Nevertheless, one by one, we steadily added to our teams, until nine mules were comfortably champing side by side in the stable. Two large strong carts were next bought and then carefully overhauled in view of the heavy strain ahead. Our own small Peking cart which had already done valiant service was destined to carry us and our bedding, for though this conveyance made no provision for a possible lie-down at night, we yet chose it on account of the easier movement it afforded than the rolling and lurching of the larger vehicles, each of which, covered with matting and lined with felts, and with wheels studded with protruding iron nails, could carry a load of two thousand pounds.

Naturally enough, such preparations needed a considerable supply of ready money, which from the

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436 beginning of our life in the North-West had depended on the selling of our cheques to Chinese merchants, who, on their side, seeing that highway robbery was frequent, were glad to hand us over large sums in cash. As was always the case, just when we were needing money a traveller arrived, so that we had no difficulty in securing the amount required. The Chinese business manager of the compound also saw to it that we gained a small percentage on the transaction, while he made himself responsible to see that we were not cheated by the introduction of inferior coins, as is too often done, in the following manner. The Mexican dollar bears on it the effigy of Yüan Shih Kai, the first President of the Chinese Republic, but who died in the fourth year of his Presidency; the coins having been carried on to a further date, are inscribed as of the seventh, eighth, and even ninth year of the Presidency of the said Yüan Shih Kai. The unfortunate populace, however, painfully experienced in being made the loser by every manipulation of the money-market, and realising the likelihood of being duped once again (for how could a dead man issue a currency?) steadily refused to accept any coins dated after his death, so that at every transaction each dollar must now be scrutinised, while everyone dated beyond the third year of Yüan Shih Kai bears a depreciated value.

000 Our time for preparation was brief. A few boxes always stood in readiness to receive our personal possessions, it being necessary to pack everything up whenever we left Suchow for more than a few days, our room being poorly protected against robbers, and our movements always uncertain owing to the perpetual political ferment of the country. Wearing, as we always did, the Chinese dress, we needed only to take our complete summer wardrobe of black sateen trousers, blue cotton

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coats, black silk skirt, and stitched-cotton hat as protection from the sun. But a good supply of shoes was needed in view of long tramps, and these were made for us in velvet, with a thick stitched-cotton sole, by good sewing-women, such as are easy to find in any town of China. Provision for cold nights, or change in the seasons, was made by the purchase of a soft, warm lamb's-skin coat. Moreover, among our most valued possessions were the few utensils for kitchen use, two saucepans, a cake-tin, and a couple of jugs, also a tiny cooking-stove consisting of a small oven on four legs which had been brought to Kansu forty years previously by Miss Annie Taylor, the Tibetan pioneer missionary. These last were carefully crated, and then committed to the care of the Chinese Missionaries who were to remain behind in charge of Suchow. One of the carts was also entirely devoted to the transport of the Gospels, tracts and posters needed for the expedition, all of which had reached us by book-post from the coast, and on the sale of which we depended largely for our daily needs. The conveyance of money presents much practical difficulty to every traveller in China, paper money being only of value in the city where it is issued. The Mexican dollar already mentioned is in itself both bulky and weighty, and so is the copper coin which is advantageous on account of the different rates of silver to copper exchange existing between one city and another; a string of carts therefore will sometimes carry coppers as sole cargo, cash being so heavy that a man can barely carry on his shoulders the value of one pound sterling. Our cartload of books consequently represented a sum of money sufficient to buy the daily food of the party for a considerable time.

As the day of departure drew near, our grinding-stone was busy from dawn till dark converting the wheat

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bought at the previous harvest into flour, and incidentally supplying bran for our mules. The many-storied cooking-steamer was filled again and again with small rolls which we should carry with us in sacks, while the mules were used to convey loads of beans and dried peas from distant villages, where they could be bought cheaply. Although it was early June and the weather was very hot, the first fruit, which is the apricot, was not yet ripe, and vegetables were still scarce. We knew, however, that lean days lay ahead, so we bought all that we could carry of radishes, green onions, green celery leaves, and chervil. A few pounds of the good Turkestan sultanas and dried apricots were bought from the Turfan merchant, who spread his cloth each morning by the roadside, and on it displayed his goods.

The caravan, including ourselves, students and carters, numbered eleven persons. We purposed to travel slowly, leaving the main road at several points in order to touch important oases to north and south, and we carried a tent to provide a vantage-ground for preaching, as well as sleeping accommodation for the men of the party

In spite of the tension and strain of the past few months, the whole community nobly threw itself into preparation for the projected campaign with ardour and enthusiasm, fully realising that we were at last to carry into effect that which had been the subject of so much prayer in the whole Church of Kanchow from its earliest days.

By Dr. Kao's arrangement, Elder and Mrs. Liu, Deacon Chang and another Christian couple, assumed responsibility for the work in Suchow, where, with the help and support of the local Christians, the Church was being more firmly established.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE ONWARD TREK

On previous expeditions our young cook, 'Welcome Home,' had driven our cart, but this time the difficulties and fatigues which lay ahead required our selecting an older man, and one inured to every form of hardship. Knowing that he must quit our service when we left for furlough, the young *chef*, however, had allowed his imagination to be captured by visions of the martial glory to be afterwards won under the banner of General Feng's Christian Army.

The walls of Suchow were then posted with notices to the effect that young men of steady character and able to produce suitable guarantees of good conduct, would be given the opportunity of a military career combined with educational advantages, besides liberal pay, on joining the forces of Marshal Feng. Recruiting officers took up their residence in an inn of the east suburb, where the following scene was described to us by a looker-on. Dressed in a clean white cotton suit, his face flushed with excitement, young 'Welcome Home' presented himself, and stood at attention before the recruiting sergeant:

'I hear that you want recruits. Is this a Christian corps?'

'It is,' was the immediate answer.

'You speak of general education, but do you allow time for Bible study?'

'We do,' said the sergeant.

'Then write down my name, sir,' said 'Welcome Home'; which was forthwith done.

'If your references are good we shall accept you in ten days' time. During that period you may withdraw if you wish, but if you present yourself then, you are enrolled

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as a soldier, and afterwards, leaving will be desertion.'

'I am in the employ of the Lady Missionaries. They are quitting the country soon, but I must stay with them as long as they need me.'

'That is quite right,' said the sergeant. 'Go back and talk it over with them, and,' he added, 'if there are any more young Christian men in the Church who want to enlist, tell them to come along, they are the kind of men we want.'

'Welcome Home,' who had sallied forth with the bearing of a simple young farmer, returned to us an hour later with the deportment, gestures and style of an accomplished orderly. He greeted us from the back of the breakfast table with a military salute, and clicked his heels whenever we spoke to him. The joy of realising he was to be one of Feng's men endued him with an enthusiasm that transformed him. At the appointed time we released him to fulfil his engagement, and three days later, as we were driving to a farewell luncheon party, we passed the drill-ground where recruits were learning the goose-step. 'Welcome Home' caught sight of us, turned his head and smiled rapturously, whereupon the corporal's iron hand smote him on the shoulder, and he stood once more at attention. The next day he called in company with a 'centurion,' who informed us that there was every prospect of our late cook quickly securing a commission. 'In this army,' he said, 'we are like one big family, and we look to Marshal Feng as children to a father.'

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The last few days were busy with meeting social claims. Various members of the Christian circle begged us to take one more meal with them before we left. The ladies of our landlord's family entertained us in the summer-house of a flower-garden. It was the season when the fragrant tree-peony is in bloom, and

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we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's [824]
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [137]
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

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whom he introduced as a friend travelling from Urumchi to Lanchow. Pending the moment when he should declare the object of his visit, we engaged on a conversation which, starting with enquiries regarding our respective ages, family circumstances, and the reason of our living in Suchow, led on to the cost of living, the local money exchange, and various other topics of interest. After some time thus spent, the stranger drew from his pocket an object wrapped in a cloth which he unfolded, and produced a petrified egg, asking if we were interested in such things. Mr. Li explained that he could not expect travellers of our experience to marvel at a mere egg, but the man said : ' Eggs of this kind are scarce, and some foreigners give big prices for them.'

' Where did you find it ? ' we asked.

' It was picked up in the Gobi Desert.'

' What are you going to do with it ? ' we enquired.

Mr. Li bent forward and explained *sotto voce* : ' The egg is greatly coveted by a powerful Official, and this merchant has had to leave Turkestan on that account. He is willing to part with it, but says its price is one hundred pounds.' Both men looked questioningly at us, but the offer elicited no response, so the owner of the egg shook it vigorously, whereupon a slight gurgle was heard, and his eyes glittered with delight.

' He says that is a jewel rattling inside,' explained Mr. Li.

Our advice was that he should take his treasure to Lanchow, and show it to a famous Swedish archaeologist who was living there.

' He can tell you all about it,' we said : then, with unpardonable stupidity, added, ' Whatever happens, do not let it get broken ! '

He thanked us, exchanged some more polite words, and Mr. Li then revealed the main object of the visit by

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asking if he might leave the precious egg with us for the night, as his friend was afraid of losing it.

The next day he fetched it away and we saw him no more, but some time later news reached us that, unable to restrain his curiosity, he had broken it open but failed to find the jewel within!

11th June, 1926, was the day decided on for our departure. Our explicit orders had been that all three carts must be completely packed by the evening of the 10th, as we should leave at daybreak on the 11th. For days past everyone had worked ceaselessly, yet the sunset of the last day saw various small jobs inevitably held over until the next morning. The nine mules were only brought back newly-shod from the farrier's after dark. Had we been so inexperienced as to question why this important job should be left to the last afternoon, the answer would have been: 'Had anything occurred to delay your departure, the shoes at present in use would have lasted another three weeks, and what a lot of money we should have saved you!'

On the 11th we all rose at 4 a.m. in order to start before the great heat began. We drank a single cup of tea, after which the kettle, teapot and cups were packed into the food-basket and stowed away in the recesses of the cart. Men ran hither and thither; neighbours came in to say last farewells, while a crowd of our beloved children ran in and out to report generally on the progress made. It was, however, midday before our carts left the compound, yet had we suggested the possibility of dinner, there must have been a further delay, so we suppressed our desire for food, and made a start. Never had our carts been so heavily laden, and as each fresh bundle appeared, the crowd of bystanders sighed, announcing openly that no mules could possibly accomplish what was expected of ours! There was

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always *one* voice uplifted, however, to assure the others that 'the beasts of the Christians are *always* well fed, and their strength therefore in proportion.' Our own comfort lay in the fact that each day would see the load of books and food steadily diminish.

As we made our way to the North Gate the whole city was wishing us *bon voyage*. Deacon Chang, with a group of men, walked with us, and we were also preceded by a cartful of women friends escorting us for the first few miles. In the shade of a poplar grove three miles from the city stood a tall figure, sobbing. It was the Moslem woman who on our first Sunday in Suchow had declared, 'Every word that they say is true,' and who was the first of the city to go down into the waters of baptism. We sat with her for a few minutes under the trees, and then went our way leaving her still sobbing by the roadside. Behind us followed the pathetic figure of the little deaf and dumb beggar girl. She saw that we were leaving, but we had no means of making her understand that this time we were not coming back again. She followed us on and on, so far, that at last we were obliged to compel her to return; yet still she stood and waved her tiny stick and little beggar's bag until we passed out of sight.

None perhaps so well as the Missionary is able to realise the strength of the spiritual ties which bind men and women together irrespective of race, class or nationality. Great as are the joys which arise from such supernatural relationships, they help to create also for the Missionary, circumstances which constitute a constant strain upon the emotions and sympathies. Whichever way he moves, some torn root is bleeding, whether it be in leaving spiritual children in the land of his adoption, or in parting from parents, friends or children in the homeland. The Missionary's is a pilgrim life, nor can

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he ever know the security of a normal environment until he find it in the 'City that hath the foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.'

As Deacon Chang turned away with tears in his eyes, we knew that he shrank from the responsibilities which must now rest upon him in quite a different way when we were gone, but from the day of our arrival in Kanchow it had been clearly understood by all, that our visit would end with the completion of our immediate task, nor could there be any question of an indefinite prolongation of our sojourn, even though the growing Church might need, and also desire, a similar period of help from the foreign Missionary in the future.

At the hour of leaving there are always hands extended beseeching you to stay, and voices to declare that you were never so much needed as at this hour. It is only too easy at these moments to fall victim to the illusion that the holding together of the members of the Church is the work of man, and to miss the basic fact that the Life-Source which alone will fitly knit them together is the Holy Spirit of God; nor has this power ever been delegated to any human being.

CHAPTER XXX

A FAIR IN AN OASIS

THE whole territory stretching from the gate of Kiayükwan to the frontier of Siberia is known by the Chinese as Kow Wai—'Without the Mouth.' To the Chinese it carries the impression of enforced exile, as though the land of China had spued an unwanted national from her mouth. The thought of a journey in 'Kow Wai' suggests terrors to the heart of every

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494 Chinese. It was perhaps owing to this that one of our three carters sent a relative on the eve of our departure to inform us that his '*Mama* was not well, and he would be needed at home.' The substitute was a Christian youth who undertook to do his best for us, but by the close of the first day it became evident that he was not adequate to his job. The handling of a team of obstinate Chinese mules requires a knowledge of animal psychology such as can only be acquired by living as an animal with your animals for all the years of your own psychological development. The mules are harnessed without reins, and are almost entirely driven by word of mouth. One sound means 'Water ahead,' another, 'Keep to the right,' a third 'Your foot is in the traces, wait till I get you free.' A fourth conveys the following information: 'You villain! If you do that again, when we get to the inn to-night I shall kill you, and spend a merry night eating your flesh boiled and fried!' Our young man's psychology was insufficient.

The problem at once presented itself as to where a driver could be found to take on his post, for the road is no place to pick up carters of sufficient responsibility to be trusted, as they must be, with the handling of goods and grain. At the first inn, however, was a decent man known to some of our party, who was transporting a band of his womenfolk to the town of Yümen. Modes of transit had utterly failed him, and there he was, unable to move, spending money which he did not own. He had sent home for help, but the days were going by and no one appeared. He could come with us, but for the women and children for whom he was responsible.

As we were discussing the situation, in walked two youths with a few donkeys. It was the rescue party, which after such long delays had at last arrived to fetch the women. With gratitude, accordingly, our

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new acquaintance took over our job, and the same 494
evening we proceeded on our way. The coincidence of events which released him at the very moment when we required his services, and also put lucrative work in his hands, so impressed him as to make him exclaim at frequent intervals: 'Ai ya! That was a strange bit of luck! We shall get on all right on *this* journey. Fortune favours these Christians!'

Our direct route lay from south-east to north-west, but some important oases lay direct north and south of the main road, and we were determined to visit these very isolated localities, even though we were warned that in so doing we should add considerably to our fatigue.

Our first détour, then, was to Chikinpu, a little 543
castellated fortress-town, where we were met with the news that every person had gone into the country to attend a famous annual fair and theatrical performance, in a temple five miles distant. Fairs and theatres are the preacher's opportunity, so we said we would go a-fairing too! It was a long stage under the midday sun before we reached the Temple of the Red Hill, where we sat by the roadside until the big carts lumbering behind overtook us. When travelling, our personal luggage was wrapped in a length of waterproof canvas, and on such occasions as this we were able by means of three sticks to transform it into a tiny tent, which provided a shelter in the shadow of which we spread our bedding. The spot was very attractive, for it supplied a bubbling spring, and near by there was a field of celandines on which to rest our sun-scorched eyes. We were now only a few miles from the lower ranges of the Tibetan hills, on which patches of shade were thrown by the passing clouds. To the back of us was a red sandstone cliff, which gave its name of Hung Shan to the temple. Farms were dotted over the landscape, each of which

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was entertaining a large number of visitors for the days of the fair. In the early morning bullock-carts full of women dressed in green, red, blue and purple wended their way across the plain, together with hundreds of small donkeys, ridden by young girls or children, two or three of whom would sit, one behind the other, adroitly guiding the little creature by means of a single rope fastened to its bridle.

The preaching-tent, from which we proclaimed our Message, was crowded from early morning until late afternoon, and thousands of books were eagerly bought. We were becoming well known in Kow Wai, and many greeted us as old friends. The grinning face of the wily carter who had taken us to Kinta—Golden Tower—was one of the first to appear! He now completely disregarded the fact that at our last parting he had shamelessly handed us over to the tender mercies of an incompetent youth with only a bullock-cart, caring nothing for the agreement he had solemnly entered on, when once his illicit goods were safely delivered, but advanced with the utmost cordiality and friendliness. 'Why! Miss French and Miss Cable! who would have thought of seeing *you* here? Where *do* you not go with your tent?' Addressing the crowd he explained, 'These are old friends of mine. They stayed in my home last year. You must listen to their preaching. It is all true,' and with a patronising gesture he produced a copper, saying, 'I would like to buy a book for this small boy, my sister's son.' With a parting nod he added, 'Hope the sales are good?'

The nights *à la belle étoile* were delightful, the only disadvantage being that no undressing was possible, so we drew out our wadded quilts, and lay down covered with a rug, to awake at sunrise and find some ploughmen with bovine eyes gazing wonderingly at us. One

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afternoon a storm blew up, and a woman from a poor little farm situated a quarter of a mile away came to offer us the hospitality of her home.

'I have been talking to my husband,' she said, 'and we both think that if it should rain in the night you would find this meadow turn into a swamp. I have a little second room in my house which we can clear for you. Come up and see it.'

We went with her and found a farmhouse consisting of one general room for sleeping, cooking and living purposes, but with a tiny outhouse which would be used by a man to watch the grain on the threshing-floor. This she prepared for us, and then entertained us with the best that her home could afford. Not knowing her name, we always referred to this woman as 'Lydia,' in remembrance of another woman who on a former occasion offered hospitality to missionaries.

Very early one morning as we sat in the celandine meadow, a man came toward us, squatted on his heels and entered into conversation. He had a refined face and expressive features. He told us that he was a leading actor in the troupe performing at the temple. 'You don't know me,' he said, 'but I have seen you many times and in various places distributing your tracts among the women of the audience. One of our men died last night, and we have just buried him over there,' indicating the direction with his chin. 'He was ill for three days and we carried him here, but we did not know he was dying until yesterday afternoon. He was in great pain, and we took it in turns to stay with him during the performance. The poor boy was only twenty years old, and his home was nearly 5000 *li* away. We have written to his people, but it is uncertain if the letter will reach them. I did not want to join my companions after the funeral, so I walked over to see you.'

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543 Our meals were somewhat of a problem in this happy
265 valley.[1] Each party brought its own picnic-basket, and the food-vendors only supplied titbits such as lumps of fat fried pork, apricot tea, and fermented rice-water. Our bag of bread was already finished, and the only food our men could make was flour mixed with oil, pulled out into long strips, nipped into small chunks, and boiled in water, and this meal we shared with them once a day, but still found ourselves craving for some form of bread. We were greatly delighted, therefore, when a little girl appeared with a home-steamed roll in her hand, and said: 'I have no money, but will you give me a gospel in exchange for this?' Finding that we were willing to do so, bread and new-laid eggs were afterwards frequently brought by children.

In spite of considerable forethought we had left Suchow for this long trip with a but poorly furnished store-box. Months before, we had written in several directions for needed supplies, but owing to the disturbed condition of China, all had failed us, and we were thankful to have enough tea in hand to allow ourselves a fresh brew once a day. Of the certainty of our daily ration we had no question, but beyond this many luxuries were supplied through the kindness of casual acquaintances. The old guardian at the Temple of the Red Hill, after we had sat and talked awhile with him, brought us back through his garden, and cut the best of his vegetables for us, while 'Lydia' also came down with a present of rice steamed with jujube fruit. On one occasion a resourceful student went out foraging for food and brought us back a dozen new-laid pheasants' eggs.

311 To the direct north lay a place called Hwahaitz, an extensive oasis covered with large farms. Since our

1 [Near Chikinpu at a fair—Analyst]

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first arrival in Suchow we had heard constant mention of this place, and had made many enquiries how best to reach it. It was very difficult to locate, and seemed to be two or three days' journey from every other oasis in the neighbourhood. We had the conviction that difficult though it might be, Hwahaitz must be visited by the preaching band. One of the Suchow enquirers superintended a business which had a branch in that place. Travelling through Kiayükwan we had unexpectedly met this man riding along the road, and told him of our determination. His instant reply was: 'I have just left there on my way to Suchow, but I will now turn back. You will find me waiting for you at Hwahaitz any time you get there. Fit it in as you can.'

At the close of a long day of preaching we cooked and ate a meal, then rolled up our tents, packed our carts, and left the grassy glades for the stony Gobi. A group of our new friends came to see us off, and among them was 'Lydia,' who had spent the afternoon in our company, sitting with a group of women teaching them the only text she knew: 'Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.'

The sun was setting when we crossed the main road, which would have taken us on our legitimate stage, and turned off due north into a region of bare volcanic hills without a sign of life. Even the single telegraph wire, as we left it behind us, had a friendly and alluring aspect. The moon was but a few days old, and soon abandoned us in a district more weird than anything we had previously seen, and we threaded our way by a path often scarcely wide enough for our cart wheels, and between high volcanic ranges of terrifying outline, from whose sides boulders had constantly fallen, blocking the narrow roadway. Once our front mule

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shied in terror at something none of us could see, but which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel. For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation, and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of five magnificent black vultures caught our attention. They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz--Analyst]

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waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 241
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132 136]
night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

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The days spent there were very hot and tiring, but eminently worth while.

CHAPTER XXXI

JADE GATE TO ANSI

491 To get away from Hwahaitz proved a more arduous business than reaching it had been, and fifty miles of the dreary Gobi still stretched between us and the town of Yümen—Jade Gate—which was our next objective. [312] In the whole of these fifty miles there was only one spot where water was obtainable, and this was merely a brackish spring near to a hut in which lived an old couple. We left Hwahaitz at 4 p.m. on a very hot day, but after sunset it turned bitterly cold. At 2 a.m. we reached the hut, where, having rolled ourselves in a coverlet, we lay down on the sand, but by 4 a.m. the wearisome spectacle of the sun staring at us over the rim of the world, fetched us reluctantly back to our wanderings. By 3 p.m. we joyfully sighted the distinctive tower of Jade Gate, and a more exhausted, travel-worn party seldom entered its portals, but as this was our third visit to Yümen there were plenty of friends to greet us. The gay little town was now looking its best, the opium fields were in bud, the wheat was green, while the freshness of early summer was still upon the foliage. We spent some days in the city, and discovered that a few changes had taken place since our 634 last visit. The Mandarin, with whose wife we had been friendly, had left, and his successor had modernised the entrance of the Yamen. A decoration of crossed flags ornamented the main entrance, over which a clock face was painted, the hands pointing as usual to

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the hour at which the midday meal is served. In place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China. 634

The business men, with whom we were friendly, seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang. 702 167

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a 000

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000 standstill, since 'He that regardeth the wind shall not sow.' Accustomed as we were to discounting street talk, a strong instinct yet told us that, this time, we were up against a real danger in the matter of the Sinkiang frontier, and though for the moment we said no more to the young men, we deeply desired to be given a clear indication to guide us.

Some days later, when we were in the town of Santaokow, Mr. Tu suddenly complained of severe pain, and in a few hours it was evident that he was in for a sharp attack of appendicitis. We did what was possible to alleviate his terrible sufferings, but for forty-eight hours we had no idea which way the illness would turn, and our anxiety was extreme. After this time, however, his condition improved, but it was clear to the whole party that it would be madness to attempt a desert journey with a man in this condition, so finally it was decided to send him back to Suchow, escorted by two of the students. It was very pathetic to see the disappointment of the men, but when we ourselves actually reached the frontier we then realised from what a truly terrible fate this incident in all probability saved them, and at least they had had all the satisfaction of completing the preaching tour to the cities within the Kansu border. Those who remained with us were older men, and would, we knew, be regarded as our necessary personal escort.

435 From Yümen to Ansi we were travelling over
579 familiar ground, and at every stage of the way there was always some friend to greet us. We also tried to stay at the same inns as on previous visits, for the Chinese are warmhearted towards those who are known to them, and all the small resources of the inn were at once placed at our disposal on the ground that we were old friends, and sometimes our stay in the

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house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 572
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed willow grow-
ing to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply [361]
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. [132]
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines:

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow;
> Midday to morn onward we go;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low!'

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a 'thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written:

> 'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful. The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excellent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

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~~Sinkiang-AJ-1~~

more we prepared to enter on a stage which was completely new to us, and which we were warned held difficulties greater than any which we had already faced.

CHAPTER XXXII

VIEWING BLACK GOBI

EACH afternoon of our stay at Ansi we wandered out through the North Gate to a little bridge which spanned the irrigation canal, and looked over the limitless expanse of grey grit mixed with small black pebbles, across which the next stage of the journey must be taken. This was Black Gobi, a plain so windswept as to have lost its sandy surface, which has been carried away by the gales and deposited elsewhere. When the hour of our departure arrived and our carts rolled out by that same North Gate, leaving behind us the last city of Kansu, we knew that we must prepare ourselves for a series of arduous stages, and that we should not see another walled town until we reached Hami. It was 5.30 p.m. when we left the inn, and though we had tried to make it an easy day, the number of callers had added to the inevitable fatigue of repacking, and we were weary before we started. As soon as we were out of the oasis we realised that the black, gritty surface was not as resisting as we had hoped, and the cart-wheels dragged heavily from the first.

Three miles from the town gate we passed a temple, and as was our custom got down from the carts in order to visit it, as well as the priest in charge. To our surprise we found the door fastened from within by a heavy stone, and were unable to get an answer to our knocking and calling. Our carters refused to be balked

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~~Sinkiang AF-1~~

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by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

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494
491

We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape. The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, and the caravans which normally move up and down this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

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~~Sinkiang AJ-1~~

312 his own room and cared for him, and the subsequent
485 doings of the day for the remainder of the party are best described in the words of the diary, written at the time: 'Ate, slept, got up, and ate again; then back to bed for the night.'

312 The oasis of Petuntz—'White Tower'—formed a green patch in the arid surroundings. A delightful-
[241] looking stream gushed from the cliff and ran into a tiny canal which watered a patch of wheat and a small field of the opium-poppy in full bloom, which raised in us the hope for vegetables, but we found the water to be too alkaline to permit their growth. This property of the water we had, however, already discovered for ourselves, for our first instinct on arrival had been to run to the crystal spring and drink deeply from it; it was, however, a most disappointing experiment, so that here we had to take our first lesson in self-control as regards drinking, for the advice of experienced travellers is: 'Where the water is brackish, drink the least possible, as the more you drink the more parched will be your mouth!' It was now we learnt the bitter lesson that that delicious beverage known to us as 'tea' became in these places only a noxious infusion of tannin which left our lips dry, cracked and black. We found the only palatable way of dealing with desert water was to boil dough-strings in it, the flour and water absorbing the salts. We also, as well as all other caravans, carried certain drugs to administer to the mules as required, serious illness being frequently caused by their inability to assimilate the unaccustomed qualities of the water, human beings, however, as well as beasts who spend long periods in these parts, become at length accustomed to it, and cease to notice its bitterness.

494 The life of the few families forming these settlements

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is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 600
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charming though deceptive name, and we reached it over 491
ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

1 [Residents of Petuntz -- Analyst]

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~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

485 no profit under the present conditions.[1] A petition had been addressed by the innkeepers to the Governor, bringing to his notice the fact that unless they were granted a sufficient government subsidy, they, too, would return to the city, in which case the road would become impassable to travellers, there being no one left to collect the necessary fuel for their use, nor anyone to keep the well clear of sand. In this locality we were 133 among low, bare hills of a dark and threatening appear- 491 ance. They were formed of a rock of a deep purple colour, their surface being covered with loose fragments which were constantly breaking away under the influence of the weather, and the ridges presented a sharp, spiked outline. We observed also traces of a greenish granite, while in places the ground was covered with small pieces of white porphyry which looked as though a slight snowstorm had fallen.

491 Our next stopping-place was Tachüan—'Great Spring'—and from thence we came on to Malienking— 494 'The Iris Well.' We here had been overtaken by a party of travellers from the province of Honan, an official hurrying to Kuche on the Kashgar road, to take over the seals of office from a Mandarin who was seriously ill. For several days we kept together, greatly to our advantage, as Mr. Yüan had excellent animals and was travelling very light, so that at each stage he got ahead of us and kindly gave warning of our arrival, with instructions that a room should be swept for us and fodder prepared for the animals. On 000 several occasions this courteous gentleman slept in his cart in order that we might have the use of the only guest-room, and each day he and his suite joined us at family worship (his tall Moslem carter standing on the fringe of the little group, signifying his approval as we read the Scriptures), all reverently bowing in prayer

[1] [Restricted travel, see p. 187--Analyst]

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Sinkiang AI 1

when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that : 'Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits ; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

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486 [137] [178] site but marked by a shrine flanked with two high poles. A stake roughly carved to suggest the form of a man was driven into the ground, and its rounded knob was thick with the oil which generations of carters have poured over it as a libation.

We hastened on, and before nightfall came in sight of the Pass, which bears the strange name of 'The Ravine of Baboons.' It was not encouraging to catch sight of a group of soldiers watching us through field-glasses from an eminence. At the entrance to the Ravine we found a military tent pitched, and the guards waiting to question us. The N.C.O. was none too well-mannered. He scoffed at the idea of our carrying so heavy a load of books, and said: 'If you tell me stories like that I'll search your baggage through!' We then produced our passports, which he scrutinised. They were important-looking documents, and evidently impressed him, perhaps the more so because he was wholly illiterate, as we discovered next day. The mere sight of them, however, had a wholesome effect upon him, for he handed them back with an apology for not being able to offer us tea in his tent. We continued our way through the narrow Pass for another two miles, and at every turn of the road soldiers appeared. When we reached the little village we were at once surrounded by a crowd of military, and an officer coming on the scene told us we could not proceed until such a time as the Governor, by telegram, should have indicated his 485 willingness for us to do so. He directed us then to the only vacant room in the place, which was situated in an inn court so small that the carts had to stand in the road outside. The room itself was wretched beyond description. It had no door, while a hole in the wall served as window, so that we were unable for a moment to escape the inspection of the crowd of soldiers. The

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kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.' 485

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court was again crowded, and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and we signified to him our desire to move on that day. He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it. [525] [681] 486

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G.

I[inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

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486 in Tientsin,' he said, 'and know Westerners well; they are always in a hurry. Now you stay here and thoroughly rest for a few days.' Our hearts sank at the prospect of official procrastination and excuses, but we would not give ourselves away as impatient foreigners, so thanked him and smiled, thus avoiding the fate of one concerning whom it is written:

> 'All that was left was a tombstone white,
> Because he tried to hustle the East.'

742 We found on enquiry that the garrison[1] held a thousand men, and that two of the Commanding Officers had
000 each a wife with him. Changing into clean dresses we therefore started out forthwith to pay our respects to these ladies. One of them was little more than a pitiful child, cowed to the point of scarcely daring to open her mouth, and whose husband was a heavy opium-smoker. The other lady was a strong-minded, intelligent Moslem, of a fine physique. She talked with us on a variety of subjects and made us give her a lesson in the Government Phonetic Script, of which she already knew something from a young Shansi boy who was not allowed to proceed on his journey and was acting as her servant.

Returning to the inn, we unpacked the travelling harmonium and some parcels of books, and accompanied by the Christian men proceeded to hold an open-air service. In a moment the gambling rings were broken up and we were surrounded by an eager crowd of listeners. Then the two officers appeared, and took control of the men. Hymn-sheets were handed round, and soon the choruses were taken up and sung vigorously. The sight of the gaily-bound gospels and other books proved so attractive that we were overwhelmed with customers, and from the time of our first service we had

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst

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no further trouble in the inn from inquisitive onlookers. 000
We hung a curtain at our door and no one ventured to lift it.

The aspect of Hsinghsinghsia was very remarkable. 133
It is a narrow ravine between massive rocks. All these were of sombre colour and forbidding outline, some being veined with long streaks of white granite, which traversed them just as forked-lightning appears to rend an ink-black sky. The lower portion of the rocks was worn by the waters of some ancient river, and an old tablet records that 'In this place baboons were wont to come to drink,' hence the name 'The 764
Ravine of Baboons.' The only object of historical interest was the grave of a Mahommedan saint, whose tomb was cut in the solid rock. It was sealed, but hearing that we wished to see it, a sergeant broke the seals and allowed us to enter. The sepulchre dated from the Han dynasty, in the early days of the Christian era, and is believed by the faithful to hold an empty tomb, the holy man, whose name was Kai, having come to life again and passed elsewhere. In the Chinese 135
temple the Taoist priest showed us with pride a fine specimen of quartz, which he had procured from a neighbouring hill. The name of Hsinghsinghsia, by the alteration of a character without changing the sound, may also be read 'The Starry Pass,' and the two names are used interchangeably. This quartz he called the 'Star Stone' and the hill from which it is taken 'Starry Mountain.' It glitters in the moonlight like a thousand twinkling stars.

As the evangelistic services continued we became 486
very friendly with the men, from whom we heard many 702
tragic stories. One boy of sixteen had been on his way from his home in Yungchang, Kansu, to an uncle, who had a business in Hami. 'My mother is a widow and I

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486 702 am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

[681] A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

485 On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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THE INN OF LOST ILLUSIONS.

"This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose your hotels are all better than this."

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[FACING P. 196]

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485 mud floor was transformed into a series of mud pits so treacherously slippery that we had to move about with the greatest care. During a fine spell between two storms the Commanding Officer appeared at our door to return our call. We were not sorry that he should see our plight, but his only comment was: 'This is a small place, and the inns are poor. I suppose that in England your hotels are all better than this?'

486 Though we suffered so much discomfort from the rain, 712 we were secretly rejoicing, because news was brought to us that a number of young men had escaped that night, and thanks to the rain had not yet been recaptured. [312] Hsinghsinghsia has the only spring of water in an immense area, and the patrols found it sufficient to watch the next springs on either side in order to take deserters. As the hunted man crept stealthily to the water's edge to slake his thirst under cover of darkness, the mounted soldiers seized him, bound him and drove him back to the camp, where many had died from the severity of the flogging received. After the rains, however, little pools of water collected in the hollows of the granite rocks, and thus enabled the fugitives to leave the main road and so reach freedom. Many deaths had occurred through pedestrians, or mounted travellers, trying to cross the frontier without passing the camp. One day six riderless mules were captured, the men having, doubtless, died of thirst in the sands.

000 It was very touching to see the delight with which groups of these poor men would gather around us and talk for long hours. We had travelled so much in North China that we knew the localities from which several of them had come. Some from Shansi found that we actually knew the very villages where their parents lived, and in some cases we had even visited the homes of relatives. One youth was the son of the

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000 Kinta woman, Mrs. Ma, in whose home we had been entertained each time we passed through that town.

The great love that a Chinese, even though a prodigal, has for his home, brought many to the point of tears as we spoke of familiar scenes, and it was not difficult to speak to them of a Father in Heaven, Whose goods they were wasting in a far country, and Who was waiting for their return.

The Chinese are a long-suffering people; they bear the tyrannies of their oppressors, and the dominion of rapacious officialdom, with a pathetic resignation, but the hour is at hand when they will rise and avenge the wrongs of generations. In such an hour no violence is regarded as an excess, and they will deal with their oppressors in their own way.

CHAPTER XXXIV

GOBI NIGHTS

486 On the second day of our sojourn in Hsinghsinghsia, seeing that no word had come to authorise our leaving, we thought we would communicate with Mr. Hunter, of the China Inland Mission in Urumchi, but when we innocently suggested that we wished to send a telegram, we were put off with the reply that it was needless to involve ourselves in unnecessary expense; and when we further insisted we were met with a blank refusal—the telegraph wires could be used by the military only. Seeing how things were going, we wrote a letter in which, knowing that it would be censored, we merely informed Mr. Hunter of our whereabouts; on the third day, however, calling at the post-office, we saw our letter still lying there on the table, and were told that the

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censor had not yet called! These incidents, naturally, 486
greatly added to our sense of discomfort, and we now seriously began to wonder when we should be allowed to leave this place of detention.

A party of Tibetan lamas, with their attendants, were also, like ourselves, unable to proceed, and having pitched a group of tents on the sand, had already been waiting a week for their permission to move on. They were greatly inconvenienced by the delay as they were travelling with fifteen little donkeys, including their pack animals. On the fourth morning, there being still no word of the permission we were desiring, we wandered out to this Tibetan camp to enquire if the lamas were more fortunate than ourselves. 'Any news?' we asked. 'News? What news can you hope for with such a gang as this? Our donkeys will soon be dead for lack of fodder, and if we all die they don't care!'

As we sat and talked, a string of carts appeared, laden 705
with sacks of wheat, bundles of fodder, vats of oil, and a few baskets of vegetables. This was the food supply for the camp,[1] as both men and beasts were fed from the Hami oasis, six days distant. We then followed the waggons back to the camp, and, glad of any diversion from the monotony of the day, we watched the unloading. We next paid the usual midday call to the tele- 486
graph office, and there, to our unspeakable relief, learnt that a message had at last come permitting both ourselves and the lamas to proceed. Fearful, however, lest the authorities might suddenly change their mind and insist on our taking a longer 'rest-cure,' we hurried back and issued orders that the animals should at once be fed and watered, and the carts prepared for an afternoon start. Therefore, when an hour later the officer called with news that the permit had come, we were almost ready to leave.

1 [At Hsinghsinghsia-- Analyst]

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486 'The Governor declares,' read the officer, who this morning was in a flattering mood, 'that the three ladies, Feng Precious Pearl, Feng Polished Jade, and Kai All Brave, are people of the highest reputation, and therefore they, their escort and baggage, are permitted to enter Turkestan without delay.'

There was great lamentation in the garrison when the men saw us preparing to leave. 'They say that next week we shall get our pay, and if this be true we would have bought all your remaining books!' The gaming tables were abandoned as the crowd gathered to say good-bye and wish us good luck, and as we left the ravine an orderly appeared carrying a handful of vegetables—two cucumbers and a melon—from the officer's wife. The supply of these luxuries from Hami being very limited this gift represented a whole day's ration for her household.

491 It was with a delightful sense of freedom that we emerged from the 'Ravine of the Baboons' and took 133 the desert path once more. We had left the grey and black pebbles of the Black Gobi behind us on the south side of the ravine, and we now came out into a most interesting and varied country. Granite hills surrounded us, and frequently the carts had to be dragged over immense slabs. The soil in places was red; the outlines of the ranges of hills were bare and rugged, while their colouring was as delicate as it was remarkable. Blue, purple, green and grey stretches of rock lay all around us, and as sun and shadow played on them the whole landscape was iridescent with the tones of the rainbow. We also passed at the very foot of the 135 Starry Mountain, and there delayed a few minutes so as 316 to fill our hands with the glittering fragments of quartz. At the base of the granite rocks were excavated holes, large enough to admit the entrance of a man's body, and

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these proved to be gold-mines from which the sand, 135
having been removed in baskets, provides a fair amount 316
of gold-dust, after being washed out. In some places[1]
the grit on which we walked was composed of minute
granite fragments of every colour, and it was very 136
interesting to notice that the little, grey, desert lizard,
which had never left us all through our travels, had so
accommodated itself to the soil in which it lived that its
skin had become many-hued, like a beautiful mosaic,
so that it was indistinguishable from the surrounding
ground.

A large temple stood on an eminence not far from the 782
ravine, and here we found the lamas, who had been as
prompt as ourselves in quitting the camp, burning
incense and making obeisance to the gods. The lamas
expressed some surprise that we neither burned incense
nor prostrated ourselves, nor sought the blessing of the
Guardians of the Road by striking the temple bell with
its wooden hammer to call their attention. We were
the only travellers on that road who would dare to take
such a journey without observing this ritual, and such
an omission must be either a sign of impiety or that we
enjoyed the protection of a power superior to any god
in that temple. 'We never start on our day's journey
without asking the blessing of God,' explained one of
our carters, who two months previously would have
been as unwilling as the lamas themselves to leave
without the blessing of the Goddess of Mercy.

It was fortunate for us that this first journey, taken 312
as it was by day, was not an abnormally long one, and
by 10 p.m. we reached Shachüantz—'The Spring of
the Sands'—but unfortunately it surpassed all the
others we had hitherto sampled for the bad quality of
its water, which was metallic as well as bitter and salt.
The slabs of granite over which we had driven had, 494

1 [Near Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]

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494 moreover, told badly on our cart-wheels, and one of the spokes had cracked; all the same we pushed on, resuming the night stages. The hour of departure was fixed for 6 p.m., so the whole party ate a meal at 4 p.m., after which the care of the animals, packing the carts and settling the inn account kept us busy until we left.

000 As soon as we were clear of the village, according to our habit, we enjoyed a time of reading aloud, the smooth, sandy roads keeping the cart so steady that without undue fatigue to the eyes we were easily able to do so. As daylight faded, however, we dismounted for our evening walk, which generally continued until darkness fell, for we had not our carters' gift of seeing by night. At this time of the year there were only about seven hours of darkness, yet always at sunset the icy chill seemed to rise from the surface of the sand, when everyone at once put on an extra garment. Then silence fell on the party, and the only sound heard was the rhythmic clang of the great camel bell which swung from the axle of our big cart. The crescent moon rose and set; we watched the great stars move slowly across the sky; on the horizon magnetic fires rose and fell, and when the driver touched the mules with his whip a flash of light appeared. The space, the silence, the darkness, the loneliness all produced a state of consciousness when the accepted values of life seemed readjusted, being found to be curiously different from those accepted by day in the busy throng. Day uttereth speech, but night showeth knowledge; and we have remained wiser women for the meditations of those Gobi nights.

494 312 Our carters had frequently made reference to a stage of unusual difficulty and length still lying ahead, and at Kushui—'The Spring of Bitter Water'

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—we found that we had reached it, and that 46 English miles still divided us from Kotzyentun— —'The Dove Tower'—which was the next oasis. We now occasionally met a convoy taking supplies to the troops, and at the 'Spring of Bitter Water' our carters were delighted to find a string of carts returning to Hami, whose drivers proposed to travel with us. So all started in good time together for the record march and made good progress until 1 a.m., when, without warning, two sections of the wheel rim detached themselves and fell to the ground. The situation would have been hopeless had it not been for our fellow-travellers, but now in the space of half an hour the Chinese evangelist came to an arrangement with one of the carters to transfer us and our baggage to his cart, the remainder of the party staying behind to patch up the wheel and to drag the empty vehicle somehow to the end of the appointed stage.

494 [312]

Meanwhile we jolted along, but before we reached 'The Dove Tower' the sun was high and the scorching heat was almost intolerable, for there was no cover and we were wholly unprotected from its rays. All the same on we jolted, sitting upon some mysterious boxes, which were the cargo of our new conveyance; but before long the aroma with which we seemed to be surrounded caused us to enquire what merchandise was being conveyed over this desert road. 'Dead mules,' was the answer. 'Two of mine have just died, so I have packed them into those boxes to sell for meat further down the road.' The end of the incident was, that we bought the meat, and promptly abandoned it!

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CHAPTER XXXV

FROM DOVE TOWER TO HAMI

361 [366] THE oasis of 'Dove Tower' proved to be somewhat larger than those which we had recently passed. It even boasted a little shop where one could purchase matches, cigarettes, tobacco, small-sized face towels, incense, and the poorest quality of the paper articles [205] required for temple worship. This shop was also the post-office, though it provided neither stamps nor post-cards; it kept, however, a surprisingly good stock of 485 medicinal plants and opium. The few inns which com- [136] posed the village were built at the foot of a high, over-hanging cliff riddled with holes, in which wild doves built their nests. Flocks of these birds were always flying across the face of the cliff, their wings shining in the sunlight as though covered with silver and their feathers with yellow gold. The heat reflected from the cliff was intense, and we were glad to find the inn room to be windowless, and depending entirely for ventilation on a small hole in the roof. This type of room at first sight seems to be devoid of any single element of comfort, for on entering the traveller finds himself in a dark apartment scarcely larger than a cupboard. Apart from a narrow passage, the whole floor space is occupied by a mud *kang*. In place of a ceiling the roof is lined with dried grass, indescribably filthy and coated with a black deposit from the heavy smoke of the smouldering manure, and which grass gradually loosens and hangs down but a few feet from the sleeper's face. A small round hole in the roof, about the size of an ordinary stove-pipe, supplies the ventilation and one ray of daylight, for as there is no window, on closing the

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door the darkness is almost complete. Experience in travel, however, enables one to appreciate the fact that in this dark hole: 1. The rays of the sun being excluded, the traveller (whose only rest is taken by day) has a good chance of sleep; 2. The heat does not easily penetrate this earthen dwelling; 3. The darkness is so distasteful to flies that once the room is shut up they voluntarily leave by the hole in the roof; 4. The Gobi wind and swirling sand are as effectively excluded as possible; 5. The tired traveller may sleep as soundly as he pleases, there being no aperture through which a stealthy hand can introduce itself and abstract his goods while he slumbers.

We had been in bed for about three hours when we heard the sound of the derelict cart approaching the inn. It was quite unmistakable owing to the thud given each time when the injured portion of the wheel met the ground. There were a few deep groans from the driver; a brief conversation with the innkeeper; and then, silence while the exhausted men slept.

In the afternoon a council of war was held, and the Turki driver of our rescued conveyance was induced, for a moderate sum of money, to fill up his empty cart with the heavy luggage, which he undertook to deliver in Hami. There was no blacksmith nor wheelwright in the village, but a venerable Turki volunteered his amateur services, and by means of a length of rope, a few nails and the skilful use of an adze, before nightfall the wheel was so far repaired, that by letting the cart go empty we hoped to bring it in safety to Hami.

Our next night of travel brought us to the well-named oasis of Changliushui—'The Inexhaustible Spring.' As we approached by moonlight we suddenly caught sight of a tree, the first we had seen since leaving

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361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
485 whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
312 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained: 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard. The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
494 we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
312 for the normal conditions of travel and business to obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon. We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the bubbling spring, talking with the women who came there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance was very strange and gave the impression
794 of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous, dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little
563 boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst

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the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but 563
the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious 262
mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volun- 137
teered to cook the dinner, and having espied round the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view, was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface, being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours we wondered how things would go with her. By evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she gradually recovered. Others of the party were also affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude 361
to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—'The 485
Elms'—where by the side of the village pond we found 133
a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami, and next morning we started early, all excitement at the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy
plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had 000
only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist, who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

1 [Changliushui -- Analyst]

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to be in Urumchi, three weeks' journey away) had come down to meet us, and was only a few miles distant. The horse he was riding was Mr. Hunter's, who had sent him back to announce his arrival.

Before long we caught sight of a small cart of an unusual shape, in reality a little ammunition-waggon, used during the war, and sold to Mr. Hunter, in Urumchi, by some Russians. As we approached, the little conveyance drew up by the side of the road, and a tall, upright figure, dressed in coarse, white Turki cotton, dismounted and stood by the horses' heads. For a moment only we hesitated as to whether this was indeed Mr. Hunter or a Turki merchant, but there was something in his bearing which distinguished him from Chantow, Kirghiz, or even Russian. In a moment we had leapt from our own cart and were shaking hands with this compatriot, who though living a six weeks' journey away from us was still our nearest neighbour on the North-West road. His blue eyes expressed simplicity and candour, his hair and beard were white, and his presence was most benign and dignified. This was the man from the Scotch Highlands who a quarter of a century ago had made his way to Central Asia, and establishing his base at Urumchi had lived there ever since, often travelling, however, over great distances, driving from Chuguchak on the Siberian border to the Ili Valley, Barkul and Hami, Turfan and Kashgar.

For a few moments we stood talking, and he told us that rooms were hired for us, in Hami, at as comfortable an inn as he could find, where he urged us now to rest, promising to call and see us again in the late afternoon. Then with old-world courtesy he bowed us back to our cart, and disappeared under the awning of his own little waggon.

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Hami is by far the largest and most fertile oasis through which we had passed. For six miles before we sighted the town we were travelling in highly-cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorgum. Approaching the town we passed through a fine avenue of trees; the sky overhead was cloudless, and in the background the snow-peaks of the Karlik Tagh Range glittered in the sunshine. At that moment a group of girls in long scarlet dresses and flowing white veils came running down the road chasing a herd of unruly donkeys. They gave the last touch to a brilliant scene of prosperity and riotous colour.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI

THE beauties of Hami exceeded all our expectations, high as these had been. The inn in which we stayed was situated in the large, unwalled, commercial area of the town, and the landlord was a wealthy Moslem Turki. When our drivers turned into the spacious, open courtyard bordered with well-kept flower-beds, and surrounded by rows of well-built rooms, we could scarcely credit that this was the 'inn' of which Mr. Hunter had spoken so modestly. A suite of three rooms, communicating by inner doors, was allotted us, and we found that we were the first tenants to occupy them. The windows were newly papered, and with a fresh, clean matting on the *kang* all was spotlessly clean. There was no stabling provided, however, so after unlading, our drivers, carts, and mules departed to another inn of a more ordinary type. We had the

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485 exclusive use of a small kitchen, in which we cooked with our own utensils. Our word was accepted that no pork, lard or swine's flesh of any description would be used, nevertheless the members of this large Moslem clan preferred employing another kitchen rather than that contaminated by wandering Gentiles.

262 The landlord was on the spot to receive us, and at once we were served with a melon, which was entirely worthy of the reputation that Hami has gained for this fruit. An hour later we sat down to an abundant meal of rice and good Chantow bread, a dish of chopped mutton and egg-plant fried together, a plate of French beans *sautés* in mutton fat with sliced cucumber, and the whole accompanied by unlimited 'sweet water' tea, followed by slices of cantaloupe melon—truly a feast for the gods!

485 Before we had finished our meal Mr. Hunter arrived with an armful of our much accumulated mail, which kept us fully occupied for the remainder of the afternoon. The landlord meanwhile explained to us that his inn was only recently built, and was constructed to accommodate such merchants as might need to spend a considerable period in Hami. It was not yet officially opened, but when his old friend, Mr. Hunter, asked that we might be his first guests, he could not refuse him, especially in view of the long distance which we had come. This eventful day then closed with a hot sponge-bath, as, for the first time since leaving Suchow, we were able to obtain sufficient hot water for our use.

361 During the next few days we visited every portion of the three settlements which form the city of Hami.
634 There is a well-built, mud-walled town in which is situated the Palace of the Khan, known by the Chinese as Wang ye.

Jenghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, bestowed

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THE WONDERFUL CITY OF HAMI.
The Tomb of the Khans.

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this oasis on his son, Chagatai, and Hami has never ceased to be ruled by a succession of Khans, who at the present day are wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of China, and thus avoid the friction which would be caused by any rebellious policy. At a little distance stood another walled city which contained the Chinese Yamen barracks and garrison, and where a good portion of the Chinese population reside. Outside, between and around these two enclosures, were the busy streets and covered bazaars, forming a business quarter for both Chinese and Turki. Some splendid parks, through which ran a wide canal, flanked the Huei Huei[1] city. Every available acre of land adjacent to the town was used for intensive market-gardening, and beyond this, to the very edge of the oasis (which stretched seven miles to north and south, and five miles to east and west), the land was brought under cultivation by Turki farmers.

As usual, we took the first opportunity of calling on the wives of our landlord. They occupied certain inner courtyards, well furnished and decorated with flowers both cut and growing. The harem contained the regulation number of four wives, and a goodly company of children, as well as a widowed relative and her daughter.

The girls wore gay dresses made in one piece, slit at the neck by a hole, through which the head passed, and which was then tied in on either shoulder. Even the smallest girls wore their dresses to the ankle. A veil, usually of white muslin, but in some cases made of coloured silk, covered the head and fell to the knees. It concealed the hands, and when in mixed company was held up and adroitly manipulated, so as to be drawn across the face or withdrawn at will. The women's

[1] Huei Huei, the Chinese word for Moslem.

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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

563 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were
463 gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in
366 the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

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All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke of themselves as coming from Tientsin; the banks and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people; coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as to warrant an old name for Hami—'The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of 'Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

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244 grows to enormous size, and varieties of the little '*tien kwa*,' '*mien kwa*' and '*hsiang kwa*' were here, as in China, prime favourites with the Chinese. Melon cultivation has been carried by the Kumulik to a fine art. On a sandy or stony patch the plants are so trained as to allow each fruit to rest upon a dry, sand-baked spot, where it absorbs the heat of the torrid rays. The grower must work ceaselessly in his garden, watering, pruning and training the tendrils, and when the fruit has come to perfection he and his assistant never leave the tiny lodge from which they watch their precious merchandise, even taking it in turn to sleep. When the fruit is still quite young and the skin soft, each melon is branded with the grower's monomark, and when ripe this mark stands out in bold relief, white and hard.

793 One day we took a good consignment of Arabic gospels and tracts in our cart, and with the Chinese 291 Evangelist went to pay some calls in the Huei Huei 482 city. As we entered the gate we were met by an old white-bearded Ahung in a white turban and long gown. By his side walked a tall and beautiful woman in a pale blue cotton dress and white veil, who carried a water-pot on her head. The whole picture was so reminiscent of Galilean scenes as to cause us a momentary shock as we realised that this was not Nazareth but the 'shameful city of Camul'—for thus did Marco Polo refer to this oasis of the desert.

592 As usual the women asked us to their houses, and where there was a difficulty with the language it always seemed easy to find an interpreter, for the Moslem frequently adds a Chinese wife to his harem, and many of the people are bilingual. The rooms in which we 352 were received were not unlike those of the Chinese, 576 only that the *kangs* were much lower and unwarmed,

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and covered with handsome carpets. In accordance with the custom we took off our shoes before mounting them. The family wardrobe was kept in handsome, inlaid boxes, and on the tables stood large brass dishes which served to hold the national dish of 'pillau,' as well as brass and copper pots for purposes of purification.

In every house there were several wives and many children. The number of inhabitants of such cities as stated on maps and in surveys is seriously underrated, the extraordinarily rapid increase both by the number of children born and by colonisation having brought the population to a much higher figure than statistics allow.

After visiting a few homes, we proceeded to view a remarkable willow tree which is reckoned as being one of the sights of Hami. This plant presents a congeries of about fifty trunks, curiously gnarled, knotted, and intertwined, and yet all are said to grow from one root, having spread so as to fill several courtyards. After duly admiring this wonder we returned to the cart, and when we had taken our seats, opened our parcel of books. In a moment the word went round, and we were the centre of an excited crowd of boys, each of whom wanted to buy a volume. Experience of the bold and insolent Moslem schoolboy, however, had taught us to be wary in dealing with them, so before we allowed one copy to be purchased the Evangelist explained that on every page the sacred name of 'Huda' (God) was written, which must on no account be treated with disrespect. Nevertheless, for as long as the store of books lasted, we sold them as fast as we could hand them out to both old and young alike, and when the last was gone the demand for more was so persistent that the driver was obliged to whip up

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Molly, and we left the Huei Huei city at a canter, pursued by a crowd of schoolboys offering higher prices than we had asked for the privilege of buying.

The next afternoon was spent in the Chinese city, where a quiet and respectful crowd stood around and conversed as we sat on benches, sipping tea, at the counter of the leading tradesman of the place. Our shopping expeditions have been infrequent during the years of our residence in China, it being more convenient for busy people who really want an article, to have a selection brought to the house for approval. On the few occasions, however, when we have visited a shop the expedition partook of the nature of a social event. On our arrival benches are drawn forward, tea served, and the master of the establishment, who converses on many topics, is flanked by a large group of apprentices, who are kept running to and fro fetching and carrying goods. On this occasion we wished to buy a few yards of silk and three face towels. The merchant, not loath to display his wide knowledge of the world before the admiring crowd, on hearing that we came from England, remarked: 'Ah! yes, the capital, London! A bigger city than Pekin. This is a good piece of silk. Is England a republic? Oh, a kingdom? I have heard that you are ruled by Upper and Lower Houses.' Meanwhile we examined every foot of the silk for uneven threads, while the crowd murmured: 'They know all about everything!' We had already impressed the multitude, by the fact that when our family names were asked for, one of us had answered: 'My name is Feng, with two drops of water,' by this means designating which of the many characters representing 'Feng' we indicated.

It seemed a pity to introduce business into such a social atmosphere, but when the silk had been weighed

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and priced, and the face towels selected, with a good deal of advice from the crowd, well-mannered bargaining began. Our basic offer was about half of the price written on the tag attached to the goods. The courteous merchant then smiled and indicated a notice hanging outside his shop: 'No prices discussed here,' to which the Greek chorus again echoed: 'He does not discuss the prices!' We affably acquiesced, but assured him that our money was insufficient for such an expensive outlay. With a wave of the hand, he met us half-way, saying: 'You are guests from a far country. Have a little more tea!' thus subtly indicating that the bargain was concluded. A chit was produced by one of the apprentices, and another began to rub down the ink on his slab, being careful in our presence to observe the Confucian dictum that when the 'Princely Man' rubs down his ink, no sound is ever heard. While he was thus occupied in preparing the materials necessary to write out the account, we rapidly noted the amount in pencil on paper, and waited to see if his tallied. 'Did you see that?' said a man at our elbow. 'You'll find that they are right, too Reading, writing and arithmetic are all quite easy to them!' We rose to leave, but as we did so we handed a packet of Christian books to the merchant, which he accepted with evident pleasure, then with sharp orders he dispersed the assistants and escorted us to our carriage.

Early one morning the landlord appeared at our door in a state of great agitation. A young woman, married to a relative of his, had poisoned herself with strychnine, and they urged us to go and make an attempt to save her life. 'Our own remedy,' he said, 'is mare's milk, and her husband is scouring the city to get some.' We were taken to the house where a young woman lay on

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the *kang* surrounded by friends and neighbours. When we had dealt with the case, and felt that her life was saved, the young husband expressed his gratitude, saying: 'I thought you would come, for though you do not know us, my wife and I used to regularly attend your children's service at Suchow.'

We have already remarked that the constantly recurring inference made by Moslems that their superior cleanliness prevented their allowing our party the use of kitchen premises and cooking utensils, was a source of irritation to the Chinese and to ourselves. An incident which occurred at Hami showed how much these self-righteous people really valued cleanliness and hygiene. An exhausted mule fell and died about twenty yards from our front door, in the very middle of the busy quarter of the town. The harness was simply removed from the carcase, which was left to be devoured by dogs, wolves and crows. In forty-eight hours the bones were picked clean, but during that time the stench, the sight, and the swarming flies were almost unendurable, and each time we left the inn it was to walk past that ghastly mass of corruption.

One day we wandered to the market-gardens which surround the city, and where a whole population are occupied in producing fruit and vegetables. We no sooner made our appearance than some beautiful little girls came flitting over the plank bridges which spanned the network of irrigation ditches, bringing us word that their mothers invited us to tea in their homes.

Each day brought us some visitors of interest. The son of the Khan came many times, bringing different friends, all anxious for conversation on religious matters. On many questions of vital importance we joined issue with the followers of the Prophet; but when we declared, 'The Lord Jesus Christ is coming to rule the earth as

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King,' they always acquiesced, but added, 'Truly the *Holy man, Jesus,* is coming soon, and he will rule the earth in righteousness.'

CHAPTER XXXVII

ASIAN TRIBES

THE town called by the Chinese 'Hami' is known to the Turki as 'Kamul,' while Marco Polo wrote of it as 'Camul.' Its inhabitants are called 'Kumuliks.' 175

The Venetian traveller wrote: 'Camul has customs of the husbands giving up not only their house but their wives also for the entertainment of strangers. The women are, in truth, very handsome, very sensual, and fully disposed to conform in this respect to the injunctions of their husbands. In the middle of the thirteenth century Mangu Khan stopped the practice, but after three years the people petitioned him to allow them to return to it, saying that it was pleasing to the gods, who blessed them in consequence. His answer was: "Since you appear so anxious to persist in your own shame and ignominy, let it be granted as you desire. Go, live to your base customs and manners."' It is impossible but that such an ancestry should have left its impress on the unique population found in this town to-day, and the geographical position of the oasis also plays its part in forming the distinctive character of the Kumulik, in whose blood are strains of every tribe inhabiting the Central Asian plateau.

The first inhabitants and makers of the oasis were the ancient Uigurs who, on being driven by the Mongols from northern Dzungaria, in the Altai region, settled on

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175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned [164] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

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conditions of life in a new country, and though living 563
in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their [142]
features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems [779]
in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the [241]
agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a 197
language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern 563
road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the [221]
nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

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563 but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem [291] nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinctive cap and high heels to his top-boots, We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper *is a Russian subject*, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. [291] The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large [779] number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

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Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders.

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other

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175 hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed
779 by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan
797 became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few
186 years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

000 The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

797 The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

132 THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any
487 alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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indicate. The former lies across Chinese Turkestan to 487
the south of the Tian Shan Range, passing by Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar; the latter, cutting through the Tian Shan Range, runs along its northern side, through Urumchi to the Ili Valley and Kulja. It was this latter route that we followed.

Our cart was returned by the wheelwright fitted with 484
splendid new wheels, the mules were rested, and all pro- 312
mised well for the next lap of the trail. A Chinese travel- 133
ler's proverb speaks of the long journey from Suchow to Hami as 'unmitigated bitterness,' and of that which still lay before us as a medium between the 'bitter and the sweet.' Certain it was that we had reached the end of most of the brackish water oases, and we found that the plain which now lay before us was, in most places, duly supplied with springs and wells of sweet water. The three halts beyond Hami are known as 'the First, Second, and Third Stops,' and the traveller is expected to do the three stages at a pull. However, after eleven hours we only reached the second halt, and refused to go further. The first night-stage on leaving a resting-place was always particularly trying, coming as it did after a busy day of final preparations and farewell calls. There was no possibility of rest by day or by night, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were always dead beat.

'Second Halt' was an attractive place, watered by a 361
rushing stream. The village was much larger than 312
those south of Hami, and there were apple trees laden 245
with nearly ripe fruit hanging over the walls of the farms. After some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from 484
their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. 577
They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi

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484 once in five years. An unwritten law exacts that the journey south be taken in a cart with every appearance 577 of affluence, lest fellow-townsmen should scoff and say: 'They went to "Kow Wai" to make a fortune, and have come back penniless vagrants!' A subtle appreciation of the ethics of filial piety has made it customary for the whole party when leaving home again to do so on foot, the suggestion being that every available dollar has been left with aged parents, and that the son starts out again a poor man to seek his fortune. The band was composed of eighteen youths, and one boy of fifteen who was nephew to the manager of the firm and had been entrusted by his uncle to the care of the older men. They had one donkey which carried a few bundles, and on which the lad was able to get a lift. Each one carried across his shoulder a flexible pole with a basket slung to either end, in one of which was his wadded quilt and a change of clothes, in the other a sack of flour and his bowl and chopsticks, while from the pole was also attached a little water can to carry a drink for the way. These men had tramped for over seventy days by track roads from central Shansi to the Yellow River, and from thence by the 'long grass route' to Ansi. This shortcut brought them across the north of Shensi and direct to the North-West territory, avoiding Lanchow. For several days we met them at each stage, and on the strength of being fellow-provincials we became exceedingly friendly. They told us that each man was allowed eighteen dollars (about £2) for road expenses, and by travelling very quickly and economically they were just able to do it for that amount.

486 'How did you get through Hsinghsinghsia?' we asked.

'We had return passports from the Governor when we left Kucheng last year,' they said, 'so they did not

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dare to detain us, and the head of the firm had given notice of the day we should cross the frontier; but we never knew a moment's peace till we were out of the hands of that gang. How different from General Feng's soldiers! We passed right through their fighting lines, and they never seized even our little donkey! The officer said, "These men are honest apprentices; they have a long journey ahead; no one is to touch them, their goods or their donkey!" That's something like an army!' 486

The following morning we reached 'Third Halt,' which we found to be a torrid place, lying in a cup of the hills. Our inn rooms were intolerably hot, and after a brief rest we got up and sat under the trees, hoping to escape from the flies, and also seize the advantage of any passing breeze. While resting there we heard the sound of the familiar camel-bell, and looking up watched a string of sixty of these beasts cross the village stream. The banks were muddy, and the awkwardness of the camel when walking on slippery ground was evident. These beasts frequently come to grief when attempting to travel on other than sandy roads, and broken legs are not infrequent at a river's edge. The driver was a Barkul man, which city is colonised by Chinese, many of whom make their living by grazing camels. The Turki is of no use as a camel driver. He is too impetuous, and seems unable to give these animals the peculiar care which they need. Strong, long-lived, and enduring, as they are under good conditions, they easily lose heart, and once overdriven never recover. Rough treatment, hustle or untoward difficulties play havoc with these creatures, whose temperamental qualities seem to be as strange as their physical peculiarities. Once their spirit is broken they are of no further use, and lie down and die. 361 132 492

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133 The next dawn found us at a beautiful spot called
312 Yatzchüan—'The Duck Pond.' It held a 'living spring,' that is to say, one in which the water is in constant motion, welling up from the sandy bed, sometimes with such force as to set the whole pond in ebullition. Every few minutes the depths were strongly disturbed, and a trembling column of sand would rise to the surface and then break in large bubbles. The oases through which we were passing were fed by the same water supply as that which irrigated the fields of Hami. It has been pointed out that the traveller must not allow himself to be deceived by the long, continuous blue line, indicating the flow of imaginary rivers connecting the ranges of the Barkul mountains and Karlik Tagh with visionary lakes. As a matter of fact, the water from the melted snows is lost in the gravel soil at the foot of these ranges, but reappears many miles away in such living springs as that by which we rested, or in a saline well in some depression of the desert. The Khan of Hami owns a house at this place, in which he stays when travelling on official business, and the caretaker allowed us the use of his rooms. They were clean and comfortable, but as bare as an inn. Near the front gate was his private mosque, decorated with a picture of Mecca. These buildings were throughout of mud, but the outer walls were yellow-washed, with a view of giving to the whole an imperial aspect.

133 On leaving the 'Duck Pond' we drove for twelve hours on a long, arid, stony, uphill stage, and shortly
[185] after sunrise arrived at an isolated inn. For several days each stage had brought us nearer to the foothills of the Barkul Range, and here we were so close that only three days' journey north-east divided us from the town and lake of Barkul, both of which lie on the other
133/56 side of the Range. In these mountains are herds of wild

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asses and of bronchos, reputed to be untameable. We were now at an altitude of 5500 feet, and on the edge of a bare plateau overlooking a depression to the south, from which a road led off in the direction of Turfan. It was an ancient road, now in disuse, being considered too dangerous for caravans. The wind blows down this valley with such tremendous force that whole caravans have perished, the carts being blown to pieces and the men and beasts overwhelmed by the whirling sand. The innkeeper pointed out a spot called San Chien Fangtz—'The Three Rooms'—where eighteen carts laden with silver are said to have totally vanished. Acting as servant to this innkeeper was a young man who greeted us with sheepish cordiality. 'You got away all right from Hsinghsinghsia,' he said, and he proved to be one of the men who had escaped on the rainy night of our stay there, and who had not been recaptured.

Leaving that afternoon, we saw a lizard differing from any we had met with in other parts of the desert. It was about one and a half feet long, and was too quick for the carters, who chased it with their whips but failed to catch it. Continuing uphill between rocks, granite boulders, and volcanic slopes, over a stony road, we reached Chekuluchüan—'Cart Wheel Halt.' Of the three inns which formed this hamlet, two were untenanted and the third was badly broken down. Some of the rooms were roofless, while in others large holes had appeared in the walls, but having accomplished the short stage we were thankful to get rather longer hours of sleep than usual, and felt greatly refreshed by the cooler air of this quiet spot. The little row of inns stood in a gorge between stony hills, and the force of the gales through the narrow ravine was so great as to have worn the rocks into hollows, in the depths of which

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133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages
491 than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness
563 of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
139 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

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A Gobi Inn.

"There was a foreigner here once who said he had come to Chekulu to measure the distance to the sun. A likely tale!"

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491 of which was full of tamarisk mounds. Many of these stood twenty feet high, and here, as everywhere in the
137 desert, each plant was raised on a mound accumulated round its roots, this being the soil blown by the wind from some more fertile region. Among the tamarisks were plants of Saksaul (*Anabasis Ammodendron*), whose contorted stems, grey cracked bark, green plumes of small greyish leaves, and pink fruit differentiated them from the more feathery species. It has been computed that these tamarisk hills may be from 500 to 1000 years old. The trunks of a forest of dead poplars stood beyond, and added a final touch to the desolation of the scene.

361 Tsikioking—'The Seven Cornered Well'—stands in the sandy basin, and is now a place of some importance,
[205] boasting a small Government Official who also controls
[487] the post-office. It is here that the roads divide which
[206] lead from Hami to Turfan, and Hami to Kucheng. We were following the latter, but the telegraph wire went via Turfan to Urumchi. Great as was our desire to see Turfan—a most interesting locality—we realised that it was scarcely safe to enter such a hot area at midsummer.
[132] We were warned that at this season people were dying from heat, and that the inhabitants protected them-
[342] selves by spending the hours from sunrise to sunset in underground cave dwellings. The Turfan depression descends to two hundred feet below sea-level, and presents conditions most favourable to agriculture but almost insupportable to man. Tsikioking is better
3'72 supplied with fuel than any of the surrounding oases, and in winter its population is increased by families who move here for those months. The best fuel known in the desert is the root of the tamarisk. It is of dark hard wood which, chopped into small pieces and sun-dried looks like coal, and has a great deal of its burning

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372 qualities. Several of the desert plants and roots supply fuel of fair quality, but in most places the people are dependent on animal droppings, cow dung being the best variety since, well dried, it gives out a glowing heat.

647 A visit to the Official brought us once more into the tragic conditions of Yamen life. A young man, with signs of the opium habit upon him, received us with the usual Chinese courtesy, and introduced his wife, who was a nice-looking and self-respecting girl; but there were other women in the household of such a character as must have made existence in Tsikioking a living death to her.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THROUGH THE CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS

133 At Tsikioking we were within a few miles of the
491 outer foothills of the Tian Shan, which, on the next stage, we were to traverse from south to north. No sign of the Pass, however, was evident, and it was not until we had covered the first few miles of gently rising ground that we found the road took a sudden turn, and we then quickly entered the mouth of a narrowing gorge. At the entrance to the ravine the yellow sand was piled up on the windward side of the rocks to the height of several hundred feet, but as we advanced naked blackness met the eye on every side, and from here on, a rift through the black rocks sliced a road right across the Celestial Range to the plain of Dzungaria.

For nine hours we followed a narrow path, the gradient rising so evenly as to be scarcely noticeable. The high rocks on either side were absolutely denuded,

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and of perpendicular strata. Great naked crags towered above us, and in some parts the side of the mountain was cut clean through as with a gigantic knife. Our previous experience of mountain passes had led us to expect a road which must rise and fall with the course of the mountain, and we were greatly astonished when, hour after hour, we still pursued a course with no semblance of a hill. The rugged grandeur of the scene was most impressive. On either side the loose boulders were flung in wild confusion, though never blocking the path so as to make it impassable to the carts. 133 491

As the night wore on the constant winding of the Pass, in which we could never see more than a few hundred feet ahead owing to its tortuous nature, made the stage seem interminable. It appeared as though, after so many hours, the next turn *must* bring an opening to view, but once again the road twisted and vanished round yet another corner. Suddenly, without warning, we emerged, and saw in the brilliant moonlight the inn of Towshui—' Head Spring '—which was a welcome sight indeed. [485]

During the winter months this gorge is closed by the snow, and many travellers have been lost in the drifts caused by the sweeping of the winds round the sharp corners ; the optional road via Turfan has then to be taken. The only signs of life in these desolate, barren, stony chasms were the birds of prey which hovered overhead. A Chinese traveller told us that once, when eating a wayside lunch in the gorge, he turned his head aside for an instant, and like lightning an eagle swept past, taking the bread from his hand. [136]

From Towshui to the next inn, which is Tashitow—' The Great Stone '—the road led over the watershed dividing Chinese Turkestan from Dzungaria. We drove over undulating downs, and as we descended the other [485]

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133 slope met some rough descents over granite slabs. As
491 we gradually came in view of the northern slopes of the Tian Shan we found the barren, stony face, typical of the south side of this range, exchanged for wooded slopes, while the sandy wastes gave way to short, grassy turf and scrub.

361 Tashitow, though small, is a place of some importance.
487 Geographically its position is notable, standing as it does on the Dzungarian slopes of the great watershed. From here also is a foot-track to Barkul, and a short cut over the mountains to Turfan, whilst yet another road leads in fifteen days to Uliassutai. It boasts three inns, and a temple with a lake and spring of water, which though sweet was very turbid. The temple is built against a bare rock of a shining black formation, as though it had been polished with blacklead. We
491 followed a good road from Tashitow past Sankochüan—'Three Springs'—to Muleiho—'Stacked Wood Stream.'
361 It was midnight on Friday when we reached this town, where we were to spend Sunday. We passed down a long street between closed shops, under the frontage of which lay sleeping merchants, doubtless unable to endure the heat of the rooms. Mr. Hunter was ahead of us, and Nimga was waiting to direct us to our inn, which was the only one where rooms were available. He carried in his hand a great bunch of the small, seedless grapes from Turfan—a welcome sight, for we
485 had tasted no fruit since Hami. The inn court, as well as the street, was full of sleeping men, and the landlord's welcome was far from encouraging: 'There are rooms all right,' he said, 'but no one attempts to sleep in them at this season.' Then, turning to our servant, he uttered the one word: 'Bugs'!

There was no alternative, so we spread a macintosh sheet on the *kang* and then lay down, leaving the candle

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lighted, as the most sure means of keeping unwelcome 485
guests at bay. The tins of Keating's powder, which we had on order, had failed us with the other stores, but even had we secured them, nothing can finally circumvent these insects, which creep along the rafters and drop from the ceiling on to the hapless victim beneath! We were soon fast asleep, but at dawn a still worse plague faced us, for the walls were black with loathsome flies, and not one moment's peace did we know throughout our Sabbath rest in Muleiho.

The little town was in the proud position of having 634
been lately raised to the civic status of a '*hsien*' city, in consequence of which it now had its own Resident Civil Magistrate, whose new Yamen had just been erected.

A wooden bridge spanned the wide river which 491
rushed by the city wall, and here the inhabitants were wont to gather in the cool of the day, at the hour when all the animals of the city were led down to be watered.

The arable land was extensive and splendidly 241
irrigated, and there was every sign of prosperity. 312
Strings of little donkeys, driven by Turki vendors, 443
constantly passed our inn door laden with baskets of grapes from Turfan. The large black and white grapes were not yet ripe, but the small seedless variety was plentiful and cheap. This is the kind from which the Turfan sultana is produced in such abundance.

A band of children, with whom we made friends, took 136
us up to a court in the Yamen buildings to see a red 278
deer, which had been caught young in the mountains and was being reared in captivity. Its antlers were particularly fine, and we noticed that all the medicine shops of Muleiho were decorated with splendid specimens of such antlers, which are highly valued for medicinal purposes.

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500 The chief interest of the town, to us, was the presence of two elderly men, brothers, who thirty years ago moved here from Hsiaoi in the Province of Shansi. They were Christians, having been converted from idolatry by the preaching of a Chinese pastor, Hsi by name, a Confucian scholar of repute, who became a devoted Christian, and was the first ordained Chinese minister of the Shansi Church.[1] From the time of their arrival they never made a secret of their Christian profession, and every Sunday the shop is closed. Divine service is conducted in the back premises by the elder brother, and all apprentices are required to attend. On Sunday morning the small Christian community gathered in the back shop for worship. The room had been swept, dusted, and polished for the occasion. The traditional Shansi hymns were sung to the traditional tunes, and these good men sat down with us after service to a traditional Shansi meal. Listening to their Shansi *patois*, it was hard to believe that we were not back in our own Province, as it was thirty years ago.

132 On Sunday afternoon the Tian Shan were enveloped in threatening, inky-black clouds, such as indicate a tremendous storm in the mountains, but the rain did not reach us until 10 p.m. Every arrangement had been made for a midnight start. Our carts were packed, and we had lain down in them for a little rest before leaving. No sooner had we done so than the storm burst, and the rain poured down until 6 a.m. By this time the courtyard was an indescribable mass of soaked rubbish, the pigs wallowed in pools of water, and it was impossible to cross from one side to the other.

[1] See *Life of Pastor Hsi*, by Mrs. Howard Taylor: *Fulfilment of a Dream*, by Mildred Cable.

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We left Muleiho as soon as the weather permitted. 272
Our Shansi friends were round early to see how we had fared, and to bring us a parting present of a slab of brick-tea, one foot wide by one and a half feet long, and two inches thick—a most decorative object, being stamped with handsome patterns. Brick-tea is much used in the North-West. A small chunk is broken off and boiled in a kettle of water, making an infusion which is of a pale colour and nearly tasteless. The bricks are made from the used leaves of the tea-shops, sun-dried and pressed into a cake.

The next two days took us past Chitai—'Great 361
Height'—where we stayed in the suburb, the town 751
itself being nothing but a mass of ruins inside a good castellated wall. We took our next stage by day, crossing the area which had received the full force of the cloud-burst on Sunday night. On every hand we saw the traces of the havoc wrought. Bridges were swept away, trees uprooted and crops ruined, and we were told that a large number of cattle had been drowned, as the rushing mountain torrent burst its bounds and had overtaken the herds before their owners could get them to a place of safety. From Chitai we 361
came to Kucheng—'Ancient City'—which unlike Hami [133]
is not surrounded on all sides with fertile land, but is approached over a wide, sandy and treeless plain. From out of the howling wilderness we stepped direct into a large town, which appeared to us a veritable metropolis. Many large shops showed a splendid 366
assortment of such glittering wares as the Chinese love— 443
china cups and teapots, perfumes and scented soap, silks and cottons, clocks and hair-clasps. The tailors 463
sat at their shop doors working Singers' sewing-machines, the Moslem bakers piled the hot rolls on counters as they drew them out of the brick oven, and the vege-

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tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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Where a stream is not accessible, the water is poured from the purification pot. Many were the prostrations and different attitudes taken by the worshipper as he lifted his hands to the back of his ears, then bowed, rose, and bowed again towards Mecca. In the evening the children were all gathered together for the reading of the Koran and the study of Arabic, and, incidentally, to learn how superior were the followers of the Prophet to the rest of mankind.

Our first caller was a Military Official who had become a Christian during his stay at Urumchi. His visit was followed by the arrival of servants carrying trays of the best food the restaurants of Kucheng could produce. Piled up on brazen plates was the Turki national dish of 'pillau.' It was composed of rice steamed and fried, and flavoured with chopped mutton, carrots and onions, sultanas and spices, and laid on the top were joints of roast fowl. This was accompanied by large, thin, flat cakes of bread and plates of fruit, while more servants followed with fodder and grain for our mules. Later on this gentleman's mother called and asked us to her house, where she most kindly entertained us. The food supply of Kucheng was so good that during the length of our stay we were able to luxuriate in milk, fruit, fresh bread, and good mutton.

Our next visitors were the band of Shansi men with whom we had become so friendly *en route*. It was difficult to recognise in the well-dressed gentleman who sent in his card the pedestrian traveller who had carried his own bundle and water can. They were most eager to know if Kucheng reached the expectations formed from their descriptions of its glories. Here, as elsewhere, we found no difficulty of access to the homes of both Chinese and Turki, and we never went out without receiving cordial invitations to visit well-off families in their comfortable houses.

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in their comfortable houses. We bore witness in Kucheng, and then passed on.

CHAPTER XL

KUCHENG TO URUMCHI

BEFORE we left Suchow, relying on the correctness of travellers' information, we had comforted ourselves with the thought that Kucheng was to see the end of the most tedious part of our journey. 'The Governor's Express Cart Service takes you over six stages in a day and a half, that is, by travelling straight through, and only stopping long enough to change horses,' had said an enthusiastic native of Urumchi, but after many years' experience of Chinese roads we had ventured to doubt the possibility of maintaining this speed without broken bones and heads. 'Roads! but you have never seen any approaching those of "Kow Wai." Why, they are as smooth as the top of this table!' had been the answer. Therefore, nothing doubting, we had informed Mr. Hunter that when we reached Kucheng we intended going on by Express Cart, leaving the men to follow more slowly; but he shook his wise head, saying: 'I would not take such a risk if I were you! Do not fix anything until you have seen the style of the mail coach. *I* would not endanger *my* life in one of those contraptions.' We pressed the matter no further, especially as our Chinese escort had stared in blank amazement at the very notion of hiring a seat in one cart when we were already going to the expense of places in another, and he had added: 'A few more days on the road, what does it matter? Even a week more or less on a long journey is of little importance.'

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When we were about one mile from the gate of Kucheng, 494
a yell was heard, and our men hastily drew up, saying, '*Kwai che lai liao*'—the Express is coming! and in a swirl of dust, and with a wild jingle of many harness bells, three long-limbed, bony horses galloped madly past under the lash of the driver, who, having just caught sight of the town entrance, was bringing his team through the city gate and up the main street at a pace calculated to impress the populace! It was then that we saw the body of the cart was simply made of long poles lashed together, on which two passengers, clinging to the framework, were being hurled from side to side by the violence of the jolting. One glance at the 'Express' quickly satisfied us that such a mode of travel, while excellent for postal parcels, would be hideous torture to ordinary human beings if nerves formed any part of their anatomy, while some might scarcely survive the fifty-four hours of this frenzied mode of dispatch.

From Kucheng onwards it was no longer necessary to 484
make night stages. Hot as it was, the animals stood it 312
well, as each midday brought us to a wayside foodshop, where we were able to get something for ourselves and water for the mules, and the nights were now spent in towns of some importance. The direction of the road was south-west, as we had reached our most northerly point at Kucheng, and we were now following the line of the Tian Shan towards the dip which marks the position of Urumchi. The highest peak of this part of 133
the Tian Shan was now coming into sight, the great Bogdo-ola—'The Mount of God'—which rises twenty thousand feet, and is seen from a great distance. This summit, with its surrounding peaks, is of a grand and rugged shape, and lends distinction to the country which would be insignificant were it not for this arresting

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[133] feature. The first night after Kucheng we slept at
486 Tsimusa—' The City of Everlasting Trust '—and seeing a military guard at the gate we knew that an officer would shortly call for our passports. On this occasion, however, the innkeeper failed to inform the authorities of the arrival of foreigners, and when the soldiers came to demand our papers they were exceedingly angry, and threatened him with a beating if he neglected this part of his duty again. The upshot of the fuss was that the innkeeper spent the whole night in raging and cursing officials, foreigners, passports, and soldiers alike, vowing that no ' foreign devil ' should again darken his doors ! To judge by the experience of this and other journeys in Kansu and Turkestan, it is of the greatest importance that travellers' passports should be in strict order, and up-to-date. We were required to produce these documents at the most unlikely places, and sometimes they were examined both on entering and on leaving a city, as well as at the Yamen. We were thankful to quit the ' Inn of the Cursing Landlord ' at 5 a.m. and proceed on our journey towards Santai—' The Third Stage.'
133 The road took us for seventy *li* over grassy steppes,
241 and for the last fifteen *li* we drove by rapid streams between fields of maize and sorgum, bordered by hedges and shaded by overhanging trees. The whole scene, apart from the nature of the crops, might have been an English rural landscape, and it warmed our hearts as we thought of the pleasures of soon wandering in English lanes and fields.

484 We were feeling the fatigue of our long journey much more severely now that we were enduring the added strain of great heat, and though the night stages were at an end, such a diary entry as : ' Rose at 2-30 a.m. and took a very heavy, hot stage,' speaks for itself.
492 The carters also were suffering from the prolonged

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fatigue, and were wont to vent their irritation on the mules. We had an interesting lesson in animal psychology when one of the drivers went a little too far in beating a mule, whose feelings he injured more than its body. It quietly went on strike, and though it walked with the team, yet kept the traces so slack as to bring no ' pull ' upon the cart. The Chinese understood the situation at once. ' It's temper is up ! ' they said, ' and we must take it out of the traces and walk it for a bit.' This they did, but the animal did not recover itself until it had been ridden for a few hours, received an extra feed, and been petted. After this acknowledgment of unjust treatment, it recovered its ' face,' and went to work again ! Little Molly always held herself aloof from the common herd, only associating with her own shaft-mule. Her spirit was splendid, and she pulled with an energy that was foreign to the baser sort. Both men and beasts were needing the long rest which lay before them at Urumchi.

We had been without the guiding telegraph wire ever since we parted from it at Tsikioking, but at Kucheng we met with it once more, and we were glad of its indication over the rolling steppes which we now so frequently crossed. A new feature of the road was the little Ili Valley cart, of a build unfamiliar to us. The fact that it had four wheels gave it a Western look, for all Chinese carts, large or small, are built on two wheels, and this new structure was unknown to most of our party, who were as delighted as children to see this departure from the agelong, traditional vehicle.

Leaving Santai, an hour's drive brought us to the site of the original town of that name, now a mass of crumbling ruins, one more reminder of the havoc and desolation wrought by the Moslem rebellion in 1862–1877. Ruined villages, hamlets and farmsteads, mark

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361 the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as
669 they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

485 Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it.

[563] The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

000 Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

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however, he could not consider unless a companion were forthcoming who would stay with Mr. Hunter during his absence. A volunteer was found in Mr. Ridley, of Sining, in Kansu, who had, we knew, recently arrived in Urumchi to take over Mr. Mather's work, and thus release him for furlough; and this being so, we had mutually agreed to travel together from Urumchi to Europe. We had never yet met him, but five miles from the city both gentlemen appeared on horseback to greet us, Mr. Mather welcoming us as the first fellow-countrywomen he had seen for twelve years!

We soon came in sight of the city, which was well wooded, and arrived at the Outer Gate, where soldiers, as usual, demanded our passports. 'Have you met any lamas by the way?' they enquired. 'We have been expecting some for several days, and you must have seen them on the road.' No one ever gives any information when officially questioned, so we simply changed the subject, knowing, notwithstanding, that they must be referring to the party of Tibetans who left Hsinghsinghsia with us, and whom we had passed and repassed all the way. As we moved on, information was imparted to our servants that the guard were under orders to seize the whole party of priests, and conduct them to the prison, as they were accused of being undesirable characters; and two days later, to prison they went.

The streets of Urumchi impressed us as being irregular, narrow, lacking in architectural beauty, crowded and dirty. We had lost sight of Mr. Hunter several hours previously, but as we drew up to the Mission House, there he stood in the doorway to receive us. The white home-spun cotton had vanished and he now wore his best black suit, and a black soft felt hat, while the clumsy traveller's boots were replaced by well-polished

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leather shoes; the turn-down collar and black tie also gave the needed touch to the figure which was transformed into that of a Scotch divine. As master of the house he did not wish us to reach his home when he was not there in suitable attire to receive us. The whole episode was charming, as was also the courtly manner in which he bade us welcome to Urumchi.

Here we entered a compound quite unlike any of the scores of mission premises we had previously visited. Three small self-contained two-storeyed houses stood in different parts of the enclosure, one being inhabited by Mr. Hunter, another by Mr. Mather, while the third (which was quite new and had never been occupied) was set aside for our use. There were fine stabling and spacious hay lofts; the flat mud roof was accessible and enabled one to get a good view of the city; a new, roomy church was entered from the street, and a row of Chinese guest-rooms completed the buildings. Here was luxury indeed! A table for meals in place of a newspaper-covered *kang* with bowl and chopsticks; a shut door ensuring privacy; a bed, a lamp, a jug and basin, a cup and saucer instead of an earthenware bowl, while mosquito-netted windows excluded all flies, and we contemplated the possibility of a quiet night away from the sounds of champing mules and cursing landlords.

It was delightful, quite beyond anything we had imagined, and yet the simplicity of the house and life of its inhabitants was austere in the extreme. And there was no lack of pleasant company, for these good and kindly men were each specialists in their own way. There was not a question we asked (and we were perfect terrors at asking!) concerning Turkestan, its localities, its geographical peculiarities, the sociology, languages, or tribal customs, to which one or other failed to give

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us an intelligent and instructive answer. On the shelves of Mr. Hunter's study stood presentation copies of books by all the best-known travellers in, and writers on, Central Asia. But most impressive of all were the facts, which gradually emerged, concerning the translation work done by these missionaries during the winter months, when they were unable to travel owing to the intense cold. Mr. Mather had completed the translation of a Mongolian dictionary, which he was making every effort to transcribe before leaving for Europe. There was also a Manchurian-Russian Grammar and Dictionary awaiting translation when he should have time to undertake it. This versatile scholar, whose passion for work is insatiable, would not be baffled by the very great difficulties which faced him when he tried to secure a Mongol teacher. Being summoned to the prison to give medical treatment to an inmate, he had made the acquaintance of a bi-lingual Mongolian willing to teach him, the only trouble being that as the teacher was confined in a cage, the young Englishman had to receive permission to sit by his tutor also inside the bars, and thus he had his first lessons in the Mongolian tongue! A small mimeograph stood in the corner of Mr. Hunter's study, by means of which he had printed the early copies of the Gospels in the Turki language, as well as the Pilgrim's Progress, and Scripture portions in the Qazaq tongue. It was not until we reached London and visited a famous oriental bookshop, that we knew of his own translation of Turki folklore—an original mimeographed copy of which we purchased for the sum of seven shillings.

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CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great
175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with
361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'
[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various
[438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with
439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with

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A GROUP OF MONGOLIAN RULERS.

The central figure is the child who is hereditary Ruler of the Kalmuks. Seated on either side are the two highest Living Buddhas in Mongolia.

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439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, form-
344 less, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material.

205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters

206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the

471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of
361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished

[648] refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

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563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
361 that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and biscuits; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol, Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders, though each has his own unmistakable style of handling a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned, tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough, shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike. His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
437 but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers, the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the other's sleeve.

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000 other's sleeve. The Qazaq woman frequently accom-
291 panied her husband, dressed in her best black quilted coat, and wearing a white cotton headdress swathed round the chin with a kind of gorget which becomingly framed the broad tanned face.

364 Our excursions round the town led us in every direction through rough and muddy streets. The weather was hot and the flies innumerable. This was a natural consequence of the season, which was that of the ripe melon, and the habit of the populace which was to buy a slice, eat the pulp, and then throw the rind away by the roadside. In some places the mounds of discarded peel reached to the eaves of the low houses, while dense swarms of flies buzzed gaily around. The wells were all flush with the ground, and we were
[312] never allowed to drink water which had been drawn from them. A wide rapid river flows outside the city, and is surmounted by an imposing rocky cliff, on which stands a pagoda. Beyond this are the trees of the Governor's park, which enclosure contains a life-sized statue of himself. The character of the masses
536 of the Chinese population is distinctly different from
636 that of the large towns within the Great Wall. These are colonials, and inevitably differ from the dwellers in the homeland, even though tenaciously adhering to its every manner and custom. On arrival, according to etiquette, a formal call was paid to the Governor's wife, by whom we were very graciously received. Governor Yang also came in, sat down with us, and talked on many subjects. He asked several questions concerning the journey we had taken, and showed great interest in the educational work which we had accom-
636 plished in Shansi. The policy of this strong auto-
20 cratic ruler is that of complete segregation of his people from the turbulent nations which surround them. To

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this end he allows no newspaper to be published in his territory, and the postal, telegraph and wireless offices are under the control of his appointed censors. News from the outside world filters through but slowly, and all restaurants are posted with the announcement: '*No political discussions allowed.*' It is certainly to Governor Yang's credit that the roads of Turkestan are notably free from brigandage, and during the past decade of civil war in China, Turkestan has remained peaceful. At the time of our visit the whole Yamen was busy with preparations for the journey to be shortly taken by the Governor's son and suite to the town of Zaisan in Russian territory, where the young man had been appointed Chinese Consul.

We were the first British women who had ever visited Urumchi, and our application for passports to cross the Russian frontier at Kuswun created a precedent. Three years previously some of our boxes were stolen from a Kansu inn, and our British passports were lost with them. The papers with which we now travelled were passports written in the Chinese language, and issued by the Chinese Foreign Office and British Consul in Hankow. These documents refer to us by our Chinese names only. We had early made application for permits to travel across Russia, which request had been forwarded to Moscow by the Soviet Consul in Urumchi, and on the day after our arrival word came that this permission was granted, when we immediately presented ourselves to make personal application for a visa. This was duly affixed to the Chinese passport, and all possible help and information with a view to making the journey easy was given to us by the Consular Staff.

The weeks of our stay were very happy and interesting and the time passed only too quickly ere arrangements

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had to be considered for undertaking that portion of our long journey which still stretched in front. From Suchow to Urumchi we had already traversed one thousand five hundred miles, but seven hundred more miles still lay between us and Chuguchak, which is the last city in China, before crossing the Russian border. It was therefore necessary for us to buy as many Russian roubles as we should require, and in this we received assistance from the Chinese postmaster. The remainder of the road-journey now could best be taken in a Russian *tarantass*—a long, fourwheeled, springless cart, harnessed in Siberian style, with three horses abreast, and a gaily painted wooden hoop fastened to the shafts and standing high over the middle horse's head, to which several bells are attached. This mode of travel is far quicker than by Chinese cart, so we decided to sell all our mules (except, of course, Molly) together with both the carts, and proceed by the said hired tarantass. And now it was our turn to comb our mules' manes, plait our mules' tails and send them bravely forth to the horse fair wearing handsome, borrowed saddles, but with the proud knowledge that *we* had no sore backs to hide, and no underfed beasts to palm off on the unsuspecting purchasers! In due course all our animals were sold, while preparations were completed for our further travelling on to Chuguchak.

CHAPTER XLII

THROUGH FLY-LAND IN A TARANTASS

Our departure was fixed for Thursday, August 26th, but the obstinate Turki driver, whose cart we had hired, was determined to force us to travel with a cavalcade

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494 of his friends who would not leave until Saturday. He therefore removed a wheel from the tarantass on the plea of necessary repairs, and by Friday at midday the wheelwright had not yet finished his job. It was only under the strong pressure brought by Mr. Hunter, who refused to leave the workshop until the wheel was mended, that Friday afternoon saw the empty tarantass rattle over the rough road and draw up at the side door of the Mission Compound.

000 Our personal luggage was very little, knowing, as we did, that when we reached the Siberian railway we must not carry more than regulation weight. We were also advised not to take books, papers, letters, nor photographs into Russia. Our cameras, consequently, were left behind, as also our organ, and all personal effects beyond a hand-valise each, and a wadded quilt for bedding. It was well for Mr. Mather that this delay had occurred, for it was not until sunset on the Thursday that he even began to ram a few things into a kitbag in view of the journey.

The food-box was royally supplied by gifts from the generous Urumchi people, who vied with one another in making this an opportunity to express their appreciation of the two men who had lived and worked in their midst for so many years. The Governor sent us an ample supply of tinned food for the road, and of tea, sugar, cake, biscuits, bread and candles there was more than we could carry. Russian friends had sent cakes and a supply of delicious conserves, the like of which are met in no country but Russia, made from mountain strawberries, which are plentiful in Urumchi.

495 The men who had accompanied us from Suchow were now very anxious to return, so we had made an application for a passport to enable them to cross through Hsinghsinghsia. Naturally, all concerned felt great

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anxiety as to what might await them at the frontier, and it was not until we were home in Europe that we heard how they fared when passing into Kansu. On arrival at Hsinghsinghsia they presented their passports to an officer whom they failed to recognise, but who at once made himself known to them as the man whom we had picked up, dying of thirst, outside Ansi: 'Pass on,' he said, 'I know you, and owe my life to your party, and to the ladies who gave me a place on their carts. You may leave when you please.'

Molly was to remain as a guest in Mr. Hunter's stable until we should need her again, and from news since received, evidently continues to enjoy more than her due of care and attention. Little as our baggage seemed when we were packing our three small valises, by the time all was collected it made a formidable pile. Though the heat was intense we were each obliged to take a fur coat, knowing what bitter cold nights lay ahead, while a kettle, saucepan and iron tripod were necessary for cooking purposes. Packets of tracts and gospels were essential, and we each required a fair-sized cushion, to use by day in the cart and by night as a pillow.

When the tarantass arrived the driver had already captured a place for his large bag of grain, and a pocket, capable of great expansion, hung also at his elbow, the use of which became apparent on the journey. An hour of hard work saw the cart packed and roped, and each bundle in its place, but the remaining space was indeed a tight fit for three, although we consoled ourselves with the usual fallacious hope that so many of the packages containing food the load must diminish every day! A group of friends was waiting outside the city gate to bid us farewell, and here, too, we had to part with the faithful companions from Suchow, whose care had done so much to mitigate the difficulties of the

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000 journey. It was hard for our driver to restrain his horses until we had taken leave, and no sooner was the 494 final word 'ping-an tsai'—'peace be with you'—spoken, than he scrambled to his seat, lashed his team, and instantly the horses sprang forward, breaking into a quick trot. They proved to be in good condition, and we found that travelling by tarantass was comfortable, and indeed far less wearying than by Chinese cart. Moreover we were able to cover six miles per hour at a steady pace, exactly doubling our former speed, the seven hundred miles to Chuguchak being accomplished in a fortnight, whereas by Chinese cart it would have been [491] a journey of twenty-two days. The roads were good, and the jingling bells, the gaily-painted circus hoop, and the freely-harnessed, trotting horses made a cheerful *ensemble*, while at each half-stage there was a wayside inn where we could buy hot water and make tea.

000 Mr. Hunter had, at the last moment, decided also to come with us as far as Chuguchak. His little ammunition-cart was, therefore, like our own tarantass, laden to its uttermost capacity. Mr. Mather used his own horse, while Nimga rode by Mr. Hunter's cartside. 494 There was a great deal of traffic on the road, carts of merchandise from Russia and Ili constantly passing us. 439 On the first day we met twelve carts laden with tin and galvanised iron pails, such as are so popular on the Urumchi market, and without which no traveller moves; matches, sugar, and leather formed the cargo of many 485 others. It was long after dark when we reached the first inn at Changki. Every room was occupied, and the courtyard was full of vehicles laden with grain, cotton and water-melons. Each driver was sleeping near his merchandise, and the stalls were crowded with beasts that kicked, squealed, and bit at each other throughout the night. Seeing that there was no

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sleeping accommodation to be had, we contented ourselves with our cart. Some time before dawn the yard was astir. Every carter threw a measure of grain into his animal's trough, watered the beasts, then called to the landlord to settle the account, which transaction was always accompanied by squabbling and cursing, but not until the required amount was handed over did the big double doors open, and allow the carts to pass out. We, too, were up early, and for breakfast had the unaccustomed luxury of a bowl of warm milk which an old Chantow ladled out from a brass pot, in which it was kept hot over a brazier.

We were now entering the district known as 'Fly Land,' a name which speaks for itself, and from this time until we reached the higher and more arid land near Chuguchak, our meals were made revolting by these loathsome pests, which also made rest or sleep by day impossible. Knowing this, we had brought lengths of mosquito netting with which all our food was covered and in which we wrapped our provisions, but still the table was a black, moving mass of winged horrors. Soon after midday we were at Hutupi—a thirty-mile stage—which we accomplished with great ease. The range of the Tian Shan, culminating in the glistening Bogdo, made a most striking background, and the land around the villages was very fertile, producing good crops of millet, wheat and sorgum. At the Moslem inn where we stayed, all the best rooms were occupied by the family of the innkeeper himself, but we always had access to the harem, and through the womens' court a little back door took us straight out into fields near running water, where we enjoyed space and some coolness. The lane at the back of the house was also the connecting link with the back-door of every house on the north side of the village, and

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As soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,

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vegetables and fruit, especially grapes and apples, find 241
a ready market in the capital. The grapes were the largest we had ever seen, and we carried in the cart an abundant supply which more than made up for the lightening of our load by the bread we had consumed! We were now only a few miles from the Manas River, 133
which is the most important stream in this part of 491
Turkestan. Its source is in the Celestial Mountains, but it finally loses itself in the sand. A little earlier in the season, when the snows were melting, the Manas River is often impassable, and a Chinese lady friend had a few weeks earlier been upset into the water and nearly lost her life. We were now in the last days of August, and it was already cold in the heights of the Tian Shan, therefore we had no cause to fear the sudden treacherous rise of the water which comes from the melting snow, and we crossed without difficulty.

Our next stopping-place was Ulan-Usun—'Blue 485
Water'—where we had the advantage of occupying the 353
inn room which had been papered and swept for the use of the Governor's son, who had preceded us on his way to Zaisan. Fresh red paper with eulogistic phrases decorated the door frame; clean matting covered the *kang*, and the court had been generally tidied up in honour of such an important guest. The flies, however, [136]
still remained.

The country here was splendid grazing ground, 233
covered with tall 'chi-chi' grass. The Mongolian 221
nomads pitch their tents on this plain during the winter months, when the cold drives them down from the higher pastures.

Our driver, though a surly cross-grained fellow, was 000
beginning to thaw under our constant friendly advances. His knowledge of Chinese was very poor, but the present of a bunch of grapes or a piece of new bread,

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000 melted his hard heart, and his good opinion of us was strengthened when he came to know that we as scrupulously abstained from swine's flesh as did any follower of the prophet. 'Huda ti ren'—'People of God'—he often said, when speaking of us to bystanders. At fixed periods he would stop the cart, spread his coat, and recite his prayers. He had a remarkable capacity for finding lost property, and this no doubt accounted for the voluminous bag which always hung by his side in the cart. Once, he found a length of rope dropped by another carter; a small bundle of cotton, camel's hair, or an apple fallen from a basket on other occasions were collected. But one day he picked up a good straw hat, and his delight was so great that he celebrated the event by cutting up a melon and giving each of us a slice, after which he chuckled audibly, until we reached the next stage. Part of the time he wore the hat, but later on he slung it to the matting-cover, and this was his downfall, for at the inn a gentleman walking past stopped and stared, and then sent his servant to tell our man that this was his master's hat, and must be returned. In the early morning he was always alert, and as soon as the carts of merchandise had moved on brought a small brush from the recesses of his hold-all with which he swept up the fodder left in the troughs, and put it carefully into his bag, a satisfactory haul insuring good temper for the day. It was such proceedings that secured for him the nickname of Sandy Macnab! As we neared the end of the journey he became so friendly as to condescend to borrow our teapot, and before he left us at Chuguchak he bade us an affectionate farewell, saying: 'You are *good* people; just one family; father, brother and sisters!'

484 As we proceeded on our long journey, we realised how well-advised we had been in the choice of the season

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during which we travelled. Earlier in the summer the Manas and other rivers constitute a real peril. The cold in Turkestan and Southern Siberia in early winter increases the hardship of the way, and when the spring thaw sets in, the roads around Urumchi are sometimes impassable for weeks, owing to mud-pits which are so extensive that no cart can negotiate them. 484

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL AT CHUGUCHAK

On September 2nd we sighted Hsihu. It is an important town surrounded by a considerable area of irrigated land, where was the junction of the Ili and Chuguchak main roads. The place presented the usual aspect of a central point used by farmers as a market. The streets were very countrified; nevertheless large sums of money pass from hand to hand between the grain merchants and their customers. There were the usual bazaars, fruit and vegetable vendors, and general shops where travellers might buy a pail, basin, towel, soap, or cigarettes, while herbalists showed a dusty store of rhubarb, cardamoms, liquorice, fennel, cloves, and ginger. The inns were crowded with caravans travelling to Ili, or arriving from Siberia. Knowing that even by tarantass we should not reach Chuguchak for another ten days, and that on leaving this fertile land we should pass through a barren country providing neither fruit nor vegetables, we loaded up once more with cucumbers, melons, and grapes, and late in the evening a vine-grower appeared carrying a basket of splendid fruit freshly cut, on which we all feasted for several days. A long stage of sixty miles, the latter part of which was over a sandy waste between tamarisk [487] 443 366 [485] 133 491

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491 mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the l
of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which
133 village where we spent the night. The river, whi
wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge.
our inn court we had access to the bank, so w
advantage of the running water to wash a few c
not that we expected to make them the clea
dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas we
bad we hoped that some of them would be carrie
by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of
491 an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, ove
sand mixed with loess, brought us to one sin
where a handsome Chantow woman and her da
wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a
pan of hot water and cooked a meal. There w
one well, with a very poor supply of water.

[312] The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Ha
traversed a road so hard and even that it woul
been reckoned as a good motor-track in any c
Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now
579 region where many travellers had been robbed,
country was wild in the extreme and offered a
protection to brigand bands. The Governor had
a military guard at this point, to supply esc
needed, and a band of mounted police patrol
167 roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, br
who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixte
had run away together from their home in Sia
wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here eve
never returning to their relations, nor even ever
of them again. They were now both over sixt
of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit a
with travellers from China, from whom they wer
weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

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A missionary journey does not supply many entertainments of the kind usually connected with the music-hall stage, but in this village there was a strange-looking man, wearing a Cossack cap of shaggy, black sheepskin, whose eyes danced with irresistible merriment. Our attention was drawn to this remarkable creature, who was sitting crouched in a corner of the courtyard, when all of a sudden the sound of a dogfight came from that direction. It was quite unmistakable—a big Tibetan dog was attacking a little, sharp-voiced Pekinese, such as the 'tai tai' loves to pet. We turned to see what was happening, but there were no dogs, and the sudden silence was broken by peals of laughter at our amazement. A moment later a flock of sheep and lambs were heard bleating and baaing, through every tone of the gamut. Then, most surprising of all, as the sound of the sheep ceased, a gramophone struck up a strident song in Russian, and this was followed by a visit to a poultry yard, the theatre, and other amazing ventriloquist feats. This clever performer subsequently told us that as a youth from a Shantung village he had placed himself for three years under the tuition of a renowned ventriloquist, who had trained him in the art of both hearing and reproducing sounds. The entertainment was really of the first order, far surpassing any Western performance to which we have listened, and most surprising of all, was the fact that without knowing Russian he was yet able to reproduce its sounds as conveyed through the gramophone.

We rose at 2.15 the next morning for the day's journey of seventy miles, and after a six hours' drive we saw a small, ragged tent pitched near the roadside at the back of which three camels were grazing. A woman stood by the tent door watching the road for passers-by. Her attitude and bearing showed her to

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be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

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which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine 494
animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles.

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down [491]
hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as 563
the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any 294

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563 294 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While 563 231 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

49! We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming 080 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

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A NOGAI.

Seated with a Turki wife on his left and a Qazaq wife on his right. The Turki woman is mother of the little boy.

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noon when we left Ertaochiao on the understanding that it was but a very short distance to an inn, which, though situated in a desert district, and very small, was reported to be comfortable. Mr. Hunter then kindly went ahead to make preparations at the inn, and we followed him over a country which became increasingly desolate. The track led across a sandy waste, between tamarisk mounds and an occasional tuft of 'chi chi' grass. There was no telegraph wire to guide us, and hour after hour we drove on through the same monotonous scenery, with no distinctive marks and no sign of the inn we were seeking. Both drivers confessed themselves baffled, and as the darkness fell they had to admit that we had missed our way, and although they dismounted and walked about seeking a landmark, they found none. Moreover, travellers in these regions are loath to shout or to light camp-fires, for fear of revealing their whereabouts to horse-stealers. After a considerable time a voice was heard calling, which we recognised as that of Nimga, but on replying we were answered from another direction by Mr. Hunter, when gradually we all came together again and found that he, too, had missed the inn, so that we had no option but to push on. At midnight we were still going, but were suddenly brought to a standstill by entering a soft marshy ground, the extent and treachery of which it was impossible to gauge. Three of the carts of merchandise were already in the bog, from which they could not be extricated, so the horses' legs were secured with iron padlocks, while the whole party lay down on the ground, and in five minutes all were sound asleep. Four hours' drive on the next morning brought us at length to Chuguchak, where we were indeed glad to get our first substantial meal in twenty-four hours.

This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to

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This town is known to Russians as Chuguchak, to Chinese as Tacheng, but colloquially it is always called Behya—'The Town of Seagulls'—because these birds, following the course of the Irtish River all the way from Arctic regions, collect here at certain seasons of the year. We had in fact already seen them in the Gobi further south, but could scarcely credit them to be really seagulls until we learnt that it is their habit to follow the great rivers as far as their sources. Geographically and politically the position of Tacheng is an important one, forming as it does the one outlet towards Siberia for all Turkestan. It is a populous, busy city, with important Chinese and Russian quarters. There is a Russian Consul in residence, part of whose duties consists in the issuing of temporary passports to drivers and carters passing to and fro over the border. There are postal and telegraph offices and a military station. The postmaster, Mr. Chang, was very helpful and friendly. He knew something of foreigners' tastes, being a Hankow man, and suggested that 'the ladies might enjoy a drive round the city,' and he therefore sent his Russian carriage and driver to show us the sights. Having completed the *Grand Tour* this man then asked us if we would like to see some more. 'Certainly,' we said, 'show us all there is worth seeing,' whereupon, with a grin, he whipped up his horse, and starting off at a good pace took us exactly over the same ground as before! The smart carriage, with strangers seated in it, attracted some attention on its first round, but when we appeared the second time the shopkeepers themselves came to their doors, exclaiming, 'Here they come again!' while one, making a movement with his hand, indicated that we were on a perpetual circular tour. To 'save face' we therefore drew up before some of the shops, and enquired the price of many of the goods, though we had not the slightest intention

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of adding to our baggage. The same evening Mr. and Mrs. Chang entertained us to a delicious Chinese feast, and showed us all manner of kindness and hospitality, but some months afterwards we learnt that an armed madman running amok in Chuguchak severely wounded the postmaster, while his wife was shot dead.

The next stage of the journey was likewise to be taken in a hired tarantass, and we now required two carriages, as Mr. Mather's riding horse was returning with Mr. Hunter to Urumchi. Two routes were available, and travellers in Kansu had repeatedly told us we should find a motor connecting Chuguchak and Semipalatinsk, but when we enquired about the possibility of such a conveyance the answer was a smile, the motor not having been that way for years! Our Nogai friend was proceeding directly north to Semipalatinsk, an eleven days' road journey, where he would take the train for Novo Sibirsk, the new capital of Siberia, and thence to Moscow. But we preferred the shorter road journey, which turning directly eastward, brought us through the Tarbagatai and the Sair Mountains, to the frontier station at Kuswun, as from here by the land of the Qazaqs, we should reach Topliefmus, on Lake Zaisan. At this place a river boat was said to call once or twice a week, and to be still running, although the season was getting late. We hoped to be able to continue the journey by boat to Omsk, but over this little-known route we could be certain of nothing until we had tested it.

At last the carts were hired, the passports viséd, provisions bought, and our only regret in leaving Chuguchak was that here we must now all say goodbye to Mr. Hunter, who was returning, with Nimga, to Urumchi.

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AUTHORS' NOTE

THE perennial problem of how best to convey to the English Reader the pronunciation of Chinese names, has been faced by the Authors, who, in order to avoid confusion, have very regretfully adopted the system of Romanisation as used by the Chinese Post Office. A glossary of names with corresponding Standard Romanisation is appended which, if read as written, will give the approximate correct pronunciation.

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES

100

Postal Spelling.	*Standard Romanisation.*	*Postal Spelling.*	*Standard Romanisation.*
Ansichow	An si djou	Kueitun	Kuei tun
Anting	An ding	Kumuti	Gu mu di
Changki	Chang gi	Kushui	Ku shui
Changliushui	Chang liu shui	Kweihwating	Gwei kwa ting
Chekuluchüan	Che gu lu chüan	Lanchow	Lan djou
Chenfan	Djen fan	Laofengkow	Lao feng kou
Chepaitz	Che pai dz	Liangchow	Liang djou
Chienfutung	Tsien fu dung	Liaotun	Liao dun
Chikinpu	Chi gin pu	Linshui	Lin shui
Chiuchüan	Dziu chüan	Lotoyi	Lo tu yi
Erpu	Er pu	Lupan	Lu pan
Ertaochiao	Er dao chiao	Malienking	Ma lien ging
Fukang	Fu kang	Manas	Manas
Fuyi	Fu yi	Mati	Ma ti
Hami	Ha mi	Miaoerkow	Miao er gou
Hansantai	Han san tai	Muleiho	Mu lei ho
Heho	He ho	Paotowchen	Bao tou djen
Honan	Ho nan	Petuntz	Be dun dz
Hsiaotsao	Siao tsao	Pinchow	Bin djou
Hsihu	Si hu	Pingfan	Ping fan
Hsinghsinghsia	Sing sing hsia	Pingliang	Ping liang
Hungliuyüan	Hung liu yüan	Pulungki	Pu lung gi
Hungshan	Hung shan	Sankochüan	San go chüan
Hutupi	Hu tu bi	Sanpu	San bu
Hwahaitz	Hwa hai dz	Santai	San tai
Hwanglukang	Hwang lu gang	Santaokow	San dao gou
Hwochow	Hwo djou	Shachow	Sha djou
Kanchow	Gan djou	Shachüantz	Sha chüan dz
Kanglung	Kang lung	Shaho	Sha ho
Kansu	Gan su	Shansi	Shan si
Kaotai	Gao tai	Shantan	Shan dan
Kiayükwan	Gia yü gwan	Shensi	Shen si
Kinta	Gin ta	Shilatsa	Shih la dza
Kotzyentun	Go dz yen dun	Sian	Si an
Kow wai	Kou wai	Siaowan	Siao wan
Kuche	Ku che	Sining	Si ning
Kucheng	Gu cheng	Sinkiang	Sin giang

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Postal Spelling.	*Standard Romanisation.*	*Postal Spelling.*	*Standard Romanisation.*
Suchow	Su djou	Tunhwang	Tun hwang
Tacheng	Da cheng	Tznichüan	Dz ni chüan
Tachüan	Da chüan	Ulanusun	Wu lan wu su
Taiyüanfu	Tai yüan fu	Urumchi	Wu lu mu tsi
Tashitow	Da shi tou	Wenshu	Wen shu
Tianshan	Tian shan	Yamatu	Ya ma tu
Tihwa	Di hua	Yatzchüan	Ya dz chüan
Toli	To li	Yenchihai	Yen chi hai
Towpu	Tou bu	Yiwanchüan	Yi wan chüan
Towshui	Tou shui	Yükoshu	Yü ko shu
Towtai	Tou tai	Yümen	Yü men
Tsikioking	Tsi gio dzing	Yungchang	Yung chang
Tsimusa	Dzi mu sa		

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi Desert.
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITER.

[FOLDED MAP (A)]

[end map]

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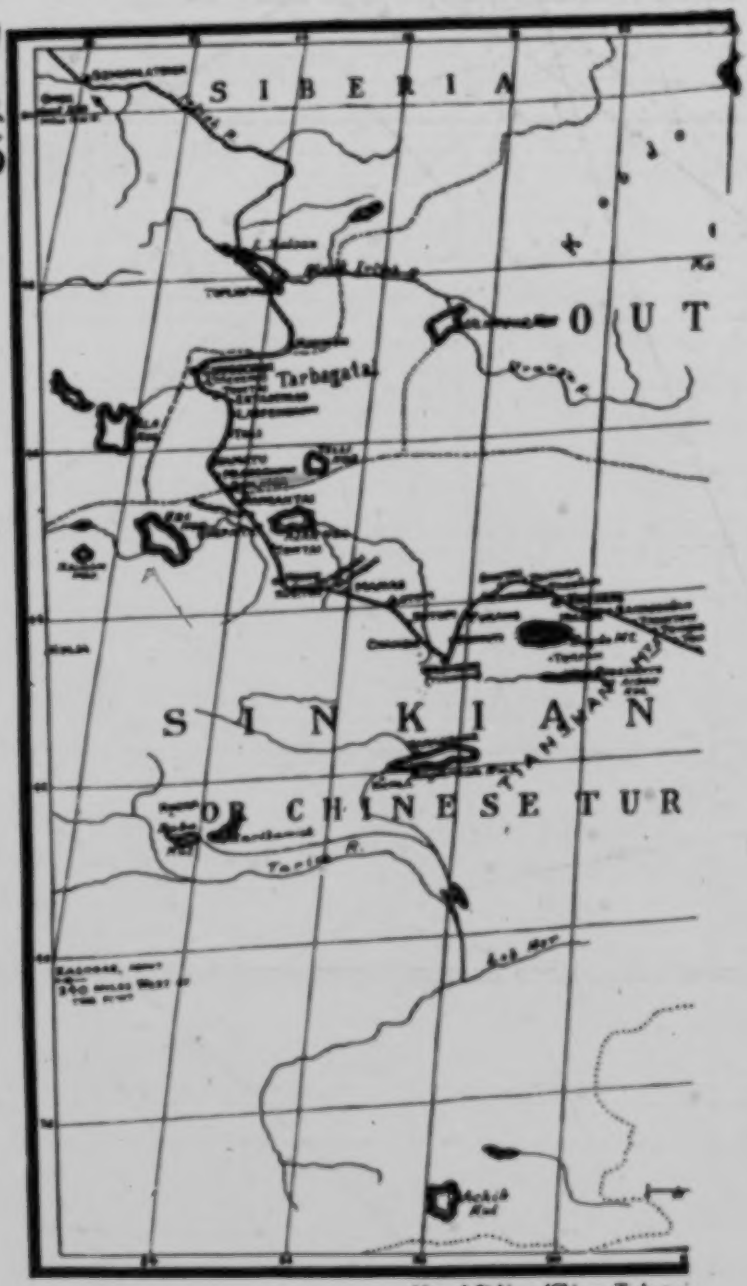

Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan,

[FOLDED MAP (2)]

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) showing each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS

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radio route across the Gobi Desc

[FOLDED MAP (D)]

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PREFACE

121 The present handbook is one in a series of regional handbooks which the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington compiled under a contract with the Human Relations Area Files. It is designed as a supplement to the General Handbook on China, compiled by the Institute under the same contract; it describes and analyzes regional peculiarities and developments in China's great Northwest. Reference is therefore made to this General Handbook for all topics discussed in the present volume; the coverage of the General Handbook is not duplicated here, and the presentation of problems and events of the Northwest presumes familiarity with the overall setting, discussed in the General Handbook. Reference is also made to the preface of the General Handbook, in which the circumstances of this compilation and the working methods of the team of contributors are set forth. The outline of the regional handbooks follows the prescribed format. Sections, however, have been treated more briefly or left out altogether, when little or no regional deviation from the general pattern was discernible.

Research conducted at the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington has for some years been guided by the concept of regionalism. A regional approach to the problems of Chinese economy, social structure, and political power has permitted the use of a much wider range of material and has added a new dimension to its analysis. The work on the Human Relations Area Files Handbooks provided the opportunity to expand this research experience into an attempt to cover the regions of China as rounded and to a degree self-contained units. It has to be stressed, though, that this attempt should be regarded as an experiment rather than a solution, since much more work and thought is needed to establish the essence and the functions of any one region of China. To begin with, the question of what constitutes a region is far from being satisfactorily answered. The Human Relations Area Files handbooks took, mainly for fortuitous reasons, the administrative areas established in early Communist times as regional units. As far as the regions go that were dealt with at Seattle, that is to say the Northeast, the Northwest, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, this choice turned out to be at least a workable assumption.

In the case of China's Northwest, the delimitation of the region and the circumference of its characteristic features can almost be called traditional. Ever since the "Movement to Develop the Northwest" (k'ai-fa Hsi-pei) was launched in

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121 the early thirties (see particularly: Tai Chi-t'ao, Hsi-pei. Nanking 1931), this part of China attracted growing attention as one of the greatest hopes for her future. To be sure, the provinces covered by the concept have not always been the same in the series of surveys engendered by this movement; particularly, the province of Suiyuan, now part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, has been frequently included. (For a discussion of the question of geographical extent see: Wang Chin-fu, Hsi-pei chih ti-wen yü jen-wen. Shanghai 1935, and Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, Hsi-pei ch'ü-yü ti-li, Chungking 1945) A more sober approach has however already then identified the Northwest geographically in the manner of the present handbook: it was meant to include what were then the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang. (see Hsü Hsü, Hsi-pei chien-she lun. Shanghai 1944).

This more or less generally accepted definition of the geographical area has set a challenging but highly difficult task for the compilers of the present handbook. The degree of diversity within the region, which includes the cradle of Chinese civilization as well as the most remote outpost of the Chinese colonial empire, called for a breadth of coverage which at times tended to strain the unity of presentation to the bursting point. The fact, on the other hand, that the region has been considered a unit by observers as well as inhabitants, necessitated analyzing interrelationships of the different segments of Northwestern society. Every possible type of relation in every field of human life presented itself here as if in a test-tube. What could be done within the framework of this handbook is again only a beginning. If pursued, this analysis could lead to a typology of group relations.

128 The present compilation owes much to the spirit of teamwork which prevailed in our handbook project. This team included the contributors to the other handbooks. All the names mentioned on the title-pages and in the prefaces of the General Handbook and the other Regional Handbooks deserved to be repeated here. Editorial work on most of the sociological and political sections was done by Beatrice Miller, and on all the economic sections by Dorothy Schroeter. Charts and tables were designed by Florence Cochran.

October 1956 Hellmut Wilhelm

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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175 4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction
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Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appearances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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175 5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions
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What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called
phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is bel
be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. Whe
climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fer
enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when
becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink a
pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply an
the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors.
of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that t
"paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac
of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographic
towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the r
of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads
periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and
scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. H
suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge m
of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent q
the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the p
by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural la
the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Ci
p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the pop
the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate stepp
was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle a
and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did no
tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden
in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and wa
would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomad
to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troub
lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peop
tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regio
tress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abro
the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the le
of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads oft
induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set
in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of clim
seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of th
in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, wh
much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontier
lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the er
the nomads. There were, for example, technological fa
the invention of the powerful compound bow and the tech
mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over th

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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1. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

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The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

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A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

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It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 (779) Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

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N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

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SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with
181 which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values
183 are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

121 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the
183 norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group; they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda * [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 * 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile, the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with [177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

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121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

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101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

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563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

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178 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
563 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

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121 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
*563 our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

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*563 A. The Han Chinese
*195 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

N 241 668 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres themselves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now examine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

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B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

1. Sinkiang

S 175 474 241 668 [476] By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis) and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S 241 433 668 175 [474] Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of further consolidation and development of the cooperative movement. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S 242 668 433 175 The government has established agricultural stations, in order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 317 239 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [286] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output N [433] is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

It had become clear to me that on my new expedition into the highlands, I could not think of continuing my old route. It would have taken too much time to get to the old place on the Tschang tang. By the time I would have reached it the animals would have suffered so much from the cold as well as from the distance, that I would have had little prospects of an important further advance. But above all I did not have the means to equip a second equally large caravan. I had therefore decided to take a trip into the little /98/ known K'am. In K'am on the upper Yangtze Kiang, around the sources of the Mekong and up to the banks of the Salwen, there lies a Tibetan province which, as I mentioned earlier, belongs to Hsining or rather to the Kuku Nor territory because it was occupied by Hsining Chinese at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the wars of conquest of the Manchu. The people of Hsining call this province the Hung mao or de ti fang, the "home of the red-hats" (1), sometimes also the Yü fu (Yü schu in the 121

1. All the people who do not belong to the Gelugba sect, refer to the Hsining Chinese as "red-hats," irrespective of whether they follow the Nima- (rNingma-)Saskya-, or Karma-rites. As far as a layman is concerned the difference between these sects consists chiefly in small externalisms of the ritual, in the invocation, the gestures of the hands, in the type of music, in the intonation of the instruments and in whistling and hand-clapping. For the monks the difference lies in the first place, in the diversity of tutelary gods. [495]

Peking dialect). It is the country of Nan tsien (or Nan tschen) dyalbo, a king who is practically independent. The territory is very large and little of it has been explored because it is extremely difficult of access. We therefore do not even know its exact boundaries. But it is today the most important center of the old Nima- (rNingma-) faith, that is, this very sect of Red-hats.

In order to penetrate the lands of the Nan tsien king, I felt that it was first of all necessary for me to secure the consent of the Hsining amban. But how was it possible for me, without a recommendation from my government, once again to come into the presence of the high and mighty lord? It took a great deal of trouble. This yamen had an astonishing number of almighty gate-keepers. On two different days I went to the amban yamen at 10 o'clock in the morning and left it when the gates were closed at night without being admitted by the 122

122 direct road, two wagon-loads full of expedition equipment to Hsining fu which was to be my next goal. I myself took along on my circuitous bypaths the entire travel money for the coming years, which consisted of two small mule packs of silver bars. No one had been willing to give me the necessary guarantee for direct transport, and so I could not risk sending this silver along with the other equipment. I could perhaps have bought a few checks on companies in Hsining fu, but in that case I would surely have been given much "poorer" silver. It is not easy to find good, pure silver
436 in the smaller cities, especially in the western part of the kingdom.
453 Besides, one incurs the danger of being very badly cheated. Thus, I had cashed a great many of my checks in Lanchow fu. These /157/ inland checks are small Chinese documents resembling letters, without any European marks on them. They are payable to a certain weight of silver with a certain number of ounces and are made out to any name you wish. Mine were addressed to "the banking firm at the sign of the lucky shot" in Lanchow fu and made out by
453 their agents in Shanghai to a Mr. Li whom I did not know. The German director of the Hankow branch of the German-Asiatic Bank once told me that on the basis of enquiries he had made of his comprador (1) he had discovered that this firm was operating

1. Comprador is a Spanish word and belongs in the vocabulary of pidgin-English. A comprador is a trustworthy Chinese of experience who is absolutely necessary to every foreign business firm. He vouches for the solvency of the Chinese firms and controls the accuracy of the Chinese checks and currency, for there are only a few foreigners who possess the necessary knowledge for testing these. He acts as proxy for the Chinese public, in fact in many business firms he is the Chinese partner.

illegally. However, the director of an English bank in Tientsin told me, after making similar enquiries, that this was by far the largest bank in the place and one that annually handles millions. Now, I do not wish to accuse those European gentlemen who gave me such contradictory information - both pieces of information were after all based on reports of their compradors - but I simply want to show the difficulty involved in carrying on business with the interior. Even the Chinese of the coast know very little

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122 crew of gate-keepers. I almost lost patience. But on the third day I was received. The disturbance I caused in the front court seems to have become too great. I had arrived with my bedding in order to be comfortable during the night. I had also ordered a number of traders to come to the yamen entrance court, so that I would not be passing the time entirely idly. I had reminded the private secretary of the American traveler who had come to Hsining the year before on his way to Turkestan and who was solemnly received by the amban shortly after his arrival, and was later even specially invited. I could also refer to Lieutenant Brooke's reception. Even the Hungarian scholar Stein who was traveling on an English mission had had interpreters sent him by the amban, although the man was only going to Sa tschou and had not even come into the amban's territory. All this at a word from the corresponding embassies.

When finally I sat next to the amban I got the nice old gentleman to the point, after an hour, where he had a new passport drawn up for me as well as a letter of safe conduct. He also guaranteed in writing that I should have an interpreter for my journey into the Nan tsien country. In return I promised him to waive any claims of future indemnity. The interpreter, a certain Tschang, who on the next day already presented himself at my inn, was, of course, much too young. He counted only 20 summers and spoke Tibetan poorly. But he had been to K'am. When I was on the point of refusing him because of his poor command of the language, I was given the choice of a very old, asthmatic man who was so weakened from opium that he /99/ could hardly sit on a horse and would hardly have arrived in K'am alive. So I contented myself with the younger one. The amban Tsching schu was entirely of the old school. He was a great poet, doted on classical quotations, but his idea about his country was merely that it was bad business. The autumn before he had been very unlucky in his interpreters and secretaries. The Gan ts'a subtribe of Pamba who had killed his interpreter Ts'ai, had paid a considerable sum of money in order to be permitted to reoccupy its old pastures on the lake. Several of the secretaries, however, had pocketed this money and had put off the Tibetans. The latter did not wait long. They knew how to make themselves felt. The embezzlement was uncovered, the guilty ones were dismissed and some were even imprisoned. In all important positions the amban now had new people who knew as little about Tibet as he did.

000 On January 20 my new caravan was ready and I departed without delay. Mr. Ridley accompanied me as far as the entrance to the

N.w. China AF 13
Tu ren

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and chil-
dren's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and be-
cause the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 157
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage, which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

*563 3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; barabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W
576 Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few
*563 greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced especially in the area between Kokonor, Tossun-nor and the
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19 Amne-machin mountain range.

576 *563 [127]

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nan̈-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ür-je-ch'e Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yö-lam-na-de-bär-työ-chig

194 *563 As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, työ, tchö, to ktchö. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

191 *563 The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

*668 212 177 [191] The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

19 A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɲ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cablé and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

121 the early thirties (see particularly: Tai Chi-t'ao, Hsi-pei. Nanking 1931), this part of China attracted growing attention as one of the greatest hopes for her future. To be sure, the provinces covered by the concept have not always been the same in the series of surveys engendered by this movement; particularly, the province of Suiyuan, now part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, has been frequently included. (For a discussion of the question of geographical extent see: Wang Chin-fu, Hsi-pei chih ti-wen yü jen-wen. Shanghai 1935, and Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, Hsi-pei ch'ü-yü ti-li. Chungking 1945) A more sober approach has however already then identified the Northwest geographically in the manner of the present handbook: it was meant to include what were then the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang. (see Hsü Hsü, Hsi-pei chien-she lun. Shanghai 1944)

This more or less generally accepted definition of the geographical area has set a challenging but highly difficult task for the compilers of the present handbook. The degree of diversity within the region, which includes the cradle of Chinese civilization as well as the most remote outpost of the Chinese colonial empire, called for a breadth of coverage which at times tended to strain the unity of presentation to the bursting point. The fact, on the other hand, that the region has been considered a unit by observers as well as inhabitants, necessitated analyzing interrelationships of the different segments of Northwestern society. Every possible type of relation in every field of human life presented itself here as if in a test-tube. What could be done within the framework of this handbook is again only a beginning. If pursued, this analysis could lead to a typology of group relations.

128 The present compilation owes much to the spirit of teamwork which prevailed in our handbook project. This team included the contributors to the other handbooks. All the names mentioned on the title-pages and in the prefaces of the General Handbook and the other Regional Handbooks deserved to be repeated here. Editorial work on most of the sociological and political sections was done by Beatrice Miller, and on all the economic sections by Dorothy Schroeter. Charts and tables were designed by Florence Cochran.

October 1956 Hellmut Wilhelm

121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group; they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 • 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda * [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 * 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with [177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

HEALTH AND SANITATION

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I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

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Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

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A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

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The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

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The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirât, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of [167] the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic
• 13 changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the
487 chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and
*175 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities,
73 such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devas-
166 tation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the
*175 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation. It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 184 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity. 241 233 182 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies. From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

133 The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*175 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
*668 parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest
[423] rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
[435] tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for
[433] their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of
433 resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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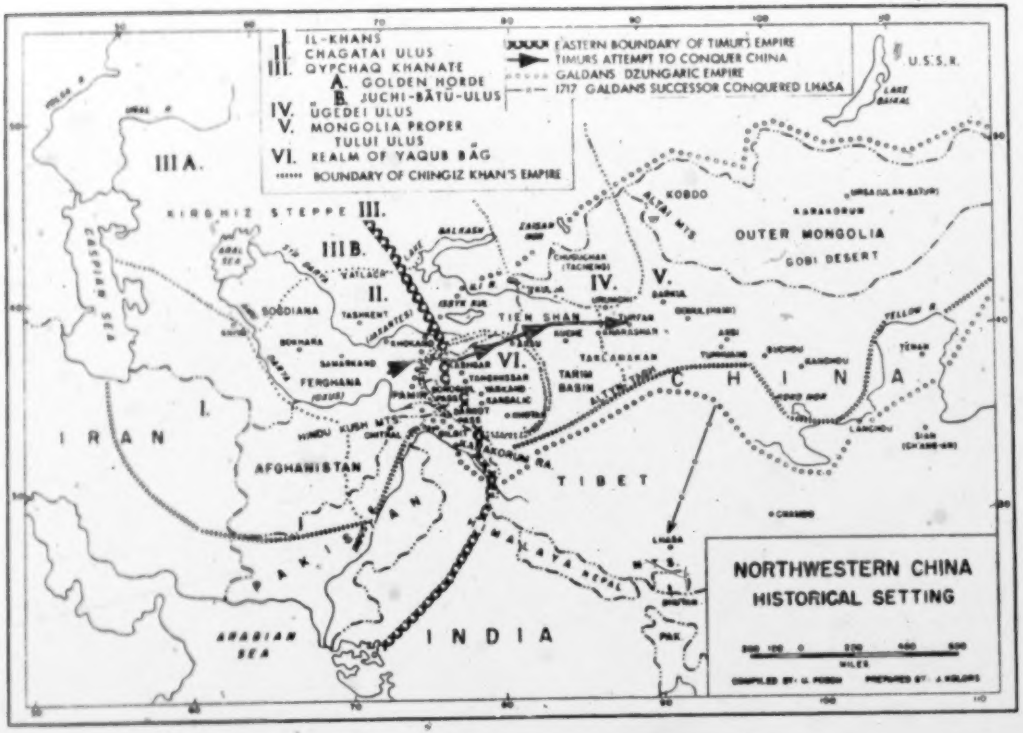

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.

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[13] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones

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of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
[439] tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the YU-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province, [131] roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from [648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavoragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table I.)

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones [133] and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations, [See p. 128--Analyst]

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.
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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is
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339 being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan, Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku
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135 area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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N A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu
131 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang
161 Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civiliation.

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161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land
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• 131 occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area
161 of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5
N per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without
131 Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile,
161 for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

N Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution
161 between the eastern and western parts of the region, their
241 distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population
N is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-
161 chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a
133 confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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TABLE I. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Shensi Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Yung-ping, 57 km. NW of Yen-ch'ang	1914-16	667	small	36.57 x 109.57
Yen-ch'ang 158.3 meters west of city's West Gate	1907-36	83-923	1-6 bbls/day	36.30 x 110.08
Fu-shih (Yenan) 4 km. NE of Fu-shih	1914-16	1,000	only show	35.31 x 108.86
Chung-pu 25 km. WSW of Huang-ling (Chung-pu)	1914-16	833 - 1,182	only show	35.12 x 109.03
Tung-kuan 22 km. NW of Tung-kuan	1914-16	933	no data	29.17 x 106.35

TABLE II. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Kansu Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Lao-chun-miao, Chiu-ch'uan county, 70 km. W of Chiu-ch'uan city	1943		776,076 bbls in 1942	39.46 x 97.47
Tun-huang 20 km. NW of Tun-huang city	1943	100-475		40.19 x 94.32
Shih-you-ho SW of Yü-men	1937	492 ft. to 656 ft.	20 bbls/day 35 bbls/day	39.46 x 97.33
	1944	1,400 ft.	10,000 bbls/day	
	1944	1,313 ft.		
Yü-men, near city	1944		4,000,000 gal in 1946 from the Yü-men Field	40.15 x 97.13

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII. Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE X. Distribution of Salt and its Production in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in 1942 and 1943 (Production in metric tons) Source: Stephens, Harre E.: N. W. salt, American Embassy, Lanchow, Kansu, China, Jan. 29, 1945)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 Production	Total	1943 Prod.	Total
Ninghsia	Tsa-han-chih (Lake).	38.20x104.42	39,040		30,244	
	Ho-twen-chih "	39.24x104.40	9,400		12,381	
	Ya-pu-lai "		10,500		5,600	
	Chi-lan-tai "	39.40x105.43	16,200		2,089	
	Hui-on-pu (Earth)	37.28x106.41	175		750	
	Tung-hu-chih (Lake)	37.40x104.55	700		460	
	Ba-in-chih (Earth)(?)	38.18x104.15	35		254	
	Hung-yen-chih "	38.02x104.58	155		16	
				77,105		51,978
Kansu	Hsi-feng-chen(Lake)	35.45x107.28	2,700		5,004	
	Tsao-shan-chen "	35.20x107.59	1,500		2,712	
	Kao-tai (earth)	39.21x99.58	2,800		2,055	
	Chang-hsien "	34.38x104.40	1,400		1,076	
	Su-mu-shan "	38.30x103.20	500		815	
	Tang-chia-hai "(?)		330		453	
	Kan-yen-chih "		200		417	
	Yen-kuan "	34.18x105.19	420		393	
	Pai-tun-tzu "	37.30x104.05	750		367	
	Hsiao-hung-kou "	36.43x105.26	160		351	
	Ma-lien-ch'uan "	41.10 x94.47	425		347	
	Ma-chia-T'sun	36.18x103.30	430		233	
	Lin-hsia	35.34x103.14	135		215	
	Hsia-ho (Lake)	35.12x102.30	20		174	
	La-pai (Earth)		290		112	

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
NorthChina	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
LowerYangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

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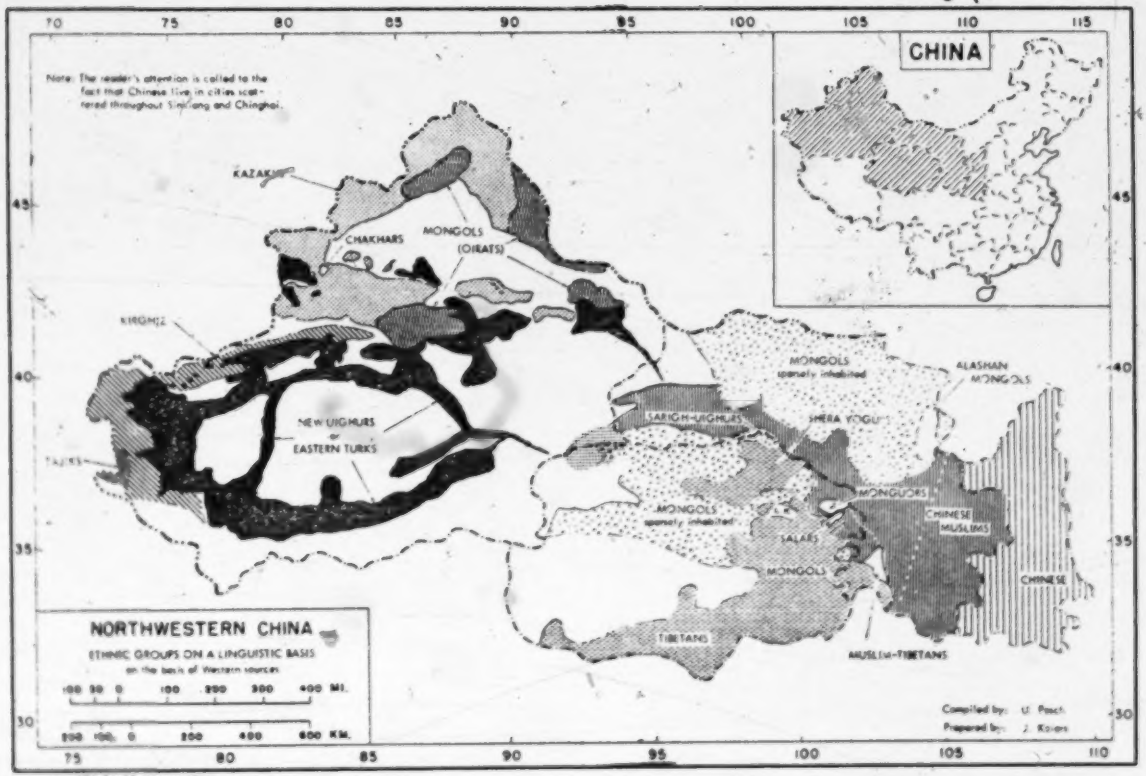

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live.
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
2	Chinese Mohammedans	1,500	Mostly in the northern and western part of the province
3	Mongours	30	In the area which is enclosed by the Pingfan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River westward of Lanchou
4	Tibetans	40	scattered over the area which is enclosed by the Ping-fan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River
5	Sarigh-Uighur	5	on the northern slopes of the Nanshan, south of Su-chou
6	Mongols (Torguts and Ölöts)	?	The Torguts live in the area west and east of the Edsin gol and north of the line Ansi Su-chou. The Ölöts live in the Alashan, north of Kan-chou and Liang-chou and the Chukhushan mountains, also north of the Lung-shan.

C. The Ethnic Groups of Chinghai

The main racial groups in the province of Chinghai are the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Chinese Moslems, the Salar Turks, the Mongols (Ölöts from Alashan) and the Mongours or Tu-jen.

No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	576	Mainly in the southeastern part of Chinghai, also along the Nan-shan mountain region, bordering Kansu and Sinkiang
2	Tibetans	417	In the Kuku-nor area, in the Dang-la mountain range and at the headw ters of the Yellow River

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
162 131 361 3	Chinese Moslems	138	In the capital Hsining (19,000) in the districts of Ta-tung, Huang-chung, Huang-yuan, Min-huo, Hua-lung, Hsun-hua, Meng-yuan, Also in the cities of Ho-chow and Lin-hsia.
4	Salars (Turks)	50	In the area of Hsun-hua, south of the Yellow River, and around Payen-Jung, southeast of Hsining.
5	Mongols	33	In the area north of the Kuku-nor, south and north of the Tsaidam swamps and in the area of the Bayan Kara Shan mountain range.
6	Mongours	72	West of the Kuku-nor in the area of the tributaries of the Ta-tung River, Hsi-ning River. Some of them live south of the Yellow River around Kuei-te.

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
• 131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[441] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

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AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

B. Sinkiang

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1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 311 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only; used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

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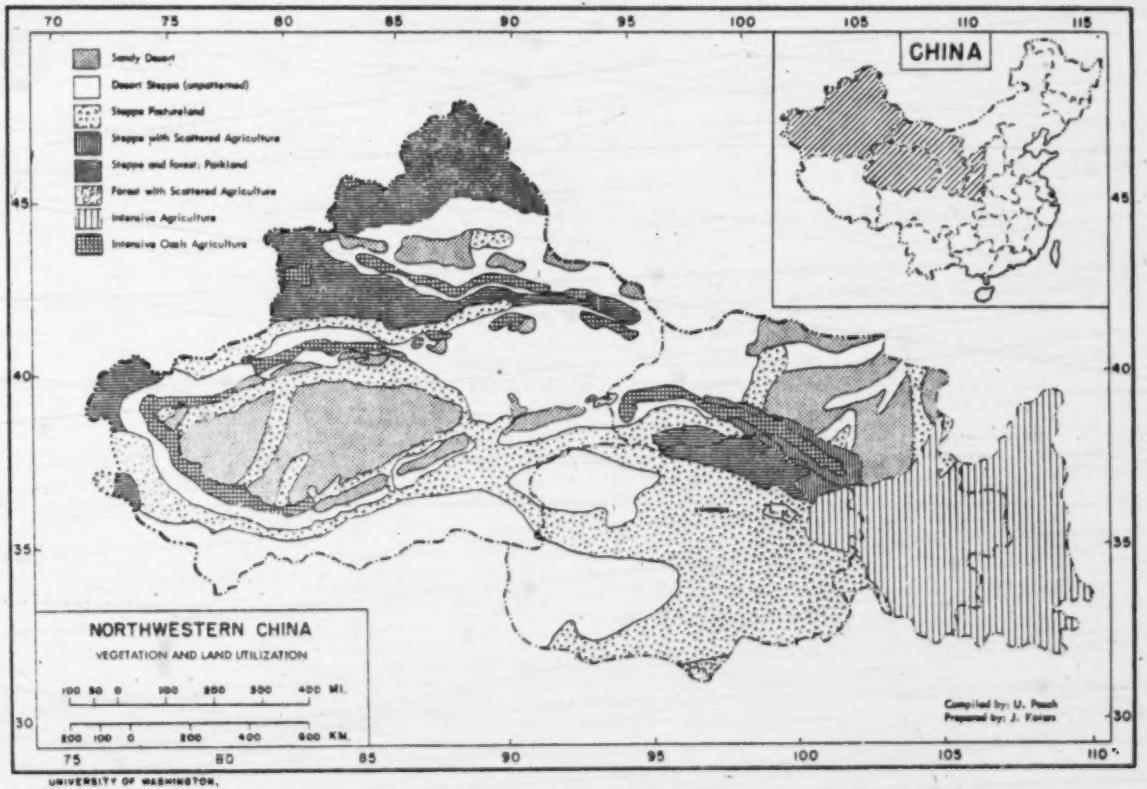

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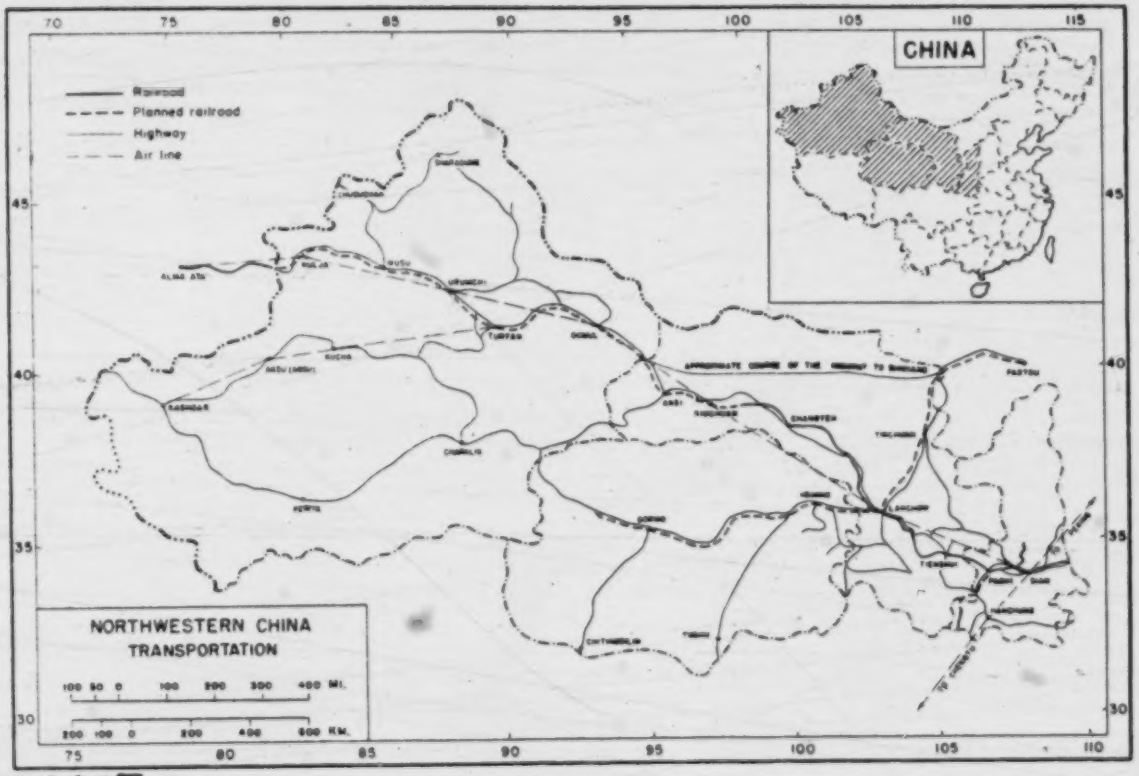

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000 the arable land and already within the wild Tibeten steppes. Thus, I needed suitable guides, if possible ones who spoke Tibetan. Since I did not intend at first to go far into the Tibetan highland, my previous servants came along also. Fortunately I had quickly found the necessary men whom I still needed.

Already on the day after my arrival in Hsining fu, so-called "long Tschang," smiling modestly and smirking ambiguously, paying me many compliments, had come into my room through a small crack in the door. This man was called Da Tschang or "long Tschang" on our Hwang Ho expedition. He was an intelligent Chinese, 28 years old at the time, and got his name from his 1.80-meter height. He was the son of a petty officer on the Tibetan frontier, who had spent all his money in gambling and making merry. Tschang could read and write fairly well and he was courageous, as I knew for certain from my own experience. He was extremely astute and crafty and had an astonishing gift of speech. He was eminently capable of leading his fellow men by the nose and, if he wanted to, he could always say what people wanted to hear. He was a true child of his race and of his wild, rugged native land. He was a lazy loafer, but also an interesting personality. Although I /175/ knew his faults from other days, I took him into my services; for there was nothing better to be found.

During the first part of January I again journeyed up the Hsining Valley. My old passport had been approved in the yamen. The amban Tsching schu even promised me an escort for my journey to the Koko Nor. The gifts which I sent him were acknowledged by a rather large dinner that was sent to me at my house. For I had been recommended by the fan tai at Lanchow fu. The holder of the office of amban had been in the city only a few weeks. His predecessor, Tschun leang, with whom Filchner and I had conferred, had been obliged to give up the office in great haste the following winter and in the meantime the dao tai of Hsining had filled the empty post. The preceding amban had too blindly thought only of money and had, at the beginning of the afore-mentioned Kue de war, let himself be bribed in a way that was so detrimental to the Chinese prestige among Tibetans and Mohammedans that he had given offense higher up.

361 131 When I received the announcement through the hsien of Hsining of the amban's permission to visit the Koko Nor, I had immediately set out in order to complete my outfitting in Dankar ting, the last Chinese city on the border. The way thither has been traveled and

described by many a European. It is the entrance and exit of North 131
Tibet. Huc, Prschewalski, Rockhill, Littledale, Grenard, Hedin, 361
Kozlow, Holderer-Futterer all came through there.

You leave the city of Hsining through the beautiful west gate. 361
Two kilometers beyond, outside of two fortified encampments, there are a few tower-like earth mounds. The natives tell of them, that they were erected once by a crafty general when a Tibetan army was on the point of laying siege to Hsining, and were covered with countless grain bags filled with sand. The Tibetans, it is said, did not suspect the subterfuge, though the huge piles were grain sacks, believed the city was much too well-provisioned and retreated. Somewhat farther out from the city, close beside the road, there is a four-sided earth pyramid about 25 meters high, which probably marks an old royal grave; but today no one remembers what this structure of earth once was. (1) 176/ The upper Hsining Valley

1. In ancient times the city of Hsining fu was much larger. There are today remains of ancient walls of stamped loess recognizable in the south and east parts of the city. Under these walls appear old, barrel-shaped arches with gray tiles, which were most probably Chinese graves. This old city must have been more than twice the size of present-day Hsining fu; it is said to have existed in the Tang (?) period when the city was called Schan tschou.

Originally the Hsining country, as well as the country around Lanchow fu, belonged to the "Hsi Kiang" (the western Tschiang) who were split up into many tribes. The great Emperor Wu ti (140-86) had the valley of the Hsining River conquered in order to keep in check the barbaric tribes and to protect his newly-opened road to Turfan and Baktrien. Around the year 61 B.C. under Emperor Suan ti, the first colonies of soldiers were established through General Tschao, canals were dug and a permanent settlement by the name of Po (be) Tschiang hsien was built. The city remained united with the kingdom until in 397-399 some general established his own dynasty (Nan leang). Even after this time it was always Chinese until it was conquered by the Tibetans in 762 and fell out of their hands into those of the Hsi Haia kingdom. In the 12th century the city and district /176/ of Hsining belonged alternately to the Hsi Hsia, the Chinese or Tibetans, and more peaceful times came only through Genghis Khan

[text continues on p. 241]

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emigrated from the Koko Nor only 100-150 years ago (?). Potanin speaks of an Arigi- and a Yundscha-tribe who were driven out in 1843 by the amban of the Koko Nor and wandered to K'am.

4. Kozlow, Mongolia i Kam, Vol. II, p. 262ff., ascertained the following tribal names: Namtso, Gutse, Amchek, Ayun, Haschi, Tschintson, Detta, Tschawut, Rada, Butschun, Surman, Yunscha, Kanar, Tsatschüka, Dobtschu, Tendo, Lab, Mongoltschin, Tsantschu, Gertschi, Raschi, Yuischu. Most of them are not in accordance with the ones I heard of. Of those who are said to live farthest toward Central Tibet he discovered the names Riu chi, Bak scho and Sogo deme (the latter is probably identical with the Bönbo on the Sog Tschü, the tributary of the Salwen near the Ba chen capital and the Truksun monastery. Farther on he writes that the Bak scho live northwest of Tsiamdo in Ts'ien tsang.

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I had touched the northeast corner of the Nan tsien kingdom near Lab gomba and Deda. From there the boundary approximately follows the 97° eastern longitude south in the direction toward Tsiamdo and two days' journey from this important place it touches the Wei- or Ts'ien tsang- (Chinese) or foremost Lhasa-territory whose chief town is actually Tsiamdo (Tschiamdo). From here, at about 31 1/2 degrees northern latitude, the boundary turns to the northwest and follows the course of the Tsche Chu upward, but in such a way that the right bank of this river is already under the jurisdiction of the sde ba gschung of Lhasa. Toward the west the sphere of influence of the Nañ tsien King seems to extend in some places as far as 93° 30' eastern longitude. There in the north a territory joins it which is also called Dya sde by its neighbors, but which belongs to Bonbo and has its own overlord, the King of Hortsi. It extends 92° and (with 39 tribes originally) is nominally under the jurisdiction of the amban in Lhasa. (5) Just in that region the boundary is most uncertain because

5. According to Bower, Across Tibet, page 133, isolated parts of Dya sde extend far to the west of 92°.

the power of the priests and officers of the Central Tibetan ecclesiastical state seems to be mounting and friction is the order of the day.

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The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

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The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

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We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

S
175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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S 133 inaccessible gorges. To the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor, the mountains resume an easterly bearing and sink to a lower level. Beyond the eastern extremity of the Tarim Basin, the Kun-lun imperceptibly merges with the Ch'i-lien-shan along the southern edge of the Kansu Corridor. In the western portion its northern slopes, with their aridity and far advanced erosion, closely reporduce the physical features already familiar to us from the Kun-lun. The other branch extends eastward to Chinghai Province, forming the divide of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers.

Examination of the topographical features of northwestern China reveals that mountains, plateaus, deserts, and gravels dominate the land forms of the whole area. Level land is present along the various river banks; notably, the Ili Plain, the E-min Plain, the Kara-Irtis Plain, the Urumchi Plain, and at certain portions of the Tarim River. Human activities are largely restricted and limited by the unfavorable topography S [361] and land forms. Cities are located at the piedmonts of the mountains, and oases are situated along the outer fringes of S [161] the deserts by the side of water. The population of Northwest China is sparsely distributed through the whole section .

N 132 C. Climate

Particularly in Northwest China, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution, and its reliability. Temperature, which in winter absolutely stops outside activities with its cold and which destroys crops through untimely frosts in spring and fall is next in importance.

The inland provinces of Northwest China are least influenced by ocean winds from the southeast and east, and the continentality is very obvious. The climate of Northwest China undergoes sharp fluctuations of temperature in summer and in winter, and uneven and unpredictable precipitation throughout the year.

According to collected data on temperatures from a few stations in Northwest China, Chiu-ch'uan for instance, the average temperature of January is minus nine degrees Centigrade. Tun-huang is minus seven degrees Centigrade. Because of a lower elevation than Chiu-ch'uan, Tun-huang is relatively warmer even though farther west. In July, Chiu-ch'uan has 23.8 degrees Centigrade, whereas Tun-huang has 27.1 degrees Centigrade. The annual differences of each of the stations in Kansu are over thirty degrees Centigrade. Chiu-ch'uan is thirty-three degrees Centigrade; Tun-huang is

N 132 thirty-four degrees Centigrade. The larger the annual difference, the more obvious is the seasonal differentiation.

S 132 In Sinkiang, the highest temperature of the year is in July. The lowest temperature of the year is in January, in Southern Sinkiang, and in February in northern Sinkiang. The temperature curve is very sharp. The average temperature for the coldest month of the year is from minus seven to minus sixteen degrees Centigrade. Khotan, in southern Sinkiang, has minus seven degrees Centigrade; whereas Altai, in northern Sinkiang, has minus 16.9 degrees Centigrade. This variation of 9.9 degrees is explained not only by the locations and altitudes of these two places but mainly by the abrrier of the Tien-shan. All the recording stations of former Sinkiang Province generally have a mean January temperature below zero. The only difference is that there are three months below zero in southern Sinkiang and five months below zero in northern Sinkiang.

The obstruction of the Tien-shan greatly influences the climate. Statistics show that all the weather stations in southern Sinkiang have a mild temperature compared with those in northern Sinkiang. This is due to the fact that the former are well-sheltered by the mountain ranges. For example, the difference in latitude from Urumchi to Kucha is only two degrees, but the temperature in January in Kucha is minus fourteen degrees Centigrade and in Urumchi is minus 19.3 degrees Centigrade. Due to topographic differences, the variation is 5.3 degrees.

Summer temperatures are relatively uniform. In Sinkiang, for instance, the range of temperatures is twenty-two to twenty-five degrees. The July average is 24.2 degrees Centigrade at Urumchi, 23.9 degrees at Kucha, 23.1 degrees at Ili, and 22.2 degrees at Ta-chang. Altai, in the extreme north, has an exceptionally low average temperature, only 20.9 degrees Centigrade. In contrast, the stations in southern Sinkiang, such as Kashgar and Khotan, have a mean temperature for July of more than twenty-five degrees Centigrade. The hottest place in Sinkiang is Turfan, which has 33.7 degrees Centigrade in July. This is the place noted as a "fire district" (Ho-chou) in Chinese history. During its hot summer days, the natives retire to underground chambers. There are two explanations for this extreme heat. First, Turfan is in a depression; it is forty-five feet below sea level. Second, Turfan is surrounded by mountains. When the air masses move in, they are warmed and rise in a conventional current.

Continental climate changes rapidly, both daily and seasonally. It differs from south to north. For example, at Khotan the year range is 32.4 degrees Centigrade; at Kucha

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

N Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally,
132 it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year; whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

S Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia.
132 Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist
[131] air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-
S nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

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S 132 places not even as much as 4.5 millimeters falls through the year. There are no longer a series of records showing either the temperature or the precipitation of the area, but the available data show that the total precipitation consists of snow water as well as summer rain in certain parts of the province.

N 132 In the geographical distribution of rainfall there shows a marked contrast between the shady side of the mountainous areas and the oases. On the whole, the southeastern part of Kansu and Shensi receive a relatively greater rainfall than the northwestern sections. For instance, Wu-wei district, in the southeastern section of Kansu, has a comparatively high precipitation, and Chiu-ch'uan, because of its location in the northwestern section of Kansu, has a precipitation that N [241] is relatively low. The former is considered an area of agricultural dominance; the latter, due to less precipitation, makes for agricultural uncertainty.

Because the warmer southern air has been blocked by the Nan-shan and Chin-ling on the southern border of the region, the temperature of Kansu and Shensi is relatively lower than those places in the same latitude in eastern China. For instance, the January temperature in Peking is minus 4.7 degrees Centigrade; in Chiu-ch'uan it is about minus nine degrees Centigrade. In July the temperature in Peking is 25.3 degrees Centigrade, whereas in Chiu-ch'uan it is 23.8 degrees Centigrade. This is due not only to the influence of location - one near the coast and the other inland - but also to the fact that the mountain range runs from west to east as the barrier which shuts off the warm, moist winds from the southeastern coastal areas of China.

S 132 Furthermore, the distribution of precipitation of Sinkiang differs from south to north of the Province. The mean annual precipitation at Kashgar is 89.4 millimeters of which over two thirds, or around seventy three percent, falls in the spring and summer. At Urumchi it is 228.8 millimeters, of which twenty-four percent falls in winter; thirty-four percent falls in spring; fifteen percent falls in summer; and twenty-seven percent falls in autumn. At Kashgar the precipitation is greatest in summer and at Urumchi it falls largely in the spring and autumn months. The Takla Makan desert absorbs the limited moisture from the air. However, in northern Sinkiang the topographical features are comparatively open so that the Arctic Oceanic winds blow toward the area more easily. Thus precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year.

S [241] The dry air reduces cloudiness and thus increases sunshine. The agricultural activities of the area depend largely upon the brilliant sunshine for melting snow on the mountains for irrigation.

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132 irrigation. There is, therefore, a common saying in the area that sunshine equals rainfall.

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132 Generally speaking, Northwest China is affected by the high pressure of the Mongolian Plateau. It is windy throughout the year, particularly in the spring. There are also local cyclones on the Gobi desert during the hot summer. These cyclones are relatively short-lived and remain within one area. Winds blow more strongly in the spring than in other months of the year, because at this time the center of the high pressure area is moving toward the northern part of Central Asia and Northwest China is just beyond the edge of the high pressure. Since Sinkiang is in the high pressure circle in
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[132] the winter, the wind blows calmly. When the strong winds sweep down to the ground in spring or summer they do much damage to agricultural crops. Therefore, the places which face such strong winds are the places where agricultural products are relatively poor.

In summary climate is modified by topography and the distance of the area from the sea. Northwest China is located in the interior of China and is remote from seas. The huge mountains and the gigantic deserts render the climate generally dry throughout the year. According to Koppen's classification, the area lies in the zone of B climate; that is, the potential evaporation exceeds precipitation. Owing to topographical features' influence upon climatic changes, it is always drier on the southern and sunny sides of the mountains than on the
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[132] northern and shady sides of the ranges. In southern Sinkiang, for example, the climate is classified as a dry desert type; whereas, in northern Sinkiang, it is a steppe climate. This difference is mainly due to the amount of precipitation. In the steppe regions the precipitation is always greater than it is in the desert area.

In Northwest China, the temperature changes rapidly from day to day and season to season. Precipitation is greatest in the summer months but it is not reliable.

II. Mineral Resources.

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135 A. General Distribution and Some Specific Importance

Northwest China is a poverty-stricken area, due in part to insufficient rainfall and also because it was until recently, practically an unexplored region in regard to its natural resources. Although the coal reserve of Shensi is known to be rich (next only to its close neighbor, Shansi,) (if reported recent discoveries in the Northeast are left out of consideration), it has not been mined to any great extent due to the lack of a nearby market. The only other promising mineral is the

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131 Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest
161 Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

N The region is characterized, even more than the nation
133 as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially
161 cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common
(171) historical as well as political background. While climatic
(132) conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

N As to historical and political relations with China, there are
172 two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civilisation.

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
134 that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ningsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in
241 this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 311 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only; used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien. 103

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China. 471

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized [132] 487 [494]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

579 suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not 628 those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

634 Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

487 From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'ienchʼiao, where the 133 mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

132 We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

634 At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were 487 now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in many regions. I have only one complaint to make against

271 Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 487
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet
called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the
night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant
in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after
an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent
for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over
a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in
another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as
opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial
town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance.
About half the few buildings inside the walls had been
destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously.
We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate
had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in
a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao
River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red
sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess
of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of
the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar
Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The
red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted
with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend
from here along the border to their real strongholds round
Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow
River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms
(early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very
severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque;
this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told,
confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very
extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt
312 of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these
243 oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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000 cartload of loess soil, and at last proceed with the putting of our house in order. A fireplace built entirely of mud-bricks, into which a grating of half-a-dozen iron bars was fixed, made a very satisfactory cooking-stove, and a paraffin-oil tin let into the back served as a boiler. We also set up an iron stove we had brought with us, at great labour and expense, but which proved to be not only an immense comfort but an absolutely vital necessity, when the real depth of winter came upon us.

322 We visited several carpenters' shops in the hope of finding ready-made furniture, such as a table, bench, or 767 stool, but the only articles for sale were, in every case, nothing but coffins. Red, black, blue, varnished or unvarnished coffins were temptingly ranged before us, but for the living, nought! Fortunately, however, our kind landlord came to the rescue by lending us a table and three stools, while the coffin-shop supplied us with as many planks as we required. These, supported on bricks and packing-cases, made the dresser, bookcase, writing-table and beds. A side-shelter was next transformed into a sleeping apartment for our women students, and thus, all being in order, we fondly imagined ourselves comfortably settled, but the neighbours shook their heads sagely, saying: 'Wait till the winds come!'

132 Our happy illusions were soon dispelled, for one night, not long after, we were suddenly awakened by the alarming roar of a tremendous gale, shaking the boughs of the poplar-trees and stripping off every leaf that remained. This preliminary onslaught was then quickly followed by an unearthly yell as the whole force of the tempest descended upon the city, carrying with it volumes of sand that whipped and cut against our pavilion like a volley of musketry. Without a moment's interruption the gusts swept in through the

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fragile paper windows, deluging us with grit as we lay in our beds. No sleep was possible, and when daylight came we found our room literally buried under a thick layer of Gobi Desert dust, the shape of each one's head being defined on the pillow, while the soft earth of the floor was ripple-marked like the ribbed seashore at low tide. Experience taught us, subsequently, that the only way to smooth it down was to sprinkle the surface with water, and then spend all our spare moments in stamping it flat. This process, however, was not very successful, for the powdery soil remaining loose through the winter, small articles were frequently buried in it, only reappearing at intervals when an extra watering brought them once more to the surface!

For forty-eight hours the fearful blasts persisted, without one moment's pause. Not a drop of rain fell throughout, and we finally emerged with hair, eyebrows, skin and clothes heavy with the particles, and with bodies exhausted and nerves strained by the tension and magnetic quality of the storm. The danger to caravans when overtaken by such a visitation is extreme, and many instances are recorded of carts, horses and drivers, all of which having been first battered to pieces disappeared for ever under the roaring sands.

The sight of our room afterwards made us realise that something must be done to stop up the crevices and holes in the woodwork. The large sheets of brown paper used by the Bible Societies in sending their goods by post met our difficulty, and for one whole day we cut out strips, which our old retainer with the help of a basin of paste affixed to every crack through which, only too plainly, the daylight gleamed. Suchow being totally unprotected from the vast expanse of Gobi on the west, and the sands of Mongolia on the north, this last experience proved to be but the first of many, and

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returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having 000
bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the 132
cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by 484
the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with [206]
their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of 494
carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we 202
heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Mails.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

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bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep. 000

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 241
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132] night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136] which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable. 000

free spot to be found. We were soon tired of searching and so we 485
set up our tent in a quiet corner and drove the ponies into an empty, unclaimed courtyard, of which there are a great many since the last Mohammedan rebellion. We set up the tent in order to "make the face attractive," as the Chinese say and so that people would not say: the European lay down in the street. But the wind kept blowing the tent down and so we lay in the open street after all; on top of everything, the temperature was 20°.

In the early morning we then found an inn (Plate XXXVIII). We were even obliged to call it a good one because the doors could be locked, but of course the guest had to bring his own lock. I immediately handed out a list of the things we still needed. Even tall Tschang hurried forth to do errands, although it would perhaps be more accurate to say he deigned to set out in order to look for things. He always undertook only those commissions that gave promise of the most profit for himself. Another servant repaired the windows of my room so well with tissue paper that the smoke from the wood fire which was lit on the floor of my room, presumably to warm me, made the tears run down my cheeks. Thus, the rare advantage of a 354
hotel room with a door that locked was rather illusory. In the end it 132
was better to warm one's hands at a blazing wood fire in an open court. In Dankar there is /177/ neither coal nor charcoal to be had, I might almost say, a proof of the fact that one is no longer in China. I need not say that nobody knows how to build a stove. The people of Dankar, Hsining and other places in highland China and Tibet have the sun to keep them warm in winter. Every day, even in December and January, women and children can be seen in a sheltered corner beside a wall, going about their usual business. Even though the air is several degrees below freezing, the sun is so warm that one does not feel the cold. Little children play out of doors from early morning on, dressed in only a short jacket with perhaps sock-like shoes on their little feet. But you never hear them complain about the cold. If you enter a yamen, you see the secretaries carrying their tables and chairs out of their offices and painting at their legal documents in the warmth of the sun.

At noon I had a call from the ting of Dankar, a friendly, middle- 579
aged gentleman from South China. The major of the town had called earlier and taken the occasion to offer me for sale a very lean pony. The ting came on behalf of the amban of Hsining in order again to confer with me about my journey to the Koko Nor. The amban I was told, requested me to wait another few weeks until

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and sixty of the "new" who were forced to settle here. They are still unable to get along among each other. 563 361

Hsining. But there they may only come as transients in order to carry on their business and must live in the suburbs while their families are obliged to remain in Bamba.

I stayed a day in the town and bought mules and horses for my forthcoming new journey. A great many people positively implored me to take them along as servants. There were competent men among them who knew the steppes and could speak Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian and so I took several of them into my service. When the contract was signed by both parties and by witnesses the men asked for the customary advance. 000

"We want to fetch our warm clothing and our felt coats immediately for the journey into the cold steppes. Our things are in the pawn shop in the city of Mo bai tschen," they said.

"But do you have so many debts," I asked, "that you must pawn even your clothes?"

"Heaven forbid! But we have wives and children at home and so it is far better and safer to keep our clothes in the pawn shop."

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/257/ CHAPTER VIII

Departure for the Ts'ao ti

When it is winter in the Central Asiatic plateau it is not only bitter and bitingly cold but a harsh wind sweeps over the land, turning everything rigid and lifeless, so that the people who live up there, the devout and ceaselessly praying lamaists, have learned to speak not only of a fiery, but also of a cold and ice-filled hell into which poor sinners are cast naked and bare in order to be tamed and purified in a hell in which glaciers will devour them, icicles spear them, icebergs crash down on them and crush their bones with burning cold blocks of ice. But besides the cold which it brings, the Central Asiatic winter is also uncomfortable because of its dryness and its dust. Snow, the mark of our European winter, is a rare phenomenon. Week after week and month after month a radiant, cloudless sky stretches over a dried-up, impoverished earth. All living creatures are envoloped in a white veil, a dust-impreganted 132

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132 atmosphere that scrapes our throat. The ball of the sun sinks in the west into a pale, grayish-white haze long before it has reached the horizon. And morning and evening the sky turns yellow, lemon-yellow and pale, and the entire firmament never catches any of the lavender and red tints, so dry and devoid of moisture is the winter air in those heights. The snow blanket which we Europeans like to see in winter comes only with the beginning of spring when the monsoons from the Chinese lowlands, from the moist coastal regions of southern Asia sweep up into the central highlands of the continent and when the moist warm air of the lowland has cooled off after it reaches the mountains. During the monsoon rains precipitation is greatest on the border of China and Tibet, in the regions where even the valley bottoms with their human settlements are so high that agriculture can scarcely be carried on even in these rather southerly latitudes, where the mountains suddenly seem to reach into the sky. Here the air, in passing over, discharges the largest amount of water ballast.

Thus on the ninth of March it began to rain in the miserable Chinese Mohammedan village of Bamba where I began assembling my new caravan. There, 2,700 meters high, the last wretched barley fields in the narrow valley border on the winter pastures of the Tibetan nomads and close by the mountain giants rise up more than 4,000 meters. At ten o'clock when I climbed into my saddle there was a dense snow blanket ten centimeters deep, from the night before; it was the first of the entire winter.

132 We quickly left the narrow, rocky valley, turned our backs to
133 the shrub- /258/ covered border mountain of Tibet and went back into the bare, yellow loess hills of China, and after only an hour's ride over loess ravines and loess saddles, there was not a patch of snow to be seen anywhere. Precipitation had occurred only where the air was forced to rise steeply upward. The loess-hill country at the brink of the Tibetan highlands had been waiting in vain for snow and rain for many months. Since we rode fast so that in the end we would not find the iron bars of the city gates of the Hsining frontier fortress closed in our faces, we moved all day in a thick cloud of dust which the swift feet of our ponies stirred up. We were surrounded only by barren, low hills composed of loess-covered reddish layers of gravel (100, 200 meters higher than the valley floors). Our surroundings shone dust-colored, yellow, grayish-
000 yellow and blinding in the bright mountain sun. I hated this loess landscape and I breathed a sigh of relief when in the evening at

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133 The town which I had come across was called Kabatalen and the river was the Tschabtscha Chu.

Now, inasmuch as on all our maps and even on those in the Stieler atlas a river by the name of Huyuyung Chu is shown as arising in the Dábassu Nor and flowing through the region in which I found myself, I was not a little baffled by the fact that my Tschabtscha Chu and the Huyuyung Chu were not supposed to be one and the same river. In order to clarify this point and make certain of it I did not travel due south from Kabatalen but turned around again and went in search of the Huyuyung Chu.

137 The days in Kabatalen and before that in the dry valley were very bad for the animals. There were many stones and there was little grass. The valley slopes were bare; they consisted of rubble, of many coarse granite and quartz fragments, and the poor beasts walked themselves foot-sore without finding anything. But on the valley floor and on the edge of the brook the winter grass was completely consumed except for a few stubbles and dried up, hard /295/ shrubs. In the lowest and most protected places also the new grass was not more than 2 centimeters high, and even these insignificant traces of it were to be found only on the edge of springs which are remarkably abundant in Kabatalen because it is almost on a level with the Hwang Ho. In spring the animals are exceedingly thin because the yaks are dependent solely on open pastures, since the nomads do not make hay and do not feed them during the long winter months. A few days of fasting and slight exertions and they are completely exhausted. Thus, from the beginning I was forced to count on losing at least a half dozen oxen when I crossed the tala. But after a day of rest in Kabatalen the prospects became much worse, and on April 30 when I left the Tschabtscha Chu Valley there were already more than a half dozen stragglers. In the evening three yaks were missing; they had remained lying in the sand along the way. The first longer trek was already too much for them.

133 At Kabatalen we had already left the valley of the Tschabtscha
132 Chu and climbed up the plateau of the tala. During the first few hours of the morning we went over a hard and completely level surface like a huge threshing floor on which only now and then a miserable little plant grew. The soil consisted of pebbles that were solidly cemented together. A few dunes lay in our path, yellow piles 20-30 meters high, that looked as though giant hands had here worked with a winnowing shovel and separated chaff from wheat. Besides them the plain had been swept clean of the last grain of sand. The dunes

were of the typical and well-known barchan formation, crescent- 133
shaped, flat on the convex side and straight and steep on the concave 132
side. The convex side with its gradually ascending slope was turned toward the west. This clearly indicated that the prevailing wind in the taia came from the west. This westerly air current prevails during the cold season; it comes from the interior of the continent, is devoid of all moisture and dries the sand to such an extent that the latter follows the whims of the wind. The monsoon which comes up from the sea in summer cannot change the formation of the dunes because it is much gentler than the wintry west wind and is accompanied by rain which solidifies the masses of fine sand. In summer grass sprouts on the dunes, making it easier for the grass to go on growing during the winter.

Toward noon we reached a terrace that was three meters higher, 133
and then an extensive zone of pure sand. Dune followed dune and made progress difficult for the animals. Here our losses began.

All day we had a small group of hills in the west as our guides. When we finally reached these, the surface of a lake suddenly appeared. A dark blue body of water shone out from among mountains of yellow sand. It was the Si ni Ts'o and at this lake ends the Huyuyung Chu for which I was looking. The Si ni Ts'o, like the Bayan Nor, I discovered, has no outlet, but like the latter it contains fresh water. Its greatest length from east to west is 5 kilometers and from north to south, 3 kilometers. A long narrow neck of land which extends into the lake from the west creates two almost completely separate lakes, a northern and a southern one. This promontory has a high, sharp ridge of stratified sand masses and tells /296/ us the history of the lake. The Si ni Ts'o is an old loop of the Huyuyung Chu. The river empties from the west into the southern one of the two branches of the lake, and it formerly flowed out from the northern one in a northwesterly direction. But this outlet is today dry and covered with sand. I suspect that the large springs in the valley of Kabatalen are connected with the Si ni ts'o. They are lower than the level of the lake and the water of the lake can without difficulty flow thither under the hard, top layers of sand and pebbles of the tala. For this reason, too, the lake up to the present time will probably not have become the least bit salt. (1)

1. Lake Si ni Ts'o is frequently mentioned in the "Meng gu yu mu dyi," but is entirely lacking on our maps up to now.

The tissue of lies that my men invented was very adroit but for me it had the great disadvantage of keeping me captive in my tent. As soon as Tibetans approached, I had to hide my nose and all day I was obliged to play the indolent lao ye. I felt like a prisoner, but finally I unpacked my books and became absorbed in Faust and in Penck's Morphologie der Erdoberfläche. In this way the days of rest passed all too rapidly. 000

On May 3 we decamped. On the rest days I had had two goats killed and their skin removed without making a slit in the abdomen. The resultant bags became our water containers for the forthcoming march through the desert. We figured that we would not find water for three days. The two goat bags had to suffice for us eleven men.

As soon as the hills around the Si ni Ts'o lay behind us we traveled on through very low undulations. Flat steppes with a nice high stand of grass alternated with pebbly earth, with groups of barchan dunes and with areas of long dunes consisting of mealy sand. Not far from the lake on the hills which consist of stratified sand full of limestone and that rise up 150 meters above the present water level, I found fossilized (Pleistocene) fresh-water mussels and petrified bones of mammals such as I had already collected at the Gungga Nor. I gained the impression that the valley plain was once much higher and that the storms from the west carry everything away from here that has not hardened and been cemented together by rivers and lakes. 133

Day after day now the sun emerged from the clouds. The snow which covered the steppes on the morning of May 1 had long since disappeared completely. But it remained hazy; we could seldom get a clear view of the distance and the mountains surrounding the tala appeared only occasionally and we saw only their general outlines. [132]

When we left the Si ni Ts'o we kept to a southwesterly course because I thought I would thereby get out of the tala most quickly. On the evening of the first day's march in the desert the entire sky was covered with blood-red flames. It is rare that the sun can thus color the air in arid regions. The Chinese therefore assumed that there would be a heavy downpour during the night, and set up the tents. Usually we all slept in the open in order to be on the spot in an emergency. The nearest range of the Semenov Mountains, the southern enclosure of the tala, were sharply outlined against the horizon. Broad snow fields glistened from the higher peaks, and glowed red in the last rays of the sun, and the narrow rocky ridges formed blue-black silhouettes, like charred rafters and beams of a 000

5: Tafel--532 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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1884, (2) in the following words: "They threw themselves into the C 631

2. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 1885, p. 171.

attack with piercing shrieks. The hooves of their steeds rumbled hollowly on the damp field. Their long spears glittered and gleamed; their long cloth garments and their black wavy hair flew in the wind. The wild, bloodthirsty horde descended on us like a cloud" etc., etc. In 1907 I saw an old man in the tents of the Horkurma, who has been limping around since that time. A Russian bullet smashed one of his legs and I had to present him with an extra khadar for this.

The Sidia Tibetans had been at the spot where we encountered T 768 775 them for only a few days. Shortly before, the old mother of the chief had died. The tribe had quickly pushed on to the new encampment, after having left the old woman's body in a ravine, so that it could be devoured by vultures. Since then, there were many hundreds of butter lamps burning in the tent of the chief and priests were constantly praying there. The /318/ fear of the spirit of death is what drives the relatives forth into a new camp so quickly. For the same reason, the clothes of the dead person are no longer worn by any of the relatives, and the smallest object must be released from the spirit's ban before the heirs accept it. The Tibetans believe that otherwise the deceased will inflict all kinds of discomfort and misfortune on the new owner of these things. The dead and the living hate each other.

We did not travel on until May 22. Meanwhile it had rained much C 132 and heavily. The summer monsoon had set in in full force. The temperature stayed above freezing. Heavy cloud masses came up from the southeast.

During the two days, the humbo had visited us only once in our 000 tents. Most of the time no one paid any attention to us. All my men were vexed and anxious because the humbo had not reciprocated in giving us presents. They concluded that he was hostile to us. But instead of being on the alert they became ill-humored. At night I found the sentries sleeping in their tents and during the day I discovered three of the men openly smoking opium. In the contracts I specified that I would not tolerate opium smokers, and each one I hired had assured me that he did not smoke. Now I discovered that there were some who did. But when, by reason of my contract, I took away their opium and also wanted to confiscate their apparatus for smoking, they applied their knives to their throats and threatened to

college - - - yes, indeed, I am still /321/ sweating from the ordeal. 000
I had not done well. A little old man who limped had reproached me bitterly for not even knowing verbs ending in "μι" and for learning the useless, barbaric language of Chinese instead of classical Greek. - - Something is groaning beside me. I light the light and see Da Tschang in front of me; he is looking at me with glassy eyes. Suddenly he jumps up and cries that he must go to his mother, she is down at the Tschümong River and is calling him. Over his feverish head with its tousled queue the walls of the tent heave up and down. I consult my watch to find out how much longer I have to wait for morning in the presence of this uncanny sick man, but all the watches have stopped. I call my servants. No one answers. I get up laboriously. I was lying in bed in a frightful condition. - - When morning came I learned that my men had left me in a delirious state for two days. But from now on I and the rest of the sick men recovered rapidly. On the second of 132
June I was already able to take a short walk, with the help of the two Ma. The country round about the camp was beautiful. Hares frolicked about, farther down in the ravine leading to the Tschürnong, all kinds of fowl could be heard clucking, and there were even gray doves. My men shot many of these and prepared wonderfully tasty soups for me. Seldom have I felt so happy to be alive as on those days. It seemed to me I was recuperating from a long illness, and yet it had been only a brief attack. Simultaneously with this new strength which had come to me, spring arrived in the valley. The prairie round about took on a lush green color. My men brought brightly colored anemones and yellow primroses, similar to our cowslips. All day long we could hear the call of the cuckoo and a great many larks sang just as they do at home in Germany. But unfortunately the Tibetan spring brought wet weather. Low rain clouds constantly sped up the Tschümong Valley and brought rain during the day and snow at night. There was often a layer of snow 10 centimeters deep in the morning. We also had a great many thunderstorms with severe lightning, and yet the temperature rarely went up to +10° and at night the average was still -1°. For those of us who were convalescing the most uncomfortable aspect was the heavy downpours which proved too much for the tent walls. The cold mist that lasted for hours inside the tent seemed to penetrate to the marrow of our bones. There was not a dry stitch on us. Bottomless swamps developed in the places where the animals were tethered at night. Even the most elaborate system of canals did not help to drain off the water. We became so sick of 000
the camp site that we traveled on even before we were completely

[text continues on p.540]

5: Tafel--546 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ 1
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On June 13 we battled with the mud from six in the morning until far into the afternoon. I crossed a wide valley that extends into the plain of the Tossun Nor, and then climbed over a huge moraine wall. In this way I again came to the upper course of the Tschürnong Chu. Our new camp lay on a rather steep naka field which was strewn with pools and flowers. Farther below in the valley, closer to the Tschürnong, we could see herds and tents. We, too, had been noticed down there, for a few hours after our arrival individual pairs of horsemen circled around us on the northern and western rise. We counted on communicating /326/ with the natives on the next day. But fate decreed otherwise. C 133 T 361

Today at twelve noon we had a violent thunderstorm with hail, lightning and thunder. At eight in the evening another thunderstorm passed by north of us and at half past nine we were again in the midst of one. All the elements were let loose. One flash of lightning followed another, illuminating the jagged edge of the mountains round about. Thunder rumbled literally without ceasing for half an hour. The first fine rain was followed by hail, as usual. We were hit by hailstones the size of walnuts. Howling, the dogs crawled into the tents and under the chests. The horses, raving with pain, pulled at their ropes, became entangled in their chains and fell over each other. The entire troop of yaks which were leashed together seemed to be on the point of flight. We had all we could do to prevent a stampede. While this was going on we were being lashed by the pieces of ice that rained down on us. In between, the lightning bolts sounded like rifle shots when they struck nearby. It seemed never to end. The hail was followed by hard snow, and in the end the grains lay more than half a foot deep. Suddenly - what was that? A shot? A bullet had come through my tent in which a candle burned. Then another shot and another. "Y-i-i! h-u-u-u...! hu-u-u! Yi - i!" It was pitch dark. The valley meadow resounded with countless voices. "You cowards," one of the voices called down the slope, "we'll shoot you all dead if you dare defend yourselves! Flee or croak! You Chinese curs!" - "We'll see who croaks first, dirty dogs!" my men called back. Aimlessly our shots whizzed into the darkness. Only a dozen shots were needed, and this storm also passed like a phantom. With a "Yi!" and a "Yu-u-u...!" we set out to investigate. The rascals had only dared come within 100 meters. That is as near to the camp as the stealthy traces led and there lay slow matches that had got wet. C 132 T 579

A brisk west wind helped us keep a large campfire going the rest of the night, on which the kyang meat of the day before was cooked. 000

unable to keep step with the caravan. On the next two days I saw 133
individual groups of riders through my field glasses. But none of them ventured to come close to us.

Our march now continued due north where there was a large white spot on the map on which "mighty mountain massif with perpetual snow" stood out in bold letters. Camp 36 (Plate LXVIII), 37 and 38 nestled at the foot of precipitous limestone mountains on which I collected carbon- (Culm) fossils (Phillipsia and Productus). To the west of us lay a high valley, many kilometers wide, filled with mud. Up on the peak of the limestone mountains, at an altitude of 4,500 meters, I found brooding, yellow Kasarka geese. It is difficult to imagine a 136
more uncomfortable place for this business of hatching. There was seldom a tiny plant to be seen in a rock crevice. Wherever there was a sheltered spot, a hollow, it was filled with snow. Why do only these birds come out of the mild Chinese lowlands summer after summer to breed and molt in these storm-tossed unfriendly heights? On the plain there are also many small birds living in hollows in the ground. I saw three or four different kinds. During the day they twitter and half sing and even at night I could often hear them peep. They live on seeds and insects. One of the most common birds was the Tibetan lark (Melanocorypha maxima). Besides these we also observed kites, eagles and vultures. All the other birds that we still saw on the Tschürnong: cuckoos, gray doves, magpies, were left behind. As soon as the sun appears a few butterflies flit over the low grass, but always the same species. (1) There is an abundance of lesser fauna

1. Among others, the following were collected here: Papilio machaon-ladakensis Moore; Pap. tamerlanus Oberthür; Armandia thaidina Blanch; Aporia hippia-tibetana Gr.; Mesapia peloria Hew.; Melitaea didymaturanica Stgr.

but not a great variety of species. Spiders seem to be the most frequently-occurring insects, especially Laufspinnen. There are also a few species of flies and above all many wood-lice. Among beetles there are Karaben 12 millimeters long.

During this time the weather was very changeable. At Camp 36 132
a cloudless, starry sky spread over us so that it cooled off to minus eight degrees and thick hoar frost, a rarity in /329/ in these altitudes, covered the ground. At Camp 37 we once again had to put in a day of rest because we were enveloped in clouds all day and wet snow swirled about us. At noon a shaggy, strange dog appeared at the door

[text continues on p. 551]

133 pass. There were only a few brief, clear moments when the hard, stinging kernels of snow permitted our watering eyes to catch a glimpse of the wild landscape of the pass. At such moments the chaos of partially crumbled slabs and heaps of rock covering an ancient, tremendous glacier circle that had its mouth towards the north, was all the more imposing.

Nowhere in this Burkh' an Buda mountain range did I see areas of eternal snows. Although there is more precipitation here than down below in the Tsaidam basin, it cannot withstand the drying power of the sun.

The peaks around the Türketse pass are almost buried in mounds of slab and rubble and this illustrates the earlier, gradual recession of the glacier in this entire region.

821 "Haya! ien tshi da de ch'en ā!" "Alas! how very big is the ien tschi!" sighed the Chinese when they finally reached the top and sank down completely exhausted from the great exertion caused by the mire and the rarefied atmosphere. /8/ The idea that a particular type of gas, ien tschi, is very "big" on the heights of Tibet, and that this causes difficulty in breathing in the mountains, is widespread.

• 132 We were also quite painfully affected by the sudden low temperature (at noon it was still around the freezing point) together with the west wind that howled around our ears, especially after the warm July days in the lowlands. I was scarcely able to steady the metal eclimeter, and only shaky marks appeared on the damp, cold surface of the paper.

133 From the 4,815 meter Türketse pass the descent is very gradual toward the south. The entire southern slope of the great Tsaidam border range is buried under huge moraines. We Europeans call this mountain range by the collective term Burkh' an Buda; however, the natives, the Mongols, use this name for only one of the more prominent peaks that is to be found somewhat to the west of my route.

We were all happy that the notorious ascent into the Tibetan highland had been accomplished without losses, and there seemed to be no further difficulties in the way of leading the over-exerted animals to succulent pastures on that same day; for in the distance we saw the most inviting-looking green spots in the region of the Alang Nor. However, my four-footed friends were not to partake of a green meal on that day, although from that vantage point travel in Tibet looks so simple not only at home but often on the road itself. We found ourselves on a flat part of a southern slope, on rubble imbedded in sand that was completely soaked with the water of the summer rainy season. There was absolutely no plant covering or roots which might

T 492 together the hind legs at the ankles of a large part of the animals and all the valuable hybrid yaks, so that they would not sprawl apart. The heavily-laden animals with short, immovable legs looked like large chests that were being shoved across the ice from behind. On the sub-
T 484 sequent marches the loss of oxen was considerable, although the Tibetans covered only 20 kilometers a day at the most. However, we were often obliged to climb over frozen naka fields and high moors and that winded the animals. We always set out extremely early, earlier than I had ever succeeded in getting my Chinese started. Dawn was just faintly beginning when the last herd of yaks was quitting the old camp. During the first days be hu and his riders stayed behind until my Chinese had brewed their tea and tied up their packs. Then with a boastful smile showed me how quickly they could take down their tents and pack them, how skilfully a Fan tse saddles his mount and fastens the most awkward bundle to the primitive pack saddle with a few knots only.

C 132 South of the Hwang Ho I found surprisingly much snow as compared with the northern part of my route. However, it was nowhere deep; a 10 centimeter covering is very ample for this region. There was snow over a foot deep only in the numerous holes, in the dried-out pools and basins of the naka moors, which here play a more important role in the growth of vegetation than in the north. At that time it was always very misty, too. Visibility was so limited that one could often not see ahead more than one kilometer. The west wind had lost considerable force and as a result /115/ we did not suffer so much from cold. But at night the temperature always sank to at least -26°.

C 133 On February 11 we were obliged to cross a high, steep moraine 2 kilometers wide, where round granite boulders many cubic meters in size jutted out between reddish, loose sand. This mound is - so far as I was able to survey its gigantic proportions in the prevailing fog and mist - the left lateral moraine of an erstwhile glacier projection that extended over 100 kilometers from west to east. From it one reaches the broad Wa Yung or Tsa ge Yung, a plain running east and west, which harbors a small stream that later flows into the Re Tschü. The latter joins the Ser Tschü and, in the country of the Horkurma, finally flows along the wide swamp valley that is known by the Tibetans as the Re Chü warma, i.e., mouth of the Re Chü (mountain water) into the Hwang Ho. At the place where we crossed it the Wa Yung was over four kilometers wide and formed a precious grassy plain that had
000 been touched only by kyang, antilopes and wild yaks. Here, from

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floors of on an average 2,900-2,700 meters high. 000

Even toward the end of September it was very rainy in and around Tao tschou. The precipitation remained within modest amounts but the sky was usually overcast. This was probably the reason why the night temperatures were not yet low and, in spite of the 2,760 meter altitude, hovered between +2° and +6°, whereas at noon the air warmed up at various times to more than +10°. As a rule there was almost no wind on the ground. The rain clouds came from the southeast or the west. On September 16 in the early morning we had snow with a gentle east wind and a westerly drift of clouds and only on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first I noted thunderstorms in my meteorological diary. All three thunderstorms came from the west. September 24 when I said farewell to Tao tschou and its hospitable Americans, was a day of rain so that the animals slipped on the sticky loam earth and the pack animals were hardly able to make any progress. Mr. Ruhl accompanied me on the first two marches. So at first I had to say goodbye to Mrs. Ruhl, my extremely gracious and pretty hostess and her little baby. Even though the mission house in Tao tschou presented a very good and neat appearance - everywhere the guiding hand of the practical American woman was to be felt - nevertheless for a woman of our Western culture residence in the city must have been torture. Year in and year out one hears about nothing but war and pillage here, and the missionary work bears occasional fruit only among the Chinese and the widowed or lonely old Chinese women. Tangible success in mission work among Tibetans and Mongols is not to be thought of, of course, because of the omnipotence of the lamas. Besides, the European also battles the severe highland climate and the homesickness that comes from this seclusion from the world. In the summer of 1907 there was an imperial Chinese postoffice installed, but because of lack of other interests it was only obliged to forward missionaries' letters and every tenth day a messenger arrived who delivered mail that had been en route six weeks from Hsingan fu. As in Hsining fu, the population is frequently afflicted with diphtheria, scarlet fever and smallpox. Typhus and syphilis of course also reap large harvests and among the lung diseases of the region asthma plays an important role. A large percentage of the missionaries contracted smallpox. Mr. Simpson had acquired pock marks up there in carrying out his profession. A missionary who had just come up from the coast where he had been freshly vaccinated, died shortly before my arrival, of variola.

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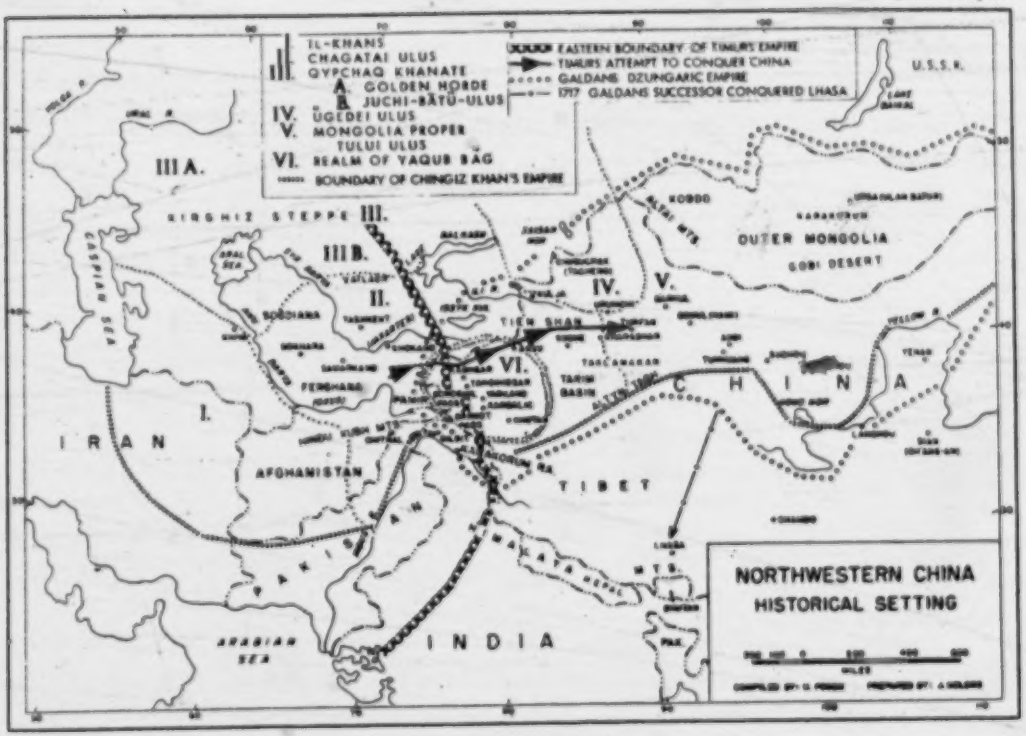
I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13



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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest
184 China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.

241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies.
233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is
182 mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

133 The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

133 mountains, notably the Chin-ling and Mei-chang, forming the boundaries of southern Shensi and northern Szechwan. Water separates the low lands between the mountains, and there are several notable basins such as Han-chung Basin. Except in the Chin-ling section, the mountain range is rather bare and has little vegetation. The slopes along the Chi-lien-shan are strewn with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the gravels. Valleys form vast corridors several miles wide between the mountain ranges. In the central area, where the topography is more level, pebbles, sand dunes, pastures, and swamps appear. The Chi-lien-shan region is suitable primarily for a grazing economy. However, most of the flat [241] land in the valleys has been opened for agricultural use. Spring wheat, millet, linseed, and colze are grown nearly everywhere in the region and form the major foodstuffs of the people.

The Chi-lien-shan is the major mountain range in this section [103] of Northwest China. It has received various names. The eastern end of the range is called the Liu-pan-shan or the "six coil mountain." The upper Yellow River cuts a gap through the links of the mountain range so that the Liu-pan-shan is an isolated mountain from which the Yellow River runs north and northeastward. The Wei River, one of the major tributaries of the Yellow River, runs along the south edge of the Liu-pan-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan. North of the Wu-sha-ling, or Dark Sand Peak, 120 miles northwest of Lanchou, a narrow strip of land extends along the northern foot of the Ch'i-lien-shan. From here westward, the land is relatively flat and plain. This area is called the Kansu Corridor. It is the important passageway to the Northwest of China.

All streams, as well as meltwater, come down from the Ch'i-lien-shan and run toward the north or northeast. Some streams disappear into the desert after a short distance. This is the case almost everywhere in Northwest China. This is one of the main reasons why agricultural products cannot be evenly distributed and dependably developed in the area.

Geologically speaking, the Tertiary formation appears in a number of basins in Kansu Province. The beds are generally composed of red clays, conglomerates, red sandstones, and gypsum. The geological structures remain the same to the mountain ranges of both the north and the south, the Ch'i-lien-shan and the Ho-li-shan, which is submerged into the Mongolian Gobi and the semi-steppes. They are mainly composed of Silurian and Devonian structures resting unconformably on older

133 formations. The unconformity and faults are due to the mountain making movement in the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic stages. All the se constructional mountains extend from northwest to southeast, paralleling each other.

Although the Ch'i-lien Mountains provide a natural screen between Kansu on the north and Chinghai on the south, there are many passes in the mountainous areas. Generally speaking, all the passes are around 9,000 feet high. For instance, Pien-tu-k'ou, on the upper stream of the Hung-shui is at the elevation of 8,100 feet; Peh-yai-k'ou on the upper stram of Shan-tan-ho is at the height of 9,800 feet; Wu-lung-k'ou on the upper stream of Kou-shui is at the height of 8,400 feet. All of these are well-known passes. However, Pien-tu-k'ou is the short-cut from the central portion of Kansu to the main section of Chinghai Province, and it covers the shortest distance from Chiang-ye to Sining, the capital city of Chinghai.

The topographical features of Kansu are rather open and simple on the west and northwest in contrast to the southeast, where the land has suffered local deflections and dislocations from earthquakes. The Shu-le River runs through the northwest corner of Kansu, and projects westward to the eastern border of Sinkiang Province. The altitude is about 3,000 feet. There are fewer mountains in the northwestern section of Kansu, simply a few hilly lands merging into the desert. Although the Shu-le River is the major water system in western Kansu, water constantly sins and disappears into the sandy gravels after it runs down from the hilly lands.

South from the Ch'i-lien-shan is the Chinghai Plateau. Linking with the Tibetan Plateau to the south, it forms the huge plateau region of west China. The Kun-lun mountain ranges run through the core of the area, projecting eastward to form a few paralleling ranges. The southwestern section of the area is much higher and its topography is rugged in comparison with the northern section. Two notable basins, the Tsaidam and the Sining, are situated between the Ch'i-lien Mountains to the north and the Kun-lun Mountains to the south. In the western sections of the area there are numerous lakes and streams which are the sources of the most important river systems of China, namely the Yellow River and the Yangtze River. The Tsaidam Basin is swampy. Its elevation is estimated at some 8,100 feet with the western edge of the basin much sharper than the eastern margin. The Chinghai Basin, in the eastern section of the area, is the most essential one. It is named after the salt lake, Koko Nor. Sining is the major city
[633] in this basin. It is not only the pivot station between the Mongolian Gobi and the Tibetan Plateau but also the economic and political center of Chinghai.

N 315 S [315] new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. S 315 [648] [433] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

[131] The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province, roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from [648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavpragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table I.) [1]

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast [133] and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations,

[1] [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the
[133] source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

[648] In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structures will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to
433 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955. its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

S
131 Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest
161 Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

N
133 The region is characterized, even more than the nation
161 as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially
[171] cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common
[132] historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasfonally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

N
172 As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civiliation.

N
161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

N
S
162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when
N
S this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land
131 occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area
161 of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5
N per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without
131 Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile,
161 for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

N Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution
161 between the eastern and western parts of the region, their
241 distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population
N is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-
161 chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a
133 confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nah-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan han-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
36 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
[184] rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

• 133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
[243] (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

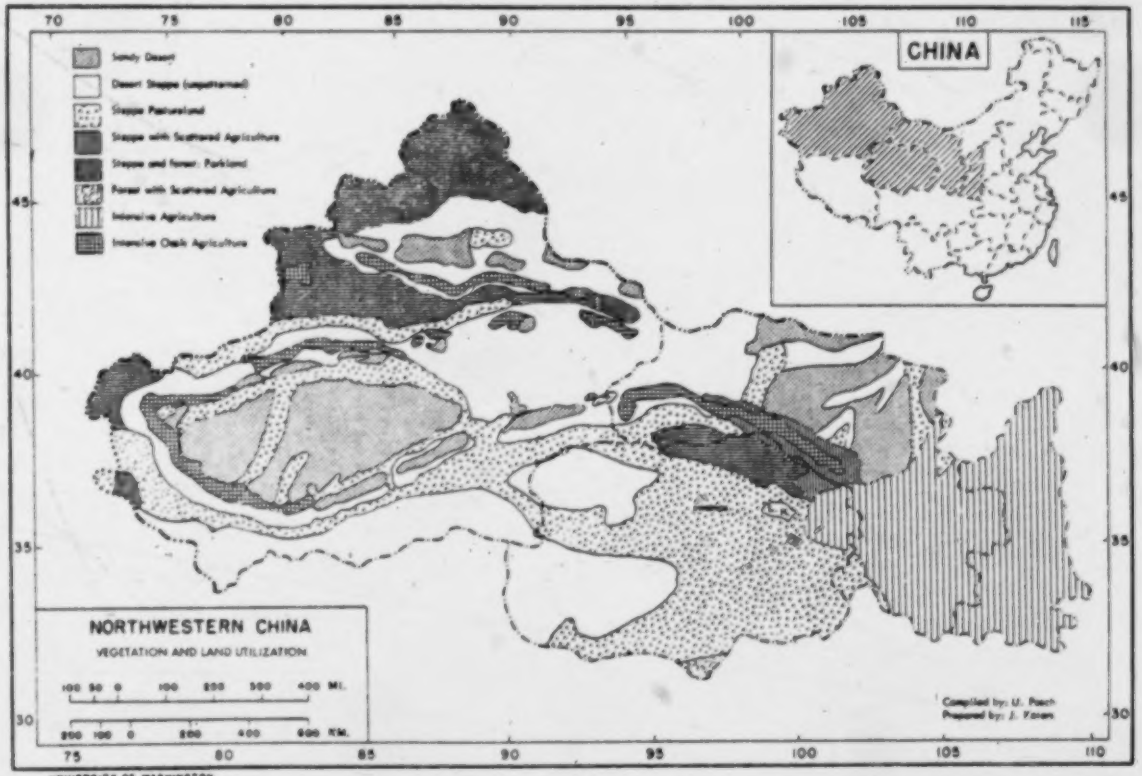
Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 311 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only; used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AII



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496 is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain
133 of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

496 From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Miench'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

493 At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a
493 train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two
516 mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

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minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

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487 and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.
491

From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

487 The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River,
712 which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

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487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

492 We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no [491] cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

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than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed. 133 487

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River. [243]

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to 487 579

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487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no diffi-
579 culties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage. Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

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575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a
579 high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two
133 days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --ANALYST]

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mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants. 487

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains. 133

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective. 487 491 505 487 133

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains.

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487 All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with
712 walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

487 Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather
133 difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice
361 fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

487 The next day's march was a long and tiring one called
133 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

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669 rumour that many high officials were privy to the raid and shared in the loot which was brought back to Honan. It was not until they reached the Mahomedan districts of Kansu near the Kokonor border that they suffered any serious loss, and that was mainly at the hands of the Mahomedan population of those parts, who are not accustomed to permit themselves to be looted and killed without showing fight, and from the hardships of the long forced marches through that wild region, rather than owing to the action of any Government troops. Eventually the survivors straggled back with their loot through Shensi to their homes in Honan and Anhui. The Chinese officials assert that White Wolf himself, who appears to have been an ex-military officer from the Yangtzu armies, was captured and executed.

The failure of the Shensi troops, mostly revolutionary levies of Ko Lao-Hui men and ex-brigands, of much the same type as the raiders, to deal with the White Wolf rebels was to be expected; but the failure of the Northern Army opposed to them in Honan in the winter of 1913–14 seems at first sight difficult to account for. The rebels were of course much more mobile than the Government troops, as they lived on the country by taking what they wanted and impressed men and animals everywhere to carry their transport. Then again their lives being at stake, they could be depended on to fight when cornered, whereas it is difficult to induce the Chinese soldier to close with his enemy in a fight of this kind in which he has no interest. Where not an ex-brigand, the Chinese soldier is often a good fellow in most respects, but he is apt to be too sensible to be willing to run the risk of getting killed without adequate reason. Hence battles between rebels and Government troops in China usually consist in the discharge of large quantities of ammunition at a safe distance from one another. It is the civilian inhabitant of the raided towns and villages who gets killed if he does not manage to escape in time to his *chaitzu* in the mountains.

487 We left Chenan on April 19th for Hsingan, distant, we were told, five hard days' march over the worst possible roads. The first stage was 80 li to the village of Ch'ingt'ung 133 Kuan. The trail lay all the way down the steep winding gorges of the Ch'ienyu River and was terribly rough and

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tiring. A path fit for carrying coolies is ledged in the cliff side, but mules and ponies have to pick their way over the stones and boulders in the stream bed, constantly crossing and recrossing the river, which is only just fordable, as it washes the base of the cliffs alternately on either side. The following day's march, called 60 li, to the village of Hsiaoho K'ou is precisely the same and most tiring. The district of Hsünyang is entered rather more than half-way near a picturesque temple overhanging the water. Hsiaoho K'ou lies at a point where the river, making the most intricate turns and twists on itself and almost surrounding a precipitous hill crowned by a fine *chaitzu*, is joined by a tributary from the east.

Ten li lower down, at a hamlet called Liangho Kuan, the Ch'ienyu Ho is joined by another stream from the west called the Hsün Ho, which issues from a similar gloomy gorge in the mountains. This latter river seems to contain the greater volume of water and is considered the main stream.

From Liangho Kuan small boats can descend the Hsün Ho to its junction with the Han at Hsünyang Hsien, whence the latter can be reascended to Hsingan. It was of course suggested by everyone that we should here take to boats, but as it would have taken about a week to get to Hsingan by water as against three days by road across the mountains, we decided to continue overland. Since the trail continued, however, to descend the river gorges for another 40 li, we were able to avail ourselves of boats for that distance. The magistrate of Hsünyang had provided a regular flotilla for our huge party, and the boatmen were obviously relieved to find that we were only going to take them for a short distance instead of descending to the Han; for the supply of boats was of course a sort of official corvée for which they got little or no remuneration. The best boat, a brand new one, had been laboriously dragged up the rapids of the Hsün Ho and hidden away round a bend to prevent its being impressed; but the magistrate's underlings soon got wind of it and it was unearthed together with its morose and disappointed owner, and placed at our disposal. As our mules and ponies were all tired and footsore from the rough trails they had been travelling on, I tried to ship them

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491 for a rest; but having embarked them with difficulty in the largest boat, the boatmen pronounced it too dangerous a proposition in the rapids, and they had to continue their overland scramble. We had a pleasant journey downstream, passing through deep gorges and shooting a succession of small rapids, but as we ran aground periodically it took about three hours to do the 40 li to the village of Chaochia Wan, where the gorges open out into a pleasant little valley with cultivated slopes dotted with wood oil trees.

487 At Chaochia Wan the Hsingan trail leaves the gorge of the Hsün Ho to cut across the mountains to the S.W. for
133 two days' march. The first stage to the village of Map'ing Ho is only 50 li, but it is a hard day's march. It is only when one starts to climb out of these Han valley gorges that one realises their depth. For three hours after leaving Chaochia Wan we scrambled up a mountain side, most of the way too steep to ride, in a downpour of rain. On reaching the pass (about 4200 feet) the weather cleared somewhat, allowing fleeting views through the clouds over a maze of wild reddish mountains patched with trees and jungle vividly green in their spring foliage. From the pass there was a steep drop of a few li, like the ascent by slippery clay paths and flights of irregular stone steps, then an easy descent along a ridge, and finally a precipitous drop straight down the mountain side to the hamlet of Map'ing Ho lying in a ravine running S.E.

From here there was only one stage left, called 90 li, to Hsingan. The magistrate of the latter city, who met us here, suggested an early start, as the 90 li were, he said, "very big and over several mountains." Fortunately we took his advice, for what with the passes, the badness of the road, and the rain, we were nearly twelve hours *en route*.

Leaving the valley of Map'ing Ho the trail enters a defile to the S.W. which leads up to a pass (3300 feet), the boundary between Hsünyang and Hsingan districts, and then drops down into a stony gorge which is followed to the hamlet of Liuli Kou. From this place there are still 60 li left to Hsingan, and the weary traveller feels entitled to hope for a run down the valley for the rest of the way. But it is still the same story of an endless succession of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. across a road running S.W. and

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the trail only follows down this gorge for a few li before it turns up the mountain to the S.W. to cross another ridge; and descending into a similar gorge the other side, it soon strikes again S.W. up another mountain slope. This, the last range to be crossed, is a stiff climb of a thousand feet by a rough zigzag track. From the summit (about 2600 feet) there is a fine view over the Han valley. Some 1800 feet below and 25 li away to the S.W. lies the city of Hsingan, with the Han River emerging from its mountain gorges, flowing past the foreground of the picture through a small plain, and disappearing in the mountains to the left; across the river rise tier on tier of hills and mountains towards the Szechuan frontier; on the right hand across a range of red hills a glimpse is caught of the valley plain of the Yo River stretching away towards Hanyin T'ing; and in the immediate foreground are low flat-topped hills of red clay, covered with wheat, peas, and lucerne, across which the path descends, climbing in and out of two deep narrow nullahs, before finally debouching at the ferry on the banks of the Han opposite Hsingan Fu.

The route followed from T'ungkuan to Hsingan, a distance of 960 li, gives one a good general idea of the nature of the ranges of mountains known to foreigners as the Ch'in-ling Shan at their eastern and lower end. All the way one is crossing ridge after ridge trending south-east composed of red sandstone, shale and limestone, the first named predominating on the lower slopes and in the valleys. These red clays and sandstones bound the loess formations on the south all the way from Honan to the Kokonor. The south-easterly trend of these ridges seems to start from the culminating point of the range, the T'aipai Shan, whence one series of ranges runs east along the southern edge of the Wei valley plains, and another strikes south-east right across the Han basin and causes the succession of gorges through which the Han River flows from below Yang Hsien to the Hupei border; between these two series of ranges lies the red plateau of Lonan and the headwaters of the Honan Lo. West of T'aipai Shan there is a similar split, one series of ranges running west into Kansu as the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, and another running south-west as the watershed between the Han and Chialing rivers. From T'aipai

PLATE V

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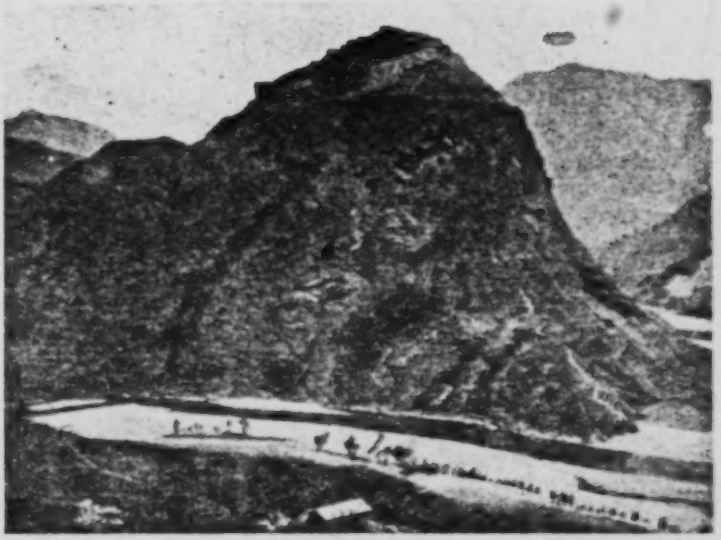

CHAITZU (HILL FORT) ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

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CANOE BOAT ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

[FACING p 28]

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133 Shan itself streams flow down in all directions. The Chinese apply the name Ch'inling strictly speaking only to the passes in the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed range. The mass of mountains which fill up the whole of Southern Shensi from south of the Wei River to the Szechuan border, and through which the Han flows in a deep and narrow trough, are universally known locally as the Nan Shan.

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PLATE VI

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GLEN ON THE ROAD BETWEEN HANYIN AND SHIHCH'UAN

GORGES OF HAN RIVER ABOVE SHIHCH'UAN

[FACING p. 29]

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
241 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of
the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal,
135 iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and
perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a
result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret
563 society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of
Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three
133 weeks according to the state of the water, and the return
journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl
shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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487 countries. Yet a series of macadamized trunk roads would be an inestimable boon politically and economically to the country and the people and could be constructed at a comparatively small cost; some of the large sums spent annually for the upkeep of unnecessary military forces in the various provinces might with great advantage be diverted to this end.

133 [491] [241] Leaving Hsingan the Han River is crossed by a ferry above the city and the trail then runs westwards up the valley plain of the Yo River, which is navigable for small boats from Hanyin down. Its valley forms a rich little alluvial plain growing rice and wheat and supporting many farms and villages, and offering an admirable route for a railway westwards, which can thus avoid the gorges of the Han in this neighbourhood. To the south a range of mountains rises steeply to a height of a few thousand feet, separating this little plain from the Han River, while to the north the valley slopes up to low hills of red clay backed by mountains. Seventy li from Hsingan the township of Hengk'ou is reached, the end of the first stage, situated at the junction of the Yo River with the Heng River from the north. It has the honour of being the native place of the present Military Governor of the Province, General Ch'en Shu-fan, the old rule, which has many advantages, that an official is debarred from serving in his native province, no longer holding good.

487 From Hengk'ou to Hanyin is called 110 li, but the road is good and the li very short (at least four to the mile), so that with ponies and pack mules the distance can easily be done in a day. The Chinese li is commonly considered to be the equivalent of a third of a mile, which, however, is only the case in out of the way parts of Kansu. Elsewhere north of the Ch'inling Shan ten li to three miles may be taken as a fairly accurate average. In the upper Han valley, as in Szechuan, the li averages about four to a mile, or even more in the mountains; the difference north and south of the Ch'inling Shan being probably due to the use of animal and coolie transport in those regions respectively.

Ten li beyond Hengk'ou the hills close in on the river to form a *kuan*, or barrier, and the path crosses a low spur to descend again into the valley, here less than a mile in width, up which it continues past several large villages, crossing and recrossing the stream by fords, for the rest of the way to Hanyin.

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [36]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [491]

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487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the
133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of
[248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the
[438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan community with two mosques. In the woods one will often see heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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487 the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the
133 same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

797 The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At [712] Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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CHAPTER IV

FROM HANCHUNG IN THE HAN VALLEY ACROSS THE CENTRAL CH'INLING SHAN TO FENGHSIANG IN THE WEI BASIN

Routes across the Ch'inling Shan—Ch'engku—Yanghsien—Across the parallel ridges of the Ch'inling Shan—Big game—The Hsinglung Ling—Fop'ing—Pheasant shooting—More passes—Chouchih—Across the Wei valley plains to Meihsien and Fenghsiang—Wheat, indigo, and cotton.

133 487 FROM Hanchung it was our intention to re-cross the Ch'inling Shan back into the Wei valley. The Ch'inling Shan, or Nan Shan, which consist of a series of precipitous parallel ranges trending across the path of anyone travelling between south and north, have always proved an extraordinarily effective barrier to communication between the Han and Wei basins. It was this barrier which prevented the T'aip'ing Rebellion spreading north from the Han valley into Central Shensi, and the Mahomedan Rebellion spreading south from the Wei valley into Southern Shensi; and in recent years it has kept the upper Han basin comparatively peaceful while rebellion and brigandage raged in the Wei valley and Northern Shensi. The Chinese have always rested content with two main routes across this barrier, one at each end; the Hsian-Lungchuchai road in the east, and the Fenghsiang-Liupa-Hanchung road in the extreme west. There is one other route which is considered by Chinese travellers to be just passable, that south from Hsian *via* Ningshan T'ing. The remaining three routes, that in the east *via* Chenan, that in the centre *via* Fop'ing, and that, further west, south from Mei Hsien, the two latter passing over the shoulders of the T'aipai Shan, one on each side, are considered by the Chinese impracticable for ordinary travellers. This is because they are too steep for chairs, and are so rough that even with mules and ponies it is necessary to do the greater portion of the journey on foot. We returned to the Wei valley by the Fop'ing trail, which debouches on to the plain at Chouchih Hsien, whence we turned westwards to Fenghsiang Fu. From Hanchung to Fenghsiang by this route is a distance of about 840 li.

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For the first two days from Hanchung the road runs down the valley plain past the district city of Ch'engku Hsien to Yang Hsien, two easy stages of 75 and 60 li respectively. These are two large and flourishing cities, Ch'engku especially rivalling even Hanchung in the wealth and prosperity of its inhabitants. Below Yang Hsien the converging mountains bring this fertile plain to an end and the Han River enters a series of gloomy gorges interrupted by rapids from which it emerges at Hsingan. The latter city is supposed to be about 800 feet only above sea level, whereas Hanchung is credited on some of the best modern maps of China with a height of 2000 feet, thus allowing of a fall of some 1200 feet in the Han between Yang Hsien and Hsingan. As the fall on this portion of the river can hardly be more than 500 feet, Hanchung is probably not more than some 1300 feet above sea level.

The difficulties of this route begin on leaving Yang Hsien. The trail here turns north and reaches the base of the mountains after about 8 li. After following a small valley for a short distance, it leaves the stream and ascends over cultivated downs to reach the edge of a spur between two ravines. There is a steep scramble up this ridge for two hours or more by a very rough rocky track to the top of the first range bounding the valley. The view from this ridge looking north is over a series of steep sparsely timbered ranges, rising one behind the other and blocking the way to Fop'ing. From the pass (4400 feet) there is a steep drop into a winding gorge which debouches after an hour's march into the ravine of a stream flowing S.E.; a short distance up this ravine lies an inn, called Ta Tientzu, 65 li from Yang Hsien, which makes a suitable halting-place for the first stage.

From Ta Tientzu the trail continues up the ravine to the north, past the hamlet of Hohsiatzu, for 35 li to the foot of another range running east and west. There is a stiff climb of about a thousand feet to the pass (5500 feet), followed by a precipitous drop of as much down the other side into a ravine which leads straight down to the unwalled township of Huayang Chen, lying in a basin of sandstone at the junction of several ravines which provide water and space for rice fields, the last seen until the descent into the Wei valley five days further north. The surrounding mountains are

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much broken, prettily wooded, and full of pheasants. To the north a high range runs east and west across the direction of Fop'ing, while to the south-east there is a large gap in the mountains following the flow of the stream. This stage is also about 65 li.

The trail now continues north up a boulder-strewn valley which soon contracts to a gorge, and then turns up a side glen which leads after a scramble to the pass (6000 feet), two to three hours' march from Huayang. This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yang Hsien and Fop'ing Hsien and the magistrate of the latter had left his isolated post in the wilds of the Ch'inling Shan to meet us here. There is a fine view to the north over two high rocky ranges running east and west, the further one rising to a height of over 10,000 feet. From the pass the track drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing west, where there are some huts called Hot'ao Pa. Crossing the stream the path strikes almost immediately into another glen, which leads up through dense thickets of the dwarf-bamboo to the top of the nearest of the two ranges seen from the last pass. From the summit there are fine views all around over the mountains densely wooded with pine, birch, and other trees; to the north the same high range still blocks the road to Fop'ing. From this pass (7000 feet) there is a precipitous drop of a few hundred feet into the gorge of another stream flowing S.W., up which the trail turns northwards for a few li to reach some huts and a mule inn called Ta P'ing, with a little cultivation, mostly potatoes. We halted here for the night, 60 li from Huayang. This is a tiring march, practically one long scramble up and down the mountains all the way, by very bad tracks much too rough to ride over. The second pass can be avoided by taking an alternative route down one stream and up the other, which is said, however, to be impassable for mules.

Ta P'ing is nearly 7000 feet high, Huayang Chen about 4000, Ta Tientzu about 3000, and Yang Hsien about 1300. The trail thus ascends by a series of steps from valley to valley across the intervening ranges from the Han River to the heart of the Ch'inling Shan.

On the following day's march the trail continues up the stream to the N.E. through forests of pine and birch

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for about 15 li to reach the pass in the big range. 487 The ascent is comparatively easy except for the last few 133 hundred feet, the valley being flat and open and apparently of glacier origin in contrast to the deep narrow gorges usual in the Ch'inling Shan. A little snow and ice were still lying in the stream bed in the middle of May. From the summit of the pass (9000 feet) there is a fine view to the north towards T'aipai Shan (12,000 feet), which appears as a rocky ridge sprinkled with snow, with a lower range in the immediate foreground over which the path leads to Fop'ing. All around are forest-clad ranges, uninhabited, and abounding [136] in big game, deer, bear, pig, leopard, goral, and takin; but owing to the nature of the country their pursuit would involve great difficulties and hardships. This is near the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, a wild unexplored region, whence the ranges and streams ramify east and south-east on one side, and west and south-west on the other. The pass is called the Hsinglung Ling, and is crowned with an old ruined temple and gateway. There are additional signs that this trail, now unused except by a few isolated coolies carrying salt into the Han valley, smugglers, and others with good reasons for avoiding the main road, was once a much more important route. It is of course the most direct road from Hsian to Hanchung.

From the pass there is an easy descent through another flat open valley, where we saw some silver pheasants (or [136] perhaps they should be referred to as blood pheasants, a species of *Ithagenes*), into the valley of a stream flowing west, where there is some cultivation, as usual mostly potatoes, and some huts, called Huangts'ao P'ing; these valleys are less thickly wooded than those on the southern side of the pass. Here the trail leaves the stream at once and strikes up the opposite slope to the north to reach another pass after an hour's easy climb. This range is the last to be crossed before reaching Fop'ing and is a few hundred feet lower than the Hsinglung Ling. From the pass there is a steep descent by a very rough track through a narrow gorge until one debouches after about 25 li into the broad cultivated valley of the Fop'ing River, up which the road runs eastwards through corn fields swarming with pheasants for ten li to Fop'ing T'ing.

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PLATE X

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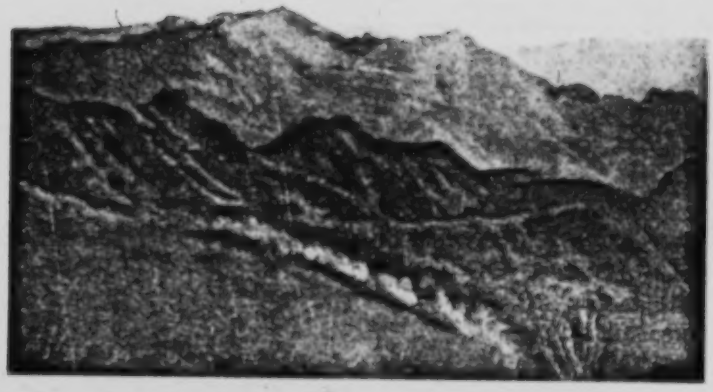
VIEW FROM THE HSINGLUNG LING ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL



VIEW FROM THE HSINGLUNG LING ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants,[1] often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them, partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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487 the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, the streams to the north all flowing down into a 133 river called the Hei Ho, which rises in Fop'ing district and flows through the mountains to join the Wei near Chouchih Hsien. The trail to the latter place, however, does not follow down the gorges of this stream, but passes directly N.E. over a series of spurs running down from T'aipai Shan, and is little if at all less arduous than the portion between Yang Hsien and Fop'ing.

From the pass the path drops steeply through a pine wood into a densely wooded gorge running east. After an hour's march down this ravine the stream is joined by one of greater volume flowing down from the snows of T'aipai Shan. The scenery in this neighbourhood is exceedingly beautiful, the torrent descending in a succession of cascades through a gorge hemmed in by densely wooded heights. Continuing down this winding ravine for another hour's march, the village of Houchentzu is reached, where the valley opens out and there is some cultivation. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows off towards the east to join the Hei Ho, and strikes up a gully which leads after a steep ascent to a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above Houchentzu, whence it drops precipitously into the cultivated valley of another stream flowing down from T'aipai, and reaches the village of Taima Ho, at about the same elevation as Houchentzu (4500 feet) and 60 li from Fop'ing. This was another hard march, scrambling up and down mountains all day; but the scenery was so fine and the air so bracing that no one seemed too tired, though to be compelled to walk the best part of 60 li in the mountains is not unnaturally considered a terrible hardship by the Chinese upper classes; although these latter appear so utterly unused and averse to all forms of bodily exercise there is yet a curious reserve of strength and of capacity for suffering hardship about them which was frequently noticeable on 486 our long journeys. Our party was now much reduced in size, but it severely taxed the accommodation of these mountain inns and hamlets. Local supplies would of course have been quite inadequate, but large quantities of rice or flour and a few rough tents were always arranged for at our halts by the local officials.

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At Taima Ho the track again leaves the stream, which flows east into a deep gorge towards the Hei Ho, and turns northwards up the mountain side to gain a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above the valley. The ascent is easy, this spur being covered with a sort of clayey loess cultivated in terraces; the appearance of loess so far in the Ch'inling ranges is unusual. From the pass the track drops into the gorge of another stream flowing down from T'aipai Shan; it follows up this gorge for a few li past the hamlet of Ch'enk'ou Wan and then turns up a side ravine to reach the base of a ridge called the Laochün Ling. From here there is a stiff climb for two to three hours, ascending 2500 feet, up a wooded mountain side to reach the pass (7500 feet), T'aipai Shan again becoming visible at intervals. From the summit there is a fine view to the S.W. across the lower ridges traversed by the trail back to the watershed range north of Fop'ing. After a steep drop of 2000 feet through a gorge Watientzu is reached, a few huts and inns, surrounded by precipitous mountains, in the ravine of a stream flowing down from T'aipai. This is another tiring march of 60 li. One is here in the district of Chouchih, the Laochün Ling ridge being the Fop'ing boundary.

From Watientzu the path runs down the narrow wooded gorge for about two hours' march, and then turns north up a gully which leads after a steep climb of 2000 feet to the summit of another ridge trending S.E. This is the last of the eleven passes which have to be crossed on this trail between the Han and Wei valleys. From the northern face of the range there is a very fine view over the Wei valley plain nearly five thousand feet below. From the pass the track descends by steep zigzags and then through a narrow gorge for three hours' march to reach the village of Hsin-k'outzu, lying a little above the plain at the base of the mountains, 80 li from Watientzu. The whole party heaved sighs of relief to find themselves once more on level ground; for the mountains with their fine scenery and bracing air are lost on the Chinese, who only notice the discomforts and hardships they entail for the traveller. The majority of our large party had by this time had enough of the journey, and produced various excuses for returning to the provincial capital, two and a half days' march across the

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the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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CHAPTER V

FROM FENGHSIANG THROUGH THE LOESS OF WESTERN SHENSI TO YENAN

The loess plateau of Western Shensi—Linyu—Yungshou—Ch'unhua—Wheat harvest—Rifts in the loess—Yaochou—Origin of loess—Brigands of North Shensi—T'ungkuan—Yichün—Game in the mountains—Chungpu—Loch'uan—Fuchou—Ravages of brigands—Kanch'uan—Caves—Yenan.

AFTER a couple of days' rest at Fenghsiang we started on a long tour of the loess country of Northern Shensi, the furthest point of which was to be Yenan Fu. There being nothing in the nature of a main road in that direction from where we found ourselves, and being met with the usual protestations to that effect, we had to apply, as usual with success, the plan of proceeding from one district city to another in the required direction, until we struck the highway from Hsian to Yenan at Yao Chou. Between Fenghsiang and Yao Chou our route took us across a vast plateau of loess which includes parts or the whole of the districts of Pin Chou, Ch'angwu, Sanshui, Yungshou, and Ch'unhua, and reaches in the N.W. a height of over 4000 feet. It has a marked slope to the S.E. and is intersected by the deep cañon of the Ching River and the ravines of many other streams all flowing in the same direction, and by innumerable rifts and crevasses in the loess from ten to five hundred feet in depth. Travel up and down this plateau along its slope between N.W. and S.E. is easy, but transversely from S.W. to N.E., the line of our march, most trying and arduous, owing to the necessity of constantly crossing the perpendicular rifts in the loess, varying from the tremendous cañon of the Ching River, nearly a thousand feet in depth, to a dry crevasse a hundred feet deep. All these rifts trend in the same direction as the slope of the plateau, i.e. S.E., and all have perpendicular walls. In order to avoid these rifts which increase in size and frequency as the plateau descends, our route kept as much as possible to the high ground and consequently made a long detour to the north.

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487 From Fenghsiang to Yao Chou by this route is a distance
133 of about 510 li, and thence to Yenan another 530 li.

Leaving Fenghsiang Fu by the East Gate the trail soon turns off the main road to the N.E. and runs across the plain for 20 li to the foot of the hills. Crossing a spur a few hundred feet high the path then descends into the ravine of a stream which is followed up for two hours' march to the hamlet of K'angchia Ho. The surrounding mountains are all of loess terraced for the cultivation of wheat and maize, [243] with the scattered inhabitants living mostly in caves. In this neighbourhood we came across some chikor of exception-
136 ally large size (the handsome red-legged partridge of North China), the only occasion on which I have seen them in the loess. These birds are called *Shih Chi* (stone fowl) in the mountains of Northern Chihli, where they are common, frequenting bare stony slopes. They are found in large coveys, which seldom fail to make their presence known by their characteristic call; but they are most difficult to shoot, as they are inveterate runners, always up hill, and, being very strong, carry a great deal of shot; the only way to get them is to descend on them from above. They are excellent eating, but not so good as the little brown partridge with a black patch on the breast, also fairly common in the mountains of the North. Throughout our journeys in Shensi and Kansu, however, we saw very few partridges compared to pheasants.

487 From K'angchia Ho the trail runs up a branch of the stream to the N.E. for a few li and then strikes up the hill
133 side, and following a ridge between two ravines ascends gradually to reach a pass (4300 feet), the boundary between Fenghsiang and Linyu districts. There is much uncultivated land on these mountains, the grass-grown terraces gradually becoming obliterated; this is a common sight throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, and together with the many ruined villages points to a decrease in population, supposed to be due to the ravages of the great Mahomedan rebellion of fifty years ago, but perhaps also due to a gradual desiccation of this region. All around are loess ridges and ravines in bewildering confusion; but there appears to be a sort of watershed trending S.E., a range which is known further east as the Ch'i Shan. From the pass there is no immediate

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PLATE XII

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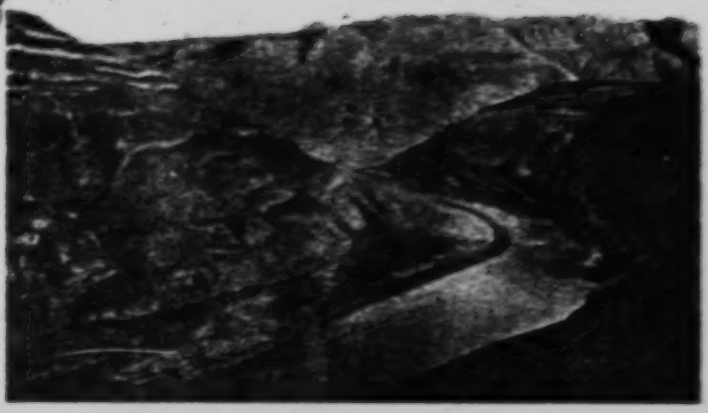

CANYON OF THE CHING RIVER, WESTERN SHENSI

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FERRY ACROSS THE CHING RIVER

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

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487 133 in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch, strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuimu, 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu. [58] Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms [65] of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

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Where the loess has been washed away shales and sandstones are revealed, and often right on the tops of the spurs there are outcroppings of a sort of conglomerate of waterworn pebbles cemented together. The loess mountains in this neighbourhood are little cultivated, being covered with poor-looking pasture, which supports scanty herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Finally there is a descent of a few hundred feet to reach the city of Yungshou Hsien, which lies a little below the crest of the ridge, on the shoulder of a spur up which ascends the Great West Road from the Hsian plains. 487 133 [233]

Yungshou consists of one street running up the ridge and is merely a walled-in section of the big road; it is a replica of Linyu, with a little more life in it owing to its position on the Kansu highway. We had passed through it two years previously almost to a day on our way to the latter province, the season of the year being the end of May. 361

Our next objective was the district city of Ch'unhua (locally Shunhua) distant two marches of 90 li each. Leaving Yungshou we followed up the main road for a few li to regain the crest of the range, where I shot some cock pheasants in almost the identical spot as two years before, and then turned eastwards once more along the top of the ridge for 25 li to a cave village. Here the ridge ends in rolling uplands of loess, the beginning, from this side, of the great loess plateau of Western Shensi. The Belgian railway (Lung Hai) from Hsian to Lanchou will, it is said, follow up the Wei River, the line of the cart road being apparently too difficult; an easier route might perhaps be found following up the slope of this plateau through Sanshui district to Ch'ingyang, and thence through Northern Kansu. The upper portions of these rolling plains where we met them are uncultivated and covered with poor sheep pasture, apparently owing to the lack of water, the one great drawback to the loess; and one might imagine oneself on the grasslands of Eastern Mongolia, until, on attempting to cross the plateau in any direction away from the trail, one almost immediately fetches up against a chasm in the loess with perpendicular walls perhaps hundreds of feet deep. Lower down these uplands are one vast cornfield 487 133 [233]

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through which the path descends to reach the township of Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands, harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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deep rifts in the loess have to be crossed, the last named place lying on the further edge of the third. The passage of each rift means a precipitous climb down into the gorge of 500 feet or more and a similar ascent the other side (this being the thickness of the loess covering); at the bottom there is usually a streamlet flowing in a rocky bed underneath the loess. The constant crossing of these rifts (called *kou* by the Chinese) was most trying in the dry heat of early June, and at midday the temperature at the bottom of the *kou* was sometimes terrific. Water is very scarce in loess country, and apt to be brackish, and the streamlets at the bottom of the rifts are their only redeeming feature from the traveller's point of view. The passage of these rifts was a constant and arduous feature of our daily marches from now on until we had completed our tour of Northern Shensi. Sometimes marching towards a village after a long day the weary traveller sees his destination apparently only a few hundred yards away, only to find that it is separated from him by a *kou* 500 feet deep which takes at least an hour to cross. From T'ungshen Kou the track continues S.E. across the sloping plateau for 20 li, descending steeply for the last mile or so, to reach Ch'unhua Hsien, a poor little third class district city, lying in a sort of basin formed by the junction of several valleys and rifts in the loess some distance below the level of the plateau. To the south the loess rises steeply to a low rocky range separating the Ch'unhua valley from the Ching Ho.

From Ch'unhua to Yao Chou is a distance of 115 li, two short marches. The trail climbs out of the valley to the level of the plateau a few hundred feet above and continues eastwards, keeping to the high ground and winding round the heads of several rifts in the loess. After two to three hours' march the cañon of a streamlet flowing south is crossed by the usual zigzag descent and ascent, and another hour brings one to the village of Fangli Chen, 40 li from Ch'unhua. Thirty li further on the village of Hsiaoch'u is reached, after crossing two more huge rifts, with streams flowing as usual S. and S.E. The passage of these cañons is the exact inverse of crossing a pass of equal height; instead of the summit of a ridge with the view and breeze to refresh one there is the airless sweltering heat of the bottom of the

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487 133 *kou*. Again referring to the well-known description of the loess which depicts the life and traffic of the region as moving unseen along the bottoms of the rifts, the converse holds good on these table lands of Western Shensi, the villages, farms, and roads lying on the top of the plateau, and the bottoms of the cañons being often lifeless. From Hsiaoch'u the track runs eastwards over the plateau, crossing two more rifts *en route*, for four hours' march to reach Yao Chou, lying in a valley at the junction of two streams flowing south.

133 The region traversed on this route between Yungshou and Yao Chou must be one of the best examples in the world of a pure loess plateau. It is dotted with low mountain outcroppings, and travelling across it one is strongly impressed with its resemblance to a series of old lake basins which have been drained off to the south-east. The loess soil, a sort of very fine sandy loam, which covers almost the whole of North Western China north of the Ch'inling Shan to a depth of many hundreds of feet, is supposed to have been deposited as the result of the dust storms of countless ages from the Gobi deserts of Mongolia combined with the decomposition of vegetable matter. The longer we travelled in the loess country the more difficult it seemed to credit this theory. The Chinese take it for granted that these wonderful deposits of *Huang T'u* (yellow earth, as they call it) were caused by water, that is to say by the great floods which according to their historical records once submerged N.W. China at about the same period as those recorded in the Bible. For anyone well acquainted with the country it requires but little effort to imagine these turgid floods of yellow waters washing the base of the Ch'inling Shan as they poured down from the N.W., and depositing the loess, even as its redeposit may nowadays be watched on the banks of the Yellow River between Ninghsia and Paot'ou. The configuration of the Wei basin in Shensi is exactly that of the bed of a huge river washing the base of a rocky cliff on its southern bank and sloping up in shallows towards the north. Further, in every rift or ravine, which is cut down through the loess to the underlying shale or sandstone, a layer of mixed loess and water-worn pebbles is almost invariably exposed

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immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

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PLATE XIII

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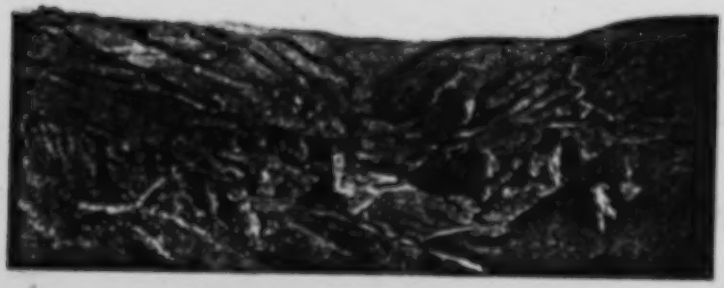
AT THE BOTTOM OF A LOESS RIFT, WESTERN SHENSI



LOOKING DOWN A LOESS RIFT, WESTERN SHENSI

[FACING p. 60]

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579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally;
491 with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li,
133 to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, except at one point about half-way where it contracts into
361 a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

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about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

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579 suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not 628 those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

634 Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

487 From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the 133 mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

132 We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

634 At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were 487 now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

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ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts. 487

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns. 361 778 769

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids. 487 133 [491] 361

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of 487 133

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487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
625 and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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PLATE XVI

133

LO RIVER IN A VALLEY IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

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CAVE VILLAGE IN SEMI-DESERT COUNTRY NEAR YENAN

[FACING p. 65]

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[625]
[634]

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

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From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

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Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

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but here and there the remains of old terraces, evidently abandoned for many years, are noticeable. Descending from the pass this curious zone of comparatively rich vegetation is soon left behind and one approaches Yenan by a desolate looking valley between hills of sandy, barren loess. The [243] crops are miserable in the extreme, and consist mostly of millet, little or no wheat being grown. Three to four hours' march down this valley brought us to the gates of Yenan Fu.

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PLATE XVII

133

DIVIDE BETWEEN THE LO HO AND YEN SHUI NEAR YENAN

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CAVE TEMPLES IN SANDSTONE CLIFF OPPOSITE YENAN

[FALING p. 70]

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316 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside
471 of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people
[492] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang
and to work our way thence somehow or other back to
133 Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

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which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling. 487 133

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 60 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu; here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suitê, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east. [361] [185]

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'o, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. 316 361

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is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. As the traveller approaches Yench'ang he will note that the city walls appear to be weeping or oozing oil, and the explanation of this curious fact becomes strikingly apparent at night time. For in the embrasures all round the walls every yard or so are placed pans of crude oil, which are lit up when darkness falls and illuminate the whole city and neighbourhood in the most remarkable manner. The effect on anyone not expecting it is extremely startling. Night after night throughout the year this desolate little city lost in the wilds of Northern Shensi indulges in this orgy of illumination. But it costs practically nothing and seems to be very effective in scaring off the brigands, who usually make their raids on moonless nights; doubtless the prospect of having a pan of burning oil upset over their heads deters them also.

The next stage on our journey by this route was the city of Yich'uan Hsien, two long marches due south of Yench'ang. The trail runs down the gorges of the Yen Shui, being ledged in the cliff on the left bank, for about 15 li, and then crossing the river by a ford strikes up the hill side to the south to reach the top of the loess plateau some 600 to 700 feet above the valley; continuing across the plateau for an hour or so it then drops steeply to the hamlet of Ankou Chen in the gorge of a tributary of the Yen Shui, called 35 li from Yench'ang. From Ankou the path strikes immediately up the opposite hill to reach the top of the plateau again, the latter here taking the form of a series of flat-topped loess ridges running down towards the Yen Shui from a range trending east and west. A two hours' march to the south up the flat top of one of these ridges brought us to the top of the range (4500 feet), the watershed between the Yen Shui and a stream called the Yunai Ho; the range is composed of grassy downs of loess with occasional outcroppings of rock. From the pass the trail follows a spur to the south, which soon flattens out into the usual square-topped loess ridge, and descends gradually for four to five hours' march, with finally a steep drop into the valley of the Yunai Ho to reach the ruined township of Yunai Chen. The country traversed on this day's march, as also on the following one, consists of loess mountains with a little cultivation on their lower slopes. Villages are very scarce,

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and the trackless downs and mountains are the haunts of the brigands of these regions, who live in unknown cave villages in the heights, whence they make their forays into the valleys. All the streams, such as the Yunai Ho and others, take their rise in these loess mountains and run eastwards to join the Yellow River, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of narrow valleys in the loess. The Yellow River is said to be reached 100 li down the valley from Yunai Chen. From Yench'ang to Yunai Chen is called 80, 90, or 100 li, according to the fancy of the individual questioned. Distances are not fixed on these small by-roads as they are on the main trails. We found it a very long march; my mule train, composed of particularly good animals which usually averaged well over three miles per hour, took more than ten hours to cover the distance, exclusive of halts. The li on the small roads of Northern Shensi and Kansu are very long. 100 li on a main road in the Han valley is certainly not more than 25 miles at the outside; but the 100 li from Yench'ang to Yunai must be nearer 35 miles.

The next day's march to Yich'uan Hsien is called 80 li. The path runs up a side ravine to the south-west for an hour and then ascends steeply to gain the top of the plateau, which here serves as the divide between the Yunai Ho and the Yich'uan stream. This divide is not a mountain range but a level tableland of loess, the highest point being about 4000 feet. There is the usual view over innumerable flat-topped loess ridges sinking down in the east towards the Yellow River, the trough of which can be vaguely descried; to the north the range crossed on the preceding march bounds the view; and to the south a similar but higher range rises steeply behind the Yich'uan valley. After an hour's march in a southerly direction, descending gradually along the usual flat-topped ridge of loess, the track drops steeply into a ravine which leads down after 20 li to the ruins of a walled village called P'inglo P'u, resembling hundreds of similar dilapidated old forts scattered throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, most of which have been taken and retaken, sacked and re-sacked, by Mahomedans and Chinese during the days of the great rebellion. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows S.E., and striking again up the slope to

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487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the 133 city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

36d Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated 669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now 162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which 579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial [714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

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669 secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and
579 scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in
701 Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

133 From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track
487 through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

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stitutes an isolated area sloping S.E. and hemmed in by surrounding mountains; in the case of the similar Yich'uan and Yunai basins further north, the surrounding mountains were perhaps not sufficiently high to keep out the floods, the ranges being themselves nowadays buried in loess. 133• 487

From the pass there is an easy descent through a gorge for 20 li to Hsiehchia P'ing, the ruins of a hamlet destroyed by brigands, where several ravines join to form a stream flowing east towards the Yellow River. The surrounding mountain slopes are rocky and uncultivated, and except for the scarcity of water resemble the Ch'inling ranges rather than the mountains of Northern Shensi. From Hsiehchia P'ing the path follows up a side ravine which leads after an hour's scramble to another pass (4800 feet); it then drops straight down the mountain side into a gorge which is followed for four hours' march until it expands into a valley at Ch'iyi Chen, a small township called 100 li from Yich'uan, where we passed the night. This is an exceedingly long and tiring day's march over a rough and rocky trail, and my mules were nearly twelve hours on the road; but there is no accommodation short of Ch'iyi Chen, the mountains being almost uninhabited and the few huts passed having mostly been destroyed by the brigands, and we had no tents with us on this journey. Everyone was fairly exhausted when we got in, a tremendous thunderstorm during the last hour completing our discomfiture; but owing, as usual, to the thoughtful assistance of the district magistrate we were comfortably housed in the principal shop of the village. Throughout our long wanderings the preparation of accommodation of some kind at the end of a march by the local official made all the difference to our comfort; schools, yamens, forts, rest-houses, temples, shops, private residences, inns, farms, caves, huts, and tents, have all served us for accommodation at different times, and the order in which they are quoted represents roughly their comparative merits. Starting at daybreak after a cup of tea or cocoa we used usually to march for about three hours and then halt for an hour or two for a good square meal; in the meantime if the march was not too long the pack mules would travel right through, so that the baggage had arrived and was already unpacked by the time we got in in the early 484

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484 afternoon. This is the height of luxury in travel in North Western China. Riding good ambling ponies we used to average four miles or more per hour on a good trail, and a day's journey of 80 li seemed nothing under these conditions. But a few really tiring marches (and this is one of them) stand out in my memory, when we had to cover a hundred li or more over rocky mountain paths where it might be necessary to walk half of the way; the hardest day of all was a march on the Kokonor border, when we started at 6 a.m. and got in at 9 p.m., crossing a pass over 13,000 feet high on the way.

487 Leaving Ch'iyi Chen the track runs down the valley towards the Yellow River for a few li and then strikes
133 straight up the mountain side to the south to reach the pass (3600 feet). This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, which are both very extended ones. From the pass there is a steep drop into a gorge and then a climb over a loess spur to reach the hamlet of Tuch'uan lying in a narrow ravine. From here the trail strikes again up the mountain side to the south, crosses a pass (4100 feet), and descends along a loess ridge with finally a steep drop to reach the walled village of Wangfeng Ch'iao lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east. From Ch'iyi Chen to Wangfeng Ch'iao is the middle stage in the three days' march between Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, and though only called 60 li in length is a tiring day's work, consisting of one long scramble up and down the mountains. As this route slants across the ridges to the S.E. and approaches the Yellow River, the passes decrease in altitude and some loess begins to reappear. The mountains in this neighbourhood appear to be full of iron ore.

From Wangfeng Ch'iao the track ascends the mountain side to the south to reach a pass (3400 feet) in the last range which bars the way to the plains. From the previous passes there were extensive views across the cañon of the Yellow River to the mountains of Shansi, but the river itself remained invisible; from this ridge it is seen for the first time, emerging from the mountains at the mouth of the
173 gorge known as Yümen K'ou. This is a very celebrated spot amongst the Chinese, since their annals record that the Emperor Yu (2000 B.C.) here cut a channel through the

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mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
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487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a
133 slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march
[491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This
[361] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen
388 (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

[361] Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

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From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang. 487 133 [634]

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. 361

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng. 487 [491] 133 361

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues. [651]

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of 487 133

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487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under
[248] cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of the largest and most important cities in the province, though
438 this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

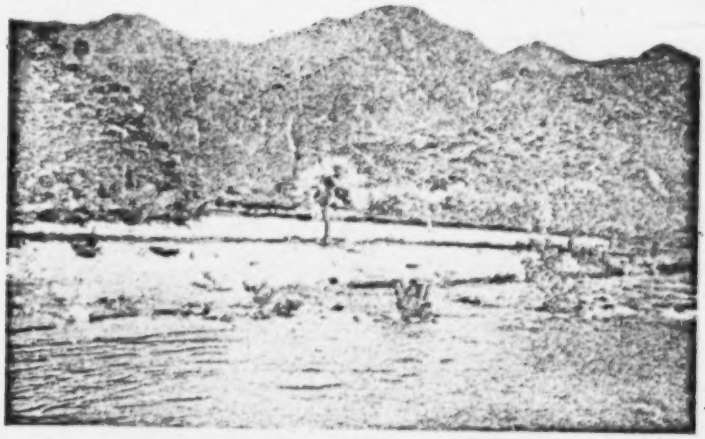
487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

PLATE XX

• 133

SUMMIT OF CH'INLING PASS ON MAIN ROAD TO SZECHUAN



TUNG RIVER VALLEY NEAR FENGHSIEN IN S.W. SHENSI

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000 Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few
175 hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

487 Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li,
764 still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us
175 suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand
487 years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village
133 of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess
361 plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

133 From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this
487 road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

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Ch'inling Shan, rising like a wall out of the plain to the south of the Wei River, and affording fine views of its culminating point the T'aipai Shan, snow-clad till mid-summer (12,500 feet). The walled village of Hsinglin Chen is passed half-way out, and 15 li further on the valley of a stream from the north is crossed. Finally there is a drop to reach Fufeng Hsien, 60 li from Wukung, and a replica of the latter, lying in precisely the same sort of hollow below the level of the loess at the junction of two valleys from the north and west. 133 487

From Fufeng Hsien to Ch'ishan Hsien is another easy march of 60 li across the uplands, crossing two shallow ravines *en route*, the loess here not being of sufficient thickness to be fissured by the deep rifts and cañons found further north. Ch'ishan lies close under the mountains of the same name, with the loess plain sloping down to the Wei River to the south. The main road here continues west to Fenghsiang, but travellers bound for Szechuan like ourselves, and having no particular concern with the latter place, usually proceed direct to Paochi on the Wei River, a distance of 110 li, which can be covered in a long day's march. Ch'ishan, a second class district city, much resembles Wukung and Fufeng, and seems fairly prosperous for a city of Central Shensi. [361]

The road now runs west and south-west across the loess uplands for about 50 li, and then descends by easy gradients for another 25 li to reach Titien, a village of inns on the Wei River, just beyond the confluence of the latter with the Ch'ien Shui from Ch'ienyang and Lungchou, the passage of which in a flooded state caused us some trouble. On this stretch of road we crossed our previous route from Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu, thus affording an opportunity of checking the route survey, the results of which were not particularly encouraging; but as my instruments consisted of nothing more serious than a prismatic compass, with which I kept up a route survey throughout our journeys, this was perhaps not surprising. From Titien to Paochi the road runs west between the Wei River on the left hand and a high loess bluff on the right. The actual valley plain of the Wei is here quite narrow, as the land on the further bank rises almost immediately to the grim-looking barrier of the [485]

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133 487 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand, however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in- [575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

The western districts of Central Shensi through which 231 we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 487 [485] From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

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wide and full of sand-banks, is crossed by a ferry, and the trail then plunges into the Ch'inling Shan by a valley which soon becomes a gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The change from the bare loess plains and hills to these rocky, jungle-clad mountains is strikingly sudden. The road is a well-graded mule path, but very rough going, being irregularly paved with cobbles and boulders. Fifty li from Paochi we reached the hamlet of Kuanyint'ang, nestling underneath a wooded cliff, where we passed the night. Here we were met by some of our old acquaintances from the excellent Northern brigade garrisoning Hanchung and the Han valley, in whose care we were to be till reaching the Szechuan border, and said farewell for good to the picturesque ex-brigands who had formed our escort and who had looked after us so well during our tour of the Northern districts; though their past did not always bear looking into they were the best of fellows.

Crossing the loess of Central Shensi the heat had been terrific, but from now on for the next few days, till we debouched from the mountains on to the Hanchung plain at Paoch'eng, it was delightfully cool though rather rainy. Fifteen li above Kuanyint'ang the gorge ends in the pass over the main Ch'inling range (about 5100 feet); the ascent is easy, the valley leading practically up to the summit. The railway will probably have to cross this pass, but as there is a rise of some 3000 feet from Paochi, there will have to be a pretty stiff gradient or a long tunnel. The gorge resembles the approach to the Nank'ou Pass on the Kalgan railway north of Peking, but is probably more difficult to negotiate.

From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into an open cultivated valley, that of the Tung Ho, flowing down from the south-western slopes of T'aipai Shan. This stream forms one of the headwaters of the great Szechuan River, the Chialing Chiang, which joins the Yangtzu at Chungking, so that though one has crossed the main range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, one is not yet in the basin of the Han. The easiest line for the railway from here will probably be found to lie down the Chialing Chiang into Szechuan (though the latter flows mostly through precipitous gorges), thus not entering the

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486 Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W.
487 down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past
133 several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

[361] Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a [F63] pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

484 We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

487 At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which
133 flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

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a two to three hours' climb. My heights for these passes, obtained, like all the rest on my maps, from aneroid observations compared with an occasional boiling-point thermometer reading, are lower than those usually given; but in the most modern maps of China Hanchung is assigned a height of 2000 feet, which is probably 500 feet too much, and in one good map Mien Hsien further west is given as 1800 feet odd, thus causing the Han River to flow up hill between the two cities; so that there is room for argument on the subject all round. From the Feng Ling there is a fine view to the west over the cultivated slopes of the Tung valley backed by higher mountains on the Kansu border, and to the south-east over the wooded limestone ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. After running along the mountain side for a short distance the path drops steeply into a gorge which leads down to the village of Sanch'a Yi, an old posting stage, lying at the confluence of two streams some 2000 feet below the pass and 50 li from Feng Hsien, and following down this valley, where rice fields and some loess re-appear, for another hour's march, reaches the village of Liufeng Kuan. This stream is a tributary of the Tung Ho, [illegible] one is still on the head-waters of the Chialing Chiang. Liufeng Kuan is the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Feng Hsien, and we passed the night comfortably in his yamen.

The trail, which has hitherto run S.W. all the way from the Wei valley, now turns S.E. up a winding ravine, leading into the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, the village of Nanhsing in Liupa district being reached after about two hours' march. This place is half-way between Feng Hsien and Liupa T'ing, and provides accommodation for the traveller who wants to cover the distance (180 li) in two stages. Four hours' march up the valley, which contracts to a gorge hemmed in by densely-wooded mountains, brings one to the pass, the Ch'aikuan Ling (5500 feet), which leads over the divide into the Han basin. The Ch'inling ranges are seen at their best round the Ch'aikuan Ling, where the rocky precipices and densely-wooded mountain slopes, clear mountain torrents, and narrow fertile ravines combine to form a landscape of great beauty. Though the ascent to the pass is by easy gradients the descent is precipitous, and

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487 a railway following the main road (which could avoid the more formidable Feng Ling by a détour down the Tung 133 valley and up the tributary to Liufeng Kuan) would presumably require a long tunnel, and would meet with many more difficulties following down the gorge to Liupa [346] and beyond. Some five li below the pass lies the Changliang Miao, beautifully situated at the junction of two wooded ravines, where we passed the night. This is one of the finest temples in China, built, I believe, in the Han Dynasty, and is well known amongst the Chinese; one would have liked to remain there a week.

361 From Changliang Miao (also known as Miao T'aitzu) the path runs down a winding gorge for the rest of the way to Liupa, a distance of 40 li. The latter, formerly a T'ing, and now a third class Hsien, is a picturesque little place, almost filling a narrow valley hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan, its situation exactly resembling that of Huayang further east on the road to Fop'ing. The city is practically empty, the life of the place being concentrated in a suburb outside the south-east wall.

487 From Liupa to Paoch'eng in the Han valley plain is a distance of about 180 li, which can be covered in two long 133 marches, the trail running all the way down a winding gorge, occasionally cutting off corners by crossing low spurs. The going is most of the way very rough and rocky. Some three hours' march below Liupa the stream joins another much larger one flowing down from the southern slopes of T'aipai Shan, called the Pao Shui; up this stream lies a very rough trail to Mei Hsien in the Wei valley, crossing a shoulder of T'aipai Shan by a high pass. Several villages living on the traffic of this great highway are passed in the gorge, T'ieh-fotien, Matao Yi (the half-way stage), Erhshihli P'u, and Ch'ingch'iao Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. As one approaches the plain, the gorge, instead of opening out, becomes narrower, the cliffs more precipitous, and the track more rocky; and just when the weary traveller is beginning to look forward to the end of the stage, the gorge becomes impassable, and the path ascends for several hundreds of feet by flights of irregular stone steps, winds round the top of a spur, the Chit'ou Kuan, and drops straight down on to Paoch'eng Hsien, lying on the edge of the Han valley plain.

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PLATE XXI

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CITY OF LIUPA T'ING, S.W., SHENSI

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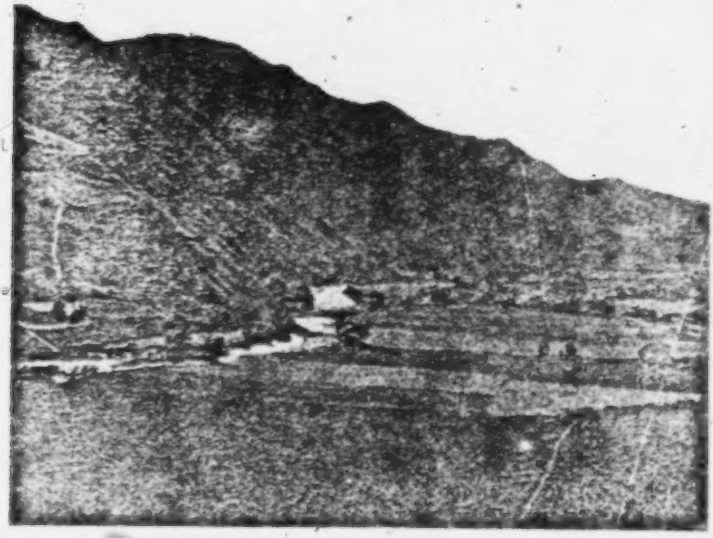

VALLEY IN S.W. SHENSI NEAR SZECHUAN BORDER

[FACING p. 96]

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hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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lying ranges of the Ch'inling Shan here meet the mountains which separate the Han valley from Szechuan and bring the plain abruptly to an end. There is some gold in the sands of the Han, as in almost all the rivers of Western China; but whereas the sources of many of the latter, and therefore the hills from which the gold comes, lie far off on the Tibetan plateau, those of the Han lie close at hand in these mountains, which ought, therefore, to be worth prospecting; they are said to be rich in other minerals as well.

The next regular stage on this road is one of 90 li to the village of Tai-an Yi. The trail runs west up the Han River, which here flows in a perfectly straight gorge, for 45 li to the village of Hsinwan P'u, which is of interest as the head of navigation for small boats; the Han is thus navigable for practically its entire course. The porterage west to the Chialing Chiang, which is also navigable, is only two or three marches over a low divide to the village of Yangp'ing Kuan, and the road is naturally a busy one, and carries much traffic between Shensi, Szechuan, and Kansu. At Hsinwan P'u the path leaves the Han for a time, passing through broken hills cultivated with maize and rice and dotted with the useful wood-oil tree, eventually returning to the river and following up its valley to reach Tai-an Yi, an old posting stage. The Han is remarkable for the suddenness with which it springs into existence as a navigable river. At Mien Hsien in the summer it is already a large stream; while one march further west, at Tai-an, it is a mere streamlet, and one is within a few hours of its source. At the other extreme are the two other chief rivers of Shensi, the Wei and the Lo, which, rising one in Central Kansu and the other on the Ordos border, are only navigable for short distances above their confluences with the Yellow River near T'ungkuan. The contrast is typical of China north and south of the Ch'inling Shan.

Above Tai-an the path turns south up the head-waters of the Han, now only a few inches deep. Beyond the hamlet of K'uanch'uan P'u, 30 li out, the valley narrows to a ravine, which leads an hour's march further on to a pass, the Wuting Kuan (about 4000 feet); whence the trail descends through a ravine in the jungle-clad mountains, past the hamlet of Tishih P'u, till it debouches into a larger

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133 valley and reaches the town of Ningchiang, formerly a
487 Chou, and now a second class Hsien.

Ningchiang is a picturesque little place lying surrounded by rice fields in an isolated valley in the mountains near the Szechuan border. It is still in the basin of the Han, and a railway from Hanchung along the line of the main road into Szechuan could avoid the Wuting Pass by following the valley of its stream. There would be greater difficulties in crossing the divide into Szechuan, though these mountains are not in this neighbourhood to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, being only about half as high.

From Ningchiang to Kuangyuan in Szechuan is a distance of 230 li, which is usually divided into three stages, 70 li to Chaoch'ang Pa, 70 li to Ch'aot'ien Chen, and 90 li to Kuangyuan; but as elsewhere along this road villages are numerous, and the traveller can make his own stages. Leaving Ningchiang the trail runs up the valley to the S.W., which ends 40 li out in an easy pass (3300 feet), being the divide between the Han and Chialing basins. From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into a little rice valley enclosed by wooded hills which leads down to the village of Huangpa Yi, 50 li from Ningchiang. The path here leaves the stream, which flows south, and, crossing a spur, drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing down from a high range to the west. At the point where this gorge debouches on to a larger valley, 15 li from Huangpa Yi, there is a barrier wall and a gate, indicating the Shensi-Szechuan frontier, and a few li further down this valley the village of Chaoch'ang Pa is reached. Here we parted from our friends the Shensi officials, who had looked after us so well for the past four months, and with whom we had undergone many a hardship. One of these gentlemen, who acted as business manager of the expedition and who throughout displayed great powers of organization as well as capacity for enduring personal discomforts and hardships, is shown in the accompanying photograph trying a little Szechuan stallion[1]. Having served as district magistrate for

231 [1] These Szechuan ponies though very small are exceedingly well built and show a great deal of breeding; they are useful on the paved paths and stone steps of Szechuan to which they are accustomed, and which are fatal to the larger and heavier built ponies of Kansu and Mongolia.

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many years in various parts of Shensi, his local knowledge and experience were of the greatest assistance, while his talents ranged from shooting mountain goat in the Ch'inling Shan to the writing of Chinese poetry.

Leaving Chaoch'ang Pa a spur is crossed to avoid a bend in the stream, and the path then runs down the open valley, good going at last after days of rocky scrambles, for 40 li to the village of Shenhsuan Yi, another old posting station and the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Kuangyuan. A little further on down the valley a curious natural phenomenon occurs, the valley coming suddenly to an end, and the stream flowing under a mountain spur through a tunnel in the limestone, to reappear in a deep gorge half a mile further on. The path ascends this spur by flights of stone steps, and then, crossing to the other side of the valley, runs along the mountain side several hundreds of feet above the gorge of the stream for the rest of the way to Ch'aot'ien Chen, a large village lying on the banks of the Chialing Chiang. The latter flows swiftly in a deep gorge in the mountains; and on the practicability of this gorge for railway construction appears to depend the possibility of finding a comparatively easy route for a railway into Szechuan from the Wei valley; for it is by this gorge that the Chialing Chiang pierces all those intricate ranges on the borders of Shensi, Kansu, and Szechuan, containing the head-waters of the Han, which are connected with the Ch'inling Shan in such a manner as to render their passage by a railway elsewhere extremely difficult.

From Ch'aot'ien to Kuangyuan, a distance of 90 li, the path is ledged in one of the cliffs of the gorges of the Chialing Chiang; but it is possible to do this stage by water, and as the magistrate had kindly prepared some boats, we were only too glad at this stage of our long journey to avail ourselves of so restful a method of travel. The river was high and the current very rapid, so that we covered the distance in less than four hours, instead of the nine or ten it would have taken us by road.

Kuangyuan, a second class district city, lies in a small plain formed by the junction of a tributary with the Chialing Chiang. It is considered an important place owing to its position at the point where the big road from the north

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
487 from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
133 district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the
[136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn, became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li. down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The
[491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge between the two rivers and continues along the summit in a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps, and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing north, up which it continues for another hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large
[361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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march. The views from the ridge are again extensive. On the right hand lies the peculiar range of mountains trending from S.W. to N.E. which was crossed on the preceding day by the defile of Chienmen Kuan; on their southern face these mountains have an easy slope, but on the northern side fall away in rock precipices, giving the impression of having been tossed up by some internal convulsion. This formation extends as far as one can see in either direction, and may also be noted in the ranges south of Ningchiang. On the left hand lies the much broken hill country of soft red sandstone, sometimes called the red basin of Szechuan, into which the defile of Chienmen Kuan gives access from the N.W. Beyond the village of Hanyang P'u, 25 li out, there is a descent and then an ascent on to another ridge, which is followed southwards until it ends with a steep drop to the city of Chien Chou, now called Chienko Hsien, a picturesque little place lying at the bottom of the narrow valley of the Chien Shui, a tributary of the Chialing Chiang, 65 li from Chienmen Kuan. The high ranges on one's right now bear away to the west, and the mountains become lower and flatter; but in this part of Szechuan, as elsewhere outside of the Chengtu plain, there is scarcely any level ground to be seen.

From Chien Chou to the next district city, Tzutung Hsien, is two stages of 80 li each, through complicated hill country intersected by a maze of little narrow valleys. The road is the same paved path shaded with ancient trees, and shows great engineering skill on the part of its designers, whoever they may have been, in the manner it threads its way through this difficult country. It is perhaps the most famous road in China, and it certainly deserves such a reputation. It was probably constructed by the Emperor Shih Huangti about B.C. 200 to facilitate his conquest of what is now Szechuan. Climbing out of the valley of the Chien Shui and crossing a ridge, the trail drops into a gorge, only to climb out again immediately, and winding round a spur S. and S.W., descends to the village of Liukou, 40 li from Chien Chou, at the junction of two streams flowing south. Here it ascends again, and winding along a ridge for 20 li reaches the head of a valley, crosses the divide, and follows down another ridge, with finally a steep drop to

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487 reach the large village of Wulien Yi, the end of the stage,
133 lying at the junction of two valleys. From Wulien Yi there is a gradual ascent again until the top of another ridge is reached, along which the road winds, past the half-way village of Shangting P'u, and a fine temple in a grove of trees called Ta Miao, until it descends by a long easy gradient to Tzutung Hsien, lying in a rather more open valley sloping S.W. The hills, which grow steadily less formidable as one proceeds south on this road, are now quite low, and the mountains to the N.W. are almost out of sight.

The red basin of Szechuan appears to be an old plateau of red sandstone worn down by the action of water into a maze of hills and valleys in the same way as the loess. This formation is, however, by no means confined to Szechuan, for a vast extent of country, stretching all the way from Honan through Southern Shensi and Kansu to Hsining and the Kokonor, is composed of the same red sandstone, which in the west everywhere forms the southern limit to the loess.

At Tzutung we encountered the old joke of the North Gate closed to keep the rain out and had considerable difficulty in apprising the magistrate of our arrival and effecting an entrance.

Crossing the river outside Tzutung by a fine stone bridge, over which three motor cars might have been driven abreast, though the paved road leading to and from it is only a couple of feet wide, the trail winds westwards through the cultivated red hills to the township of Weich'eng, the end of the stage of 60 li; and on the following day continues through the same country, winding through the hills and following along undulating ridges for 65 li, to reach Mien Chou, now called Mienyang Hsien, a large and crowded first-class district city on the Fu River.

487 We were now practically out of the mountains and not
133 far from the northern end of the Chengtu plain. From Mien Chou the road runs through low hills for 90 li to
361 reach Lochiang Hsien, whence it descends to Têyang Hsien on the plain, and continues through Han Chou and Hsintu Hsien to Chengtu. These district cities, Lochiang, Têyang, Han Chou, and Hsintu are all rich and populous centres, the like of which are not to be found in the whole of Shensi

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lungtu—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kan'tsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world.

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over
133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends
[361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out
[346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

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the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and continue again on the further side, while the track now in and winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the same story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

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and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

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669 Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-
563 chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

487 From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west,
133 reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang
[243] side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

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PLATE XXVI

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THE LOESS COUNTRY OF CENTRAL KANSU

THE LOESS COUNTRY OF CENTRAL KANSU

[FACING p. 111]

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Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

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485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, 669 are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the southwest for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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signals could be sent great distances in a very short space of time.

From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage of 60 li, the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then climbs a long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit there is no immediate descent the other side, but the path winds along a high ridge with extensive views over the loess mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to Anting in a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now known as Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the junction of three valleys, and, commanding several roads north, south, east and west, was formerly an important military centre. There is more water available here, and consequently the country is much more fertile and the people quite well off. Loess country in this rainless region is either a desert or a garden according to the amount of water available for irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though the hills become more and more sterile, the irrigated valleys are wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four short stages of about 60 li each. The road runs down the valley past several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of Ts'ank'ou whence it strikes west up a side valley to the posting station of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it ascends a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill to reach the summit of a ridge along which it winds for three to four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to the large market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst fertile irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys. To the south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyond which lie Titao and the T'ao River. From here on to Lanchou the irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly productive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the barren region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan Shan.

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the cultivated valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village and likin station, and the end of the stage. The district city of Chin Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south. Leaving Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony ravine, and after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the Yellow River, which here rolls its turgid waters between precipitous

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granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

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CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

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312 Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It [277] is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River [313] from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li 487 across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the 133 hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young [491] magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren [491] and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [276] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [361] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable [438] trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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487 Hui Hsien to the Chialing Chiang, and the other *via* Hsiho
133 Hsien, Chieh Chou, and P'ik'ou; these are all mule trails.

Ch'in Chou is the seat of a Taoyin, a General, and a magistrate, by whom we were most hospitably entertained, 871 being lodged in the local middle school. The latter provided quite luxurious accommodation, consisting of remarkably fine spacious buildings. There were plenty of students too, and the popularity of the government schools was here, as elsewhere in this remote province, very apparent. English, nowadays the official foreign language of China, is taught. I am not in a position to give any opinion as to the standard of the work done in these middle schools in Kansu but it is evident that they are more popular than the missionary schools, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. Immensely beneficial as the educational work of the missionaries is to the Chinese, it has the disadvantage, from the Chinese point of view, of being adulterated with evangelistic effort; so that the student, athirst for Western knowledge, has to swallow the Christian powder skilfully hidden between layers of scientific jam. Then there is always the underlying feeling against the alien institution, and also the fact that all the missionaries who engage in educational work in China are not always well qualified to lead their pupils very far. In Kansu missionary schools exist in only a very small way; but in some provinces, notably Szechuan, large institutions have been established, including a university. These remain, however, like the Christian Church in China, purely foreign institutions for the Chinese under foreign management, and for that reason are not always appreciated by the Chinese as they doubtless deserve to be; the latter would probably prefer that the foreign teachers should offer their services in the government schools.

487 From Lanchou Fu we had so far been following one of
133 the main trade routes of Kansu, but we now turned westwards *en route* for T'ao Chou on the Kokonor border, following a very rough mountain trail through the heart of the western extremity of the Ch'inling Shan. Our first objective was the little district city of Li Hsien, distant two days' march, lying on the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang and therefore in the basin of the Yangtzu.

Leaving Ch'in Chou the path runs up a bare valley

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due south for 15 li and then branches off up a side ravine to the S.W., another road continuing south up the main valley towards Hui Hsien. After an hour or two's march up this ravine the trail ascends a low pass, crosses a small valley, and immediately rises again to cross another low pass, whence it descends to the village of Kaomo Chen in the valley of a streamlet flowing from west to east. We were delayed in Kaomo Chen for half a day by our mule train following the wrong path, and its poverty was evidenced by the fact that we could get nothing but unleavened cakes of maize to eat, the most unpalatable form of nourishment I have ever had to put up with in China, though very often the only food of the people in mountainous country. From here the trail ascends by easy gradients to a pass in the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide, a climb of less than an hour over grassy slopes devoid of trees, and then descends steeply to a valley running south-west The track follows down this stream for 20 li to the village of Lochia P'u, where it debouches into a broad and fertile valley, bounded by low cultivated hills of loess, the stream flowing from east to west. This stream is one of the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang, which flows through Szechuan to Chungking, and it is remarkable to find so much loess south of the divide. The latter formation may also be seen on the headwaters of the Shensi branch of the Chialing Chiang round Feng Hsien on the Hsian Chengtu road.

From Lochia P'u there is a remarkably good road down the open loess valley for two hours' march to the walled village of Yen Kuan, where there are said to be salt wells. The magistrate of Hsiho Hsien met us here, as we had entered his district; he said that a road branches off at this point to Hsiho and Chieh Chou and so to Szechuan. From Yen Kuan the road continues down the valley until within 20 li of Li Hsien, where it crosses a spur to avoid some gorges, and the loess formation comes to an end. Li Hsien is a picturesque little city lying hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan in a country of narrow fertile valleys, whose streams all go to form the headwaters of the Kansu branch of the Chialing Chiang. From here to Min Chou our route followed an unfrequented trail which penetrated the Ch'inling Shan in the most curious way,

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487 133 passing and repassing from one to the other side of the watershed. In this neighbourhood the Ch'inling ranges do not appear such a formidable barrier between the Yellow River and the Yangtzu as in the places where we had crossed them further east in Shensi, perhaps owing to the greater elevation of the country on either side; unfortunately my aneroids were temporarily out of action owing to an accident on this portion of the journey, so that we could not follow the heights. West of Min Chou the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide is continued by the magnificent Min Shan, a rocky and almost impassable barrier reaching in places above the line of perpetual snow; but there does not seem to be any well-defined barrier ridge joining this range to the Ch'inling Shan, and if railways ever reach this part of Kansu it should not prove very difficult to connect them up with the future lines of Northern Szechuan.

Leaving Li Hsien the trail leads up a narrow valley to the north-west for 40 li to the hamlet of Wuch'uanli, a most picturesque spot surrounded by wooded mountains, where we passed the night in a temple. An hour's march further on the path turns up a side ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends into another narrow valley trending from north to south. Ten li up this valley a few huts called Chiutientzu are reached, beyond which the trail turns up a side gorge and climbs steeply to reach the summit of the Fenshui Ling ("Watershed Pass"). The scenery in these mountains is very fine, and the country wild and uninhabited. From the pass the trail descends through a flat grassy valley and then through cornfields to reach the market village of Mawu Chen 60 li from Wuch'uanli. Here one is apparently again on the northern side of the Ch'inling Shan, the stream flowing north to join the Wei.

From Mawu Chen the path turns west up a narrow valley, which for profusion of pheasants beat every other locality we traversed in all our long journeys. The sides of the ravine were clothed in dense jungle while in the bottom were patches of cultivation with the corn ripening for harvest. These fields were literally alive with pheasants, which blundered up in flocks as one moved up the valley through the corn. Here, as often before in Shensi and Kansu, we could not fail to be struck by the absurdity of all

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this game being untouched by the natives who not only neglect all this excellent food lying to their hands, but also presumably lose quite a lot of corn eaten by the pheasants. In the eastern provinces where there is a foreign market and also the demand created by the companies which export frozen game (a demand which is a serious danger to the stocks of game in those parts) the Chinese wage an unceasing war against the pheasants with gun, net, and even poison. I have known Chinese hunters in the mountains of Northern Chihli who used to make good shooting with the prehistoric looking Chinese gun with its pistol stock, which discharges a stream of bits of old iron and gives the shooter a severe blow on the cheek-bone when it is fired; and I have also been out with Chinese hunting pheasants with a native dog and hawk. But I have never come across a native in the mountains of Kansu who took the least interest in the pheasants picking grain on his threshing floor.

Following up this ravine from Mawu Chen for some 30 li the trail crosses a small pass and descends to a few huts called Shachin Kou, where one is apparently again on the southern side of the watershed with the stream flowing south towards the Chialing Chiang. From here it turns west again up another wooded gorge, where we startled a couple of deer, too big, I think, to be roe, leading to an easy pass over grass-covered mountains. Here there is a sudden and complete change in the scenery, and the trail descends into a broad shallow valley, devoid of trees, and dotted with farmsteads and patches of cultivation. Crossing this valley, which slopes north and is apparently once more on the northern side of the watershed, past the village of Suluk'o (60 li from Mawu Chen), the track engages itself in another grassy valley leading west. At the head of this valley one emerges on to a treeless marshy plateau dotted with herds of cattle. We were here assailed by a rain storm, and though the season was the end of June it was bitterly cold; my aneroids being out of action I can only guess the height, which was perhaps 9000 feet. An hour's march across this plateau brought us to our destination for the night, the hamlet of Tachuangtzu, 80 li from Mawu Chen, where the black peaty soil was under cultivation to a limited extent.

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576 As we rode into this little place,[1] cold, tired, and generally rather miserable, the entire visible population fell on their faces, since republican principles had not yet penetrated to this out-of-the-way spot, and they thought they were prostrating themselves before an "Imperial Mission." The headman had, however, prepared the best of the mud cabins for our accommodation, and we were soon warm and dry again, and engaged in disposing of some of the cock pheasants picked up *en route*.

487 133 A few li beyond Tachuangtzu the trail drops over the edge of the plateau to reach the considerable village of Ch'enchiachi, lying in a flat cultivated valley sloping north and surrounded by grassy mountains. We halted here for the night owing to the rain, only having made ten li; quite good accommodation was secured in a farm house, but it was miserably cold. From here the road runs westwards across rolling grass country intersected by shallow cultivated valleys sloping north with sheep and cattle grazing on the hill slopes. This curious grass-covered plateau, the presence of which is entirely unexpected in a region of steep mountains, appears to be the westernmost end of the Ch'inling Shan, a range which we had come to know so well in the course of our journeys. After about three hours' march there is a slight rise to a pass, and then a precipitous drop for ten li to reach a village called Panchi Chuang, lying in a narrow valley. Another two hours' march down this valley brings one to the large walled village of Lich'uan, 60 li from Ch'enchiachi and 70 li from Min Chou. Here the stream flows south towards Szechuan and one is again on the southern side of the watershed.

From Lich'uan the track runs N.W. up a side valley ending in a grassy pass. For the next five li or so it keeps to the top of the mountain, whence there are truly magnificent views over the rocky snow-patched Min Shan to the south-west, and then descends steeply through a ravine to the valley of the T'ao River. Two tributary torrents are forded before the city of Min Chou is reached. Being now again in the valley of the T'ao we were once more on the northern side of the Yangtzu-Yellow River watershed. Since leaving Ch'in Chou a few days previously we had crossed this divide no less than six times, which is sufficient

1 [the hamlet of Tachuangtzu -- ANALYST]

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to show the interesting nature of this mountain trail. A proper survey of this region would be sure to bring many interesting facts to light. Unfortunately the prospects of accurate map-making in China are not very bright at present. The Chinese, not unnaturally, have recently taken to objecting to the wandering foreigner who used to roam across the country making a map, and they profess to be compiling an accurate survey of the whole country themselves. The results of the work done in this connection in the north-east provinces has not been published, however, and at the present rate of progress it does not seem likely that the more remote parts in the west will be reached for generations. In the meantime existing maps of China are most unsatisfactory. Some of the coast provinces have been fairly thoroughly mapped by foreign military officers after 1900; there is also a very good British map of Szechuan, though where its authors have relied on the work of previous travellers, as in the case of the important Hsian-Chengtu road, it contains many errors. In the case of a remote province like Kansu, however, the best existing foreign maps are merely compilations of the route surveys of various foreign travellers, with the result that one gets an accurate representation of certain roads intersected by spaces which are practically blank, or filled in more or less at haphazard with names from old Chinese maps. In the case of Kansu many of these route surveys were compiled by Russian travellers long ago, more interested in Tibet and Mongolia than in China, so that one finds names like Mount Konkyr, Donkyr, Ugambu, etc. (to mention a few in the neighbourhood of Hsining) reappearing on the most modern maps; some of these names are nowadays quite untraceable amongst the Chinese; others are curious corruptions of well-known Chinese centres, like the two last mentioned, which represent Tanko and Weiyuan P'u respectively. Thus, although the interior of China is nowadays so well known, it is likely to remain for long one of the worst mapped parts of the world. For travelling purposes we found modern Chinese maps, compiled from the rough charts of the various districts (Hsien), though geographically very inaccurate, more useful than the foreign maps, as one could at any rate rely on the place-names.

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be *surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which* would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
438 suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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563 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu
609 still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills,
487 crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.
563 Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque
[361] little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence
[792] on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamastery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the
[576] usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be
487 about 8000 feet at Choni.

133 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sungp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

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487 under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan
133 range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

797 There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

164 The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

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Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains (elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak, sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba. These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and west, and always one ascends to them through a region of broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

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133 563 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 487 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou [361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the 792 village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the [241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We 609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

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which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

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513 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky • 133 gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [792] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

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valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

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We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

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484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

202 We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by 487 forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The 563 Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

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rocky gorge and then by steep zigzags to reach the pass over the divide between the T'ao and Yellow Rivers, on the further side of which there is a complete change of scenery, green hills and fertile terraces taking the place of the desert mountain sides. From the pass the trail descends into a ravine, climbs over a mountain spur, and drops steeply to the village of Chiangchia Wan, whence it descends gradually for three hours' march through the loess to reach Lanchou and the valley of the Yellow River. Our tour of South Western Kansu had occupied us about five weeks, during which period we had covered some six to seven hundred miles.

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CHAPTER XI

FROM LANCHOU FU NORTH TO CHENFAN IN THE ALASHAN DESERT, AND THENCE WEST TO ÊPO ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Through the desert hills to P'ingfan—The Wushao Ling—Kulang—How to raise a mule—Liangchou—Opium suppression—Chenfan—Trails from Mongolia to the Kokonor—Crossing a corner of the Alashan desert—Yungch'ang—The Pien Tu K'ou passage—Êpo—Wool, deer horns, and musk.

487 133 WE left Lanchou on the 17th of July bound for Chenfan, an oasis in the Alashan desert lying ten to eleven days' journey almost due north. For the first week, as far as Liangchou Fu, we followed the Great West Road leading to Turkestan, most of the way a good cart track with accommodation and supplies every 40 to 50 li. From Liangchou to Chenfan the road ran through a string of little oases in the desert.

Leaving Lanchou by the iron bridge the road runs for 30 li westwards up the Yellow River valley, which here opens out into a small cultivated plain, and then turns north up a narrow gorge in the hills for ten li to reach Chuchia Yingtzu, a small village in a desolate region of bare stony hills. From here the track continues to ascend gradually through barren hills of sandy loess, crosses a small pass, and descends to the miserable hamlet of Yuchia Wan, the end of the first stage of 70 li. The surrounding country is nearly desert and the water brackish. From Yuchia Wan the track undulates north-westwards through a maze of bare loess hills, treeless and waterless, for 45 li to the village of Hsienshui Ho, where, as the name implies, a brackish streamlet enables some poor crops to be grown. In Kansu the Yellow River is roughly speaking the boundary between China and the wastes of Central Asia, all the country north-west of it being desert where there is no irrigation. The road continues for another two to three hours' march through these barren hills until it suddenly emerges on to the fertile valley of

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [491]

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487 and the background of bare snow-sprinkled mountains, made up a wild and desolate landscape, the scene of uncounted con-
133 tests between Chinese, Tartars, and Mahomedans in the past.

The trail continues up the valley, which is here a mile or two wide and slopes gently up to grassy downs on either side, for four to five hours' march to an old military post [491] called Chench'iang Yi. Here the river is crossed by a ford, which must be difficult in rainy weather, and the road, leaving the P'ingfan valley, runs due north over easy grassy slopes for 15 li to gain the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet), the divide between the waters which flow east to join the Yellow River and those which flow north into the desert and fail to reach the sea. Immediately to the west some rocky peaks patched with snow rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. [136] From the pass the road descends, at first over grassy downs alive with marmots, and then by a steep stony track, to the ruined village of Anyuan P'u in the narrow valley of the Kulang River. The Wushao Ling will prove the principal engineering obstacle to the railway which is projected as an extension of the Lung Hai line along the main road towards Central Asia, and will presumably necessitate a considerable tunnel. Otherwise the construction of this extension will be easy compared to the section from Hsian to Lanchou. Fifteen li down the valley brings one to the village of Lungk'ou P'u. This is a long day's march called 90 li (which means 30 miles in Western Kansu) and the track beyond the pass is bad and rocky.

On the following day a short march of 45 li by a rough road down the valley brought us to the district city of Kulang, a small town three-parts in ruins situated at the point where the stream debouches from the mountains on to the plain. Here we were given a typical instance of Chinese administrative methods. One of our mules having fallen lame, we asked the magistrate to be good enough to procure us another animal, which he said could easily be done. We were accommodated in a small yamen and our mules in an inn, and that evening the head muleteer came round in a great state and said that one of our mules had been seized by the underlings from the magistrate's yamen. Explanations were of course immediately forthcoming and the misunderstanding cleared up. The magistrate had instructed his

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underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a
312 highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, 487
and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor
border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, 133
passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to
bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich 634
oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, 651
lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

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634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[134] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

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PLATE XXXVIII

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LOWER END OF PIEN TU K'OU GORGE, LEADING TO THE KOKONOR

TRAVELLING UP THE PIEN TU K'OU GORGE

[FACING p. 163]

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plain to Yungch'ang Hsien, a small district city on the mainroad. 487 133

Leaving Yungch'ang the trail runs west up a cultivated valley for 25 li to the ruined village of Shuimo Kuan. Here the stream is forded, and the trail, leaving the high road to Kanchou and Suchou on the right hand, continues up the valley due west, ascending very gradually, for 50 li to Kaoku Ch'eng, an old walled military post surrounded by a ruined village, where we passed the night in the dilapidated yamen of the *Yu Chi*, or Major in the old army of the Green Standard, who still survived in this remote corner of the Republic, though about eight years out of date. Kaoku Ch'eng lies in a broad shallow valley sloping up to the mountains on either side, with very little cultivation. Ruined farms and abandoned fields are numerous, and signs of former prosperity and present depopulation are not wanting. A huge snow mountain is visible lying ten to twenty miles away to the south, apparently part of the snow range behind Liangchou. [491]

Beyond Kaoku Ch'eng the flat valley merges imperceptibly into a rolling grassy plain, bounded north and south by mountains, and uninhabited save for flocks of sheep and occasional antelope. The road undulates due west across this plain, running more or less parallel to the main range of the Nan Shan, a high rocky barrier bounding the Kokonor plateau. For the last ten li there is a descent through cultivated fields to Tama Ying, another old walled military post mostly in ruins, lying on the head-waters of a stream flowing N.W. towards Shantan Hsien. There are several farms of settlers in the neighbourhood, and the barley looked well, though still green in early August (elevation between 8000 and 9000 feet). On this day's march we noticed the ruins of some of the old beacon towers common to the high roads of Kansu, and these ruins, with those of the old military posts, show that this was once an important military road. At Tama Ying we were again quartered in the yamen of the *Yu Chi*, the latter an aged veteran of the Mahomedan campaigns, who was spending the evening of his no doubt active and adventurous life in this remote spot, with only the vaguest ideas of the momentous changes which had come to pass with the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty.

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487 133 From Tama Ying the trail runs south-west across rolling grassy downs, on which cattle and sheep are pastured, gradually approaching the main range of the Nan Shan on the left front. We saw large numbers of antelope on this march and in places the pasturage was extraordinarily luxuriant and the grass up to the ponies' knees. The stage is a short one of only some 50 li and for the last hour the trail runs through fields of barley to reach Maying Tung, another of the old walled forts with which this region is dotted, surrounded by farms and patches of cultivation. It lies close under the Nan Shan, whose rocky peaks rise above the snow-line, and a few li from the mouth of the gorge leading up to the Kokonor plateau. This is the well-known passage through the Nan Shan called the Pien Tu K'ou, and is a remarkable cleft in the huge wall of rock presented by the main range, from which there issues a torrent flowing north towards Kanchou.

From Maying Tung to Êpo on the Kokonor plateau is a long march, called 100 li, which took us over twelve hours. The trail runs across the plain for an hour or two to reach the foot of the mountains and then enters the Pien Tu K'ou, a narrow gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The trail up the gorge is very bad, and is made more difficult by its constantly crossing and recrossing the torrent, which descends in a succession of cascades and, in the summer, is only just fordable. We were told that camels negotiate this road in the winter, when it is probably much easier. Every time we forded the stream I expected our mules to come to grief, the donkeys, which accompanied us in the capacity of grain carriers for the mules, being in places nearly submerged. At length the inevitable happened, and one of the mule litters turned turtle in mid-stream owing to the mules being swept off their feet by the current; all the contents were washed down stream and the occupant, one of the servants, nearly drowned. This incident, and the subsequent collection of as much flotsam and jetsam as we could recover down stream, delayed us for an hour or so. The gorge is uninhabited except for two likin huts which seem to have gone out of business. After some five hours' march the 233 going improves and the precipitous mountains give way to grassy slopes dotted with herds of yak and flocks of sheep

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual 233
hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were [136] extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings 487 one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass. 133

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and 361 former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the 241 necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, 233 seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter 381 (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up 886 to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be 303 profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border 487 (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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CHAPTER XII

FROM ÊPO SOUTH ACROSS THE KOKONOR GRASS COUNTRY TO HSINING, AND THENCE BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Grass lands and snow mountains—Gold washing—Kokonor Mongols—Yungan—Pei Tatung—Passage of Tatung River and Tapan Shan—Tatung or Maopeisheng—Chinese place-names in foreign guise—Hsinch'eng and a loop of the Great Wall—Hsining—Chinese control over the Kokonor territory—Kansu wool trade—Kansu ponies—Hsining to Lanchou Fu—Aborigines—Defile of Laoya—Sandstone and loess—Copper—Lanchou water melons.

FROM Êpo the trail runs south for three very long stages, each one probably well over 30 miles in length, across the grass country on the Kokonor border. Along this border stretches an old line of walled military posts, Êpo, Yungan, and Pei Tatung, which make up the stages, and the grass lands being otherwise uninhabited except by a few nomads, it is necessary for the traveller unprovided with tents to cover each of these long marches in the day. 487 361 133

Leaving Êpo the track runs south-east up the flat grassy valley, which is dotted with the black tents of Tibetan nomads and countless flocks of sheep. After some hours' march the stream is left on the right hand and the path rises gradually to an easy pass 40 li from Êpo. The view from the summit (between 12,000 and 13,000 feet) is the same on both sides, treeless grassy downs and rocky mountains streaked with snow. Immediately to the south-east rises a gigantic snow mountain, being apparently another view of the snow range which we saw south of Kaoku Ch'eng, and which seems to lie immediately behind Liangchou. There appeared to be thousands of feet of snow on this mountain in early August, and its height must be some 18,000 feet or more. This pass, like the Wushao Ling, is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Central Asian basins, and we also gathered from the soldiers who 133 487

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133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots. 316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol
563 tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow 634
River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not 563
far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across 487
undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be 487
crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 491

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are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called *p'ifatzu*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey 648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

631 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow-walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile, 133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiangt'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to [244] preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tatung River is crossed by [491] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of [361] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

AFTER returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished 487 our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months 133 on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper [502] Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of 501 knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

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501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small article it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India. 436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li • 133 respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the [36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

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the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361]
bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376]
plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

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to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; the range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

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without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

stretches.

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stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

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Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

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501 to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

502 The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, 133 however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtzu, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

133 Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. 487 Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irriga-

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tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade.
236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

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packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu [439] by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting [236] local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the 487 Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu 133 into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese [797] population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering 502 the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

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were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire. In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic. Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

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lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town. 489

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

133 487 [484] 563 792 796 535 796 782

796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[36] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town
438 serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new
133 ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

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can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

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502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

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494 few moments Dr. Kao swung himself from the saddle, and advanced to meet us with cordial and cheering words. He turned from us to the carter, who, with an abashed grin, acknowledged his presence.

'Hello, Old Sheep!' he exclaimed. 'You out of jail again? That last trip of yours turned out badly.' Then turning to us he said: 'This carter has just finished his third term of imprisonment for destruction of travellers' property, through carelessness. Whatever induced you to hire him? He'll never get in to-night. But we must do so.'

361 A few swift orders were then given, and the second
• 133 horseman galloped back to the city for help. Mean-
494 while as many of the party as could be crowded into our own small cart drove on, while the rest proceeded on foot. The soil formation in and around Kanchow is peculiar. The city is built on a crust of earth covering underground springs. During the period when the water is still frozen the place stands firm, though buildings are thrown out of the perpendicular, but during the spring months the earth trembles and yields under the slightest pressure. On this occasion a thaw had set in, and water was welling up from below the surface, so that the condition of the roads baffles description. We picked our way cautiously over this swampy, unstable district, and where rivers intersected our path, the cart was obliged to take us over in relays. Horsemen now appeared coming to our rescue with galloping steeds, two saddled for riding and two more ready to be hitched to the carts. These fine horses, we were told, belonged to a Mongol Prince, who was staying in Doctor Kao's house.

326 It was long after sunset when we entered the great gates of Kanchow city. We passed through between the flaring smithies which always ply their trade in the

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000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 [285] The town is beautifully placed and abundantly watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where 788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

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through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

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any transition, from wastes of sand into a fertile zone, in which the city of Linshui stands. We arrived there in the evening, and after supper strolled out through the quiet street to the canal which bordered the watered land. Here we sat on a bank and looked down on what was to us a very beautiful and a very thrilling sight. The plain was wooded, and the early autumn frosts had painted the foliage with gorgeous tints which glowed under the level rays of the setting sun. A winding river showed here and there between the trees, and we knew that, hidden among the groves, lay the city of Suchow, around which our thoughts had centred for so many months, ever since the day at Pingliang when David Törnvall had laid his finger upon the map and said: 'Here is the city which awaits your coming.'

We sat until the sun had set nor did we care to speak, so full was the mind of each, of thought concerning all we had come through, and all that yet lay before us. Gradually the darkness closed in, and by starlight we slowly walked back to the inn, our hearts beating with high courage and great confidence in God our strength and our exceeding joy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPRING OF WINE

ANCIENT Suchow, known as Chiuchüan—the Spring of Wine—has vanished, having been replaced by the present town which has only arisen within recent years. The destruction of the former city being caused by the last great Mohammedan rising in 1862, the new settlers enforced a regulation ordaining that no Moslem should be allowed to reside within the walls, in consequence

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we began to view the incoming winter, under present conditions, with a certain amount of anxiety. Seeing therefore that our life must necessarily be somewhat rigorous, we added a layer of camel's hair to our already wadded Chinese garments, and thus equipped we were subsequently enabled to meet temperatures registering fifteen degrees Fahrenheit below zero.

During this first winter we were fortunate in securing from a Moslem farmer excellent milk, but food supplies in these localities are very variable, not only from city to city, but from year to year ; and after a few months, cattle disease carried off most of the cows, so our dairy supply failed completely. Mutton, yak beef and pork could be bought, but all were of a poor quality. Vegetables, however, were excellent and eggs plentiful. Our daily dinner was a Chinese meal of rice or macaroni, but for several months of each year no fat of any kind was obtainable for cooking purposes, with the exception of linseed-oil, which is commonly used by Kansu people ; unfortunately, in spite of every effort, we were never able to accustom ourselves to the strong taste, nor eat it without revulsion. Our winter preparations also included a large quantity of wheat, which we ourselves ground as needed, and which gave us a good store of bran with which to fill large baskets of eggs, this being the only way to prevent their freezing.

Our first expedition was taken before the winter closed in, when travelling would be too hard. It took the form of a trip to the fortress of Kiayükwan, which was only twenty miles distant. The road was over a barren and stony waste, leading slightly uphill, so that the journey took six and a half hours to perform. It was a dismal landscape, though the Richthofen Range looked magnificent with snow to its very base, and we also crossed a good many beautifully clear streams on

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138 the way. At a distance of about two miles a high
712 gate-tower of many storeys came in sight, flanked on either side by a clay wall, which on the south stretched for seven miles to the foot of the Tibetan mountains. On this side lay green meadows richly watered by springs, and for this reason the name Kiayükwan has been given, meaning 'The Barrier of the Pleasant Valley.' The position of the fortress has indeed been well chosen in view of excluding invaders from the west, this being the narrowest point between naked hills on the north and south. Under the shadow of the walls a stream is crossed by a wooden bridge, and from here the path mounts steeply to the door of the southern quarter, where all the inns are situated. We passed through two great vaulted gates into the first enclosure, which holds within it the ruins of a small town, now mostly uninhabited. The splendid outer walls, with their loophole battlements and towers, and the Yamen and military barracks, still occupied, give an impression of mediaeval importance to a place which otherwise would be only a tumbledown village.

487 A most imposing gate led out on the north side, and beyond this, as far as eye could reach, was an undulating desert over which the wintry wind was blowing. A hundred yards from the gate a stone tablet proclaims this to be 'Earth's Greatest Barrier.' The scene was desolate beyond words, and if ever human sorrow has left an impress on the atmosphere of a place, it is surely at Kiayükwan, through whose portals for centuries past a never-ending stream of despairing humanity has defiled. Disgraced officials, condemned criminals, homeless prodigals, terrified outlaws, the steps of all these have converged to that one sombre portal, and through it have for ever left the land of their birth. The arched walls are covered with poems wrung from

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The appearance of the town[1] is not very different from others of the Gobi border, except for its unusual gate, of which the inhabitants are almost unduly proud. It stands in a well-watered belt, and the land is cultivated right up to the city wall. We reached it through a sea of mud, as irrigation was in progress, and in accordance with the careless custom of the Kansu agriculturalist the stream, not being required on the land, had been turned off and allowed to flow down the main road. 361 312

We spent several busy, happy days there, as the people were particularly interested and listened willingly. On the morning of our departure, as we left the inn, an old woman pulled one of us by the sleeve in a mysterious manner, and whispered: 'A word about those things that have been lost!' We wondered, what things? Could it be that she had information of our own lost parcel of books, and a sheepskin coat dropped by one of the carters? Seeing our look of interest, the old crone was emboldened to go on with her story. 'You are "Holy Women"; you know secret things, hidden things, things that we cannot divine. Will you, please, tell me before you go, *the name of the thief who stole my cow?*' 000

Thirty-five miles further on is Pulungki, a city that once must have held at least fifty thousand inhabitants, but which now is nothing but scattered ruins, a few poor inns, and an encircling wall of immense area. During the next few nights we counted ten more deserted towns and villages, and no words can adequately convey the extraordinary sensations evoked by crossing in the moonlight, or in the uncertain pallor of dawn, these abodes of the past, whose deserted streets are sometimes still clearly defined, and where abandoned houses, with yawning doorways, stand tenantless on either side. From dateless ages the Gobi Desert has approached 361 133

[1] [Yumen -- Analyst]

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with stealthy steps; moving, like some sluggish organism, till with soft, hungry lips it has seized its prey and absorbed it; and then, replete and satisfied, has lain down triumphant. The surrounding scene is of an unspeakably desolate character, reminding one of a landscape in the moon, only that instead of extinct craters, here are dead and forgotten cities, towns, and villages.

All sorts of legends are told about this region.[1] Pulungki is said to have been the original Eden of the human race; any amount of buried treasures lie concealed in caves underneath the soil; demons haunt the whole neighbourhood; a hole in the ground with steps leading down may mean a robber's den, or, on the other hand, it may be the entrance to some Arabian Night's grotto, piled with glittering stones!

Circumstantial stories of such discoveries were told us. Men, whose names were known, had dug into such a hoard, and by the flare of torches had actually seen the booty, but when they were just on the point of seizing it, a rush of wings had passed overhead, throwing the searchers violently to the earth, and filling them with such terror that to escape with their lives was all they could hope for. Bats? No, not bats, they were too far in for that; besides, the cave had never been opened within the memory of man! Again, one party of excavators entering the far recesses of another subterranean shaft, had seen, to their amazement, a faint glimmer of light. Drawing near they had found a tiny oil lamp burning—a mere speck of flame, but undoubtedly of human origin, as there was a wick, which wick was fed from some enormous vat of vegetable oil, the supply of which had been sufficient to keep the light going for centuries! And to convince us of the truth of these assertions, we were shown certain remarkable,

[1] [Between Yumen and Tunhwang—Analyst]

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bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484
neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the
name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487
hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the
nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in
getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every
available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of
flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the
animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line
for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted [133]
on coming, and which we now followed the whole way.
The aspect of these hills was different every hour,
seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-
grey, according to the course of the sun. They were
bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable
watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping,
barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485]
marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by
two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The
last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135]
stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-
light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484
the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply
being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough
left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours'
time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us
through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly,
after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to
the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want
of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

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484 you.' We had not gone very far when a mounted soldier galloped alongside. 'Ask him his honourable name,' said the senior member of the party from the recesses of the cart, 'and how many children he has.' This led on at once to a friendly conversation, and soon we were supplying the soldier with pears, and a share in the lunch we were carrying, while in return he gave us an immense amount of information, more or less reliable, 491 about the whole district. The road proved indeed difficult to find, and as, from the moment of leaving the • 133 fertile land surrounding the city, until we reached 172 Chienfutung, we did not meet a single human being, we should have inevitably wasted much valuable time had we been unescorted. For some time we ploughed our way heavily through the loose sand, to emerge finally on a gravel *glacis* of uncompromising sterility. Eastward stretched a range of sandy foothills, whose outlines were always changing under the bidding of the winds, but which, tradition affirms, hide beneath them the ruins of a very early civilisation, while ancient records speak of at least two towns, at one time ruled by Mongol princes, no traces of which can now be found. The whole impression given, is that of a thickly-inhabited district overtaken by some cataclysm, which has left Tunhwang to stand alone—an island of verdure in an ocean of sand. After three hours' travelling, the coarse grit gave place to boulders, with flakes of mica glittering on the ground; then, following what seemed to be the bed of a former river, bordered by cliffs of conglomerate, rising gradually to a great height, we were led to the back of the sandhills, where unexpectedly we entered upon a green oasis planted with fine young poplar trees, some still vividly green, while others had already changed to clearest yellow. Here were the rock-temples.

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172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
346 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second,
532 which represented the female instigator of suicide, by
means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem
to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

•133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

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the work of man, but the Crescent Lake is the work of the gods,' we were told. It was only three miles from the city, but proved to be so curiously located that one might easily be only fifty yards from it and yet remain unconscious of its existence. We were warned that the road was heavy, so we left in good time, having harnessed our three best beasts to the small cart. An hour's drive brought us to the foot of the sandhills lying to the south, and then we looked right and left, knowing that so far we had not missed our way, yet being quite unable to determine in which direction we should continue.

Finally we turned to the right, when almost immediately our shaft-mule had a bad accident. Failing to disentangle her feet from the soft ground she was pulled over by the two others, falling on her head with nose and mouth completely buried in the loose sand. A yell from the driver brought our second man to the rescue, and they were fortunately able to lift the poor creature up before she was completely smothered. Meanwhile Elder Liu, who had been made responsible for the enterprise, went on ahead, climbing a sand-dune about three hundred feet high. A signal from him, and we proceeded to follow, undertaking one of the most difficult of ascents, as at every step we sank well above the ankles, and finally were obliged to take off our shoes and climb in stockinged feet. When we reached the upper ridge, still we saw nothing beyond the vast expanse of sandhills, but one step more and below, in the narrow space dividing us from the next hill, lay a most exquisite miniature landscape—a small, crescent-shaped lake, in colour a sapphire-blue, while owing to a strange optical effect, the sand slopes around took on a wonderfully soft, mother-of-pearl iridescence. Behind the lake and opposite to us stood a small temple and

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133 rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole
137 picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

133 There is another curious phenomenon,[1] the facts of
823 which we were able to test. We were told to slide down
778 the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sand-hills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

I [At the Lake of the Crescent Moon -- Analyst]

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Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two women, who determined to force an entrance to Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters. Throwing aside their garments they plunged beneath the surface and were never seen again, but the lake immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great subterranean caverns, which account for all these mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it surprising that many tales are related to account for them. The whole neighbourhood is full of interest, and some day, doubtless, will be called upon to give up its secrets to scientific excavators.

Just when we were leaving the rest-house, a lama came towards us, having travelled barefoot from the sacred mountain of Shansi, prostrating himself at every few steps. It was near sunset; his red and yellow robes were soiled, and he himself weary and travel-stained, so that he was now calling in at this temple for a night's shelter. We stopped and spoke to him, and then all sat down by the wayside to talk.

'From what Province do you come, lama?' we enquired.

'From Utai Mountain, in Shansi,' he answered, 'and the road is long; it has taken me six months to reach here.'

'And where are you going?'

'To Lhasa, through those mountains,' waving his hand in the direction of the Southern Hills.

'What is the purpose of your pilgrimage?'

'To fulfil a vow made many years ago.'

We handed him a copy of St. John's Gospel, in which he at once read aloud the opening words: '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and*

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first arrival in Suchow we had heard constant mention of this place, and had made many enquiries how best to reach it. It was very difficult to locate, and seemed to be two or three days' journey from every other oasis in the neighbourhood. We had the conviction that difficult though it might be, Hwahaitz must be visited by the preaching band. One of the Suchow enquirers superintended a business which had a branch in that place. Travelling through Kiayükwan we had unexpectedly met this man riding along the road, and told him of our determination. His instant reply was: 'I have just left there on my way to Suchow, but I will now turn back. You will find me waiting for you at Hwahaitz any time you get there. Fit it in as you can.'

At the close of a long day of preaching we cooked and ate a meal, then rolled up our tents, packed our carts, and left the grassy glades for the stony Gobi. A group of our new friends came to see us off, and among them was 'Lydia,' who had spent the afternoon in our company, sitting with a group of women teaching them the only text she knew: 'Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.'

The sun was setting when we crossed the main road, which would have taken us on our legitimate stage, and turned off due north into a region of bare volcanic hills without a sign of life. Even the single telegraph wire, as we left it behind us, had a friendly and alluring aspect. The moon was but a few days old, and soon abandoned us in a district more weird than anything we had previously seen, and we threaded our way by a path often scarcely wide enough for our cart wheels, and between high volcanic ranges of terrifying outline, from whose sides boulders had constantly fallen, blocking the narrow roadway. Once our front mule

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~~Sinkiang-AF-1~~

491 shied in terror at something none of us could see, but
133 which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel. For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation, and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered
244 land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do
312 not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the
[133] watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of
136 five magnificent black vultures caught our attention. They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz--Analyst]

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 241
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132] night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136] which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 572
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed willow grow-
ing to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply [361]
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. [133]
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

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more we prepared to enter on a stage which was completely new to us, and which we were warned held difficulties greater than any which we had already faced.

CHAPTER XXXII

VIEWING BLACK GOBI

EACH afternoon of our stay at Ansi we wandered out through the North Gate to a little bridge which spanned the irrigation canal, and looked over the limitless expanse of grey grit mixed with small black pebbles, across which the next stage of the journey must be taken. This was Black Gobi, a plain so windswept as to have lost its sandy surface, which has been carried away by the gales and deposited elsewhere. When the hour of our departure arrived and our carts rolled out by that same North Gate, leaving behind us the last city of Kansu, we knew that we must prepare ourselves for a series of arduous stages, and that we should not see another walled town until we reached Hami. It was 5.30 p.m. when we left the inn, and though we had tried to make it an easy day, the number of callers had added to the inevitable fatigue of repacking, and we were weary before we started. As soon as we were out of the oasis we realised that the black, gritty surface was not as resisting as we had hoped, and the cart-wheels dragged heavily from the first.

Three miles from the town gate we passed a temple, and as was our custom got down from the carts in order to visit it, as well as the priest in charge. To our surprise we found the door fastened from within by a heavy stone, and were unable to get an answer to our knocking and calling. Our carters refused to be balked

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778 by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

133 494 491 We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape. The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, and the caravans which normally move up and down this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 800
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charm- 491
ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

[1] [Residents of Petuntz -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

485 no profit under the present conditions.[1] A petition had been addressed by the innkeepers to the Governor, bringing to his notice the fact that unless they were granted a sufficient government subsidy, they, too, would return to the city, in which case the road would become impassable to travellers, there being no one left to collect the necessary fuel for their use, nor anyone to keep the well clear of sand. In this locality we were among low, bare hills of a dark and threatening appearance. They were formed of a rock of a deep purple colour, their surface being covered with loose fragments which were constantly breaking away under the influence of the weather, and the ridges presented a sharp, spiked outline. We observed also traces of a greenish granite, while in places the ground was covered with small pieces of white porphyry which looked as though a slight snowstorm had fallen.

491 Our next stopping-place was Tachüan—'Great Spring'—and from thence we came on to Malienking—'The Iris Well.' We here had been overtaken by a party of travellers from the province of Honan, an official hurrying to Kuche on the Kashgar road, to take over the seals of office from a Mandarin who was seriously ill. For several days we kept together, greatly to our advantage, as Mr. Yüan had excellent animals and was travelling very light, so that at each stage he got ahead of us and kindly gave warning of our arrival, with instructions that a room should be swept for us and fodder prepared for the animals. On several occasions this courteous gentleman slept in his cart in order that we might have the use of the only guest-room, and each day he and his suite joined us at family worship (his tall Moslem carter standing on the fringe of the little group, signifying his approval as we read the Scriptures), all reverently bowing in prayer

[1] [Restricted travel, see p. 187--Analyst]

it under heaven." 361

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, 631 after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good. [661]

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

133 487 527 491

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

5: Tafel--259 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W China AFU

Plate [redacted]

/160A/

●133

Hwang Ho 13 kilometers below Lanchow fu. (The Yellow River flows through a valley within a valley.)

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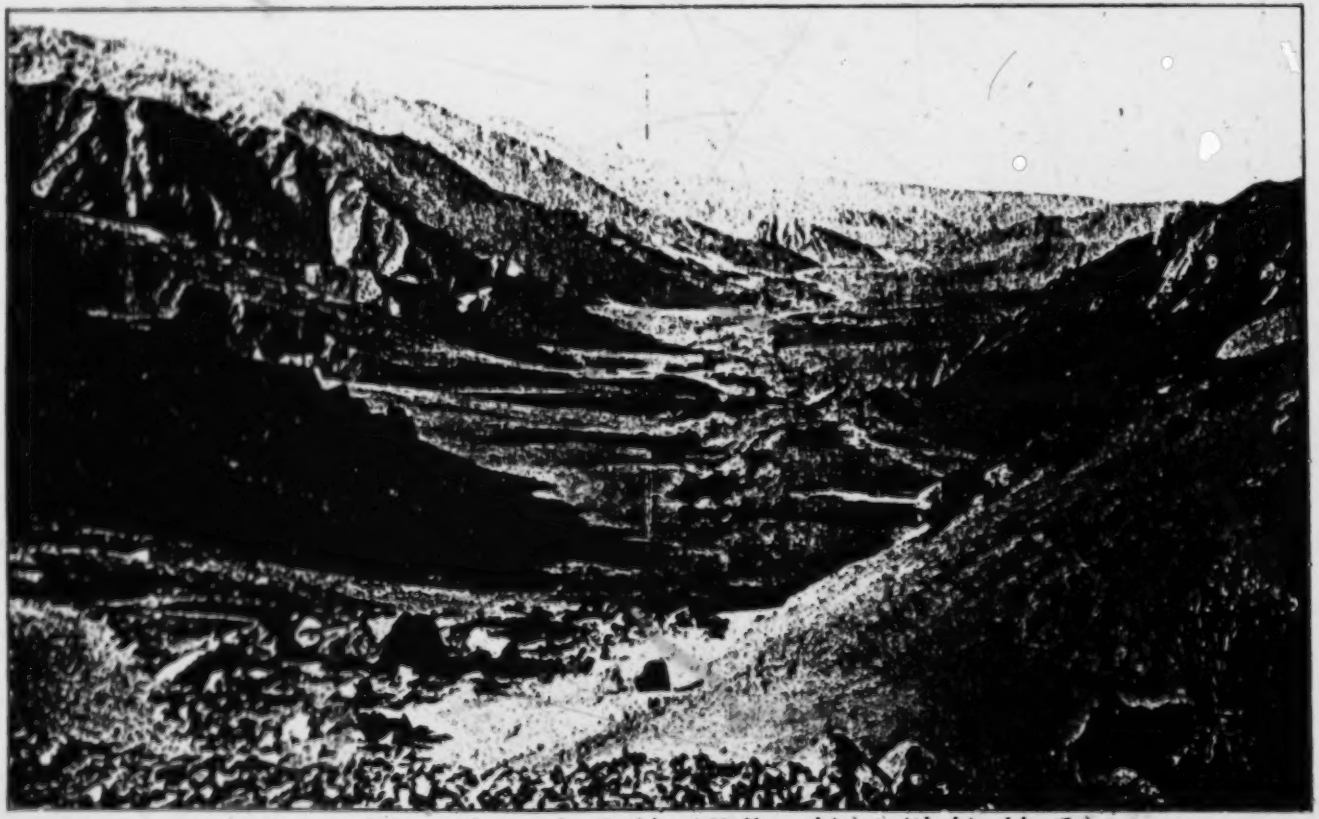
(Pere van Dyk) (Verfasser)

One must never lose one's good humor! In my inn in Lanchow fu in December we kept warm over a coal fire as we chatted.



View from Dardia la toward the north into the Tschi tai Valley which is inhabited by the Salar.

C 631

into Ngolok country. Thus the ting of Hsün hoa is one of the largest districts in Kansu and in China, but Chinese influence in it is extremely slight.

C T 133 361

My way to Hsün at first led along a little stream on which the city of Ho tschou is situated, up an alluvial valley which is several kilometers wide. For many hours I traveled along it between the mountains of loess. At first the road was alive with many people and horsemen. There were also countless villages, just as China proper, hidden between extensive groups of trees. Out of the thick bluish-white haze of the loess country in which I at first still found myself, gradually rocky and high, snow-covered mountain peaks began to emerge. The mountains around me also became higher, more and more chains rose up out of the loess landscape. In front of me beyond the loess hills of about 2,200 meters altitude, the Tai tse Shan arose steep and bold, and many other chains, all of which again indicated a northwest-southeast strike, followed close behind. I stood at the edge of the Tibetan highlands. The way grew lonelier, villages became scarcer, copses began. The inhabitants looked stranger and were dressed more gaily in each new village, more and more red was worn. Around the dwellings white flags fluttered merrily on tall masts. By the roadside stood brightly-painted houses, monastery buildings and monumental tschorten (stupa); ethnographically-speaking we had also reached Tibet. On the second day beyond Ho tschou I crossed a high pass, the Dar di La(Sinicized: Da tse Shan), 3,490 meters. Countless stones, especially white quartz fragments had been gathered together on the highest point of this pass and formed something that resembled our Alpine "stone man." Out of this pile of stones loomed sticks with many scraps of cloth on which there were inscriptions and with tufts of wool. It was the first Tibetan lab tse or obo (3), a shrine dedicated to the mountain

T 778

3. Pronounced lab tse, written lap rtse (according to Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary). Obo is Mongolian but is used by the border Chinese along with the word schan schen ta (literally: tower of the mountain spirit).

T 291

spirits. We met many Tibetans on that mountain and especially many Tibetan women, on foot and dressed in rags. In spite of the

have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361 has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487 and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133 these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631 springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow 661 fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

361 and the Mongols because through them the land was united with the kingdom and has remained thus ever since.

continues to be broad and rises evenly. It continues to be monotonous. After a little more than 20 kilometers, one comes to the town of Tschen hai pu, opposite which on the north side of the river lies the town of To ba (pronounced: Lo ba) which is also surrounded by high and strong walls. According to the old chronicles, To ba was on several occasions superior commercially to the city of Hsining. In 1895 it was the chief headquarters of the Mohammedan insurrection. And when at that time the Chinese again gained the upper hand, this was the place that continued to be defended for a long time with great tenacity and with the courage of despair. Now To ba lies in ruins. Only a few farmers and small merchants cling to their native soil. The old mosque which Rockhill once visited and which was supposed to have been erected by Emperor Kang hi, has been leveled to the ground.

● 133 Above these two towns one leaves the rolling hilly country of the Hsining basin. From the treeless, loess-covered clay and sandstone mountains one suddenly comes into a high, ..ern and wild rocky mountain range consisting of granite and of slate which shows marked folds.

485 I did not reach Dankar (1) until twelve midnight and had the

[103]

1. On maps one often sees the name "Tan kar." The name is pronounced Dankar. This is the Sinicized form of the Mongolian word Dunkur. This latter name applies to the whole district and there is also a small Buddhistic monastery by that name, a day's journey south of the city (see p. 280 ff.).

greatest difficulty finding lodgings even outside the gates in the open suburb. (2) All the inns were crowded with fish dealers who

2. The once flourishing suburb occupied by Mohammedans was treacherously attacked and devastated by the Chinese inhabitants of the city during the great rebellion. Many thousands of Mohammedans were killed.

come up from Lanchow fu in winter time. There was nowhere a

Kalmyk AH 5
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to the East Mongolian dialect. They now dress rather unlike their other fellow tribesmen and more Tibetan-fashion. The chief characteristic of dress of the Koko Nor Mongols as well as the Banag Tibetans consists of a small pointed felt cap bordered with white lamb's wool, and the men as well as the women wear this. It is the Kalmuk kalpa. /194/

C
133

January 14. Early in the morning we crossed the Ke tou ya hu (Mongolian: Keten khutul), a low saddle that falls off flat on both sides. It separates the headwater territory of the Hsining Ho from the basin of the Tso Ngombo (Koko Nor) which has no outlet. From there I had my first view of the huge surface of the lake. But it was frozen, and there was a thick layer of snow on the ice - a rarity in those high altitudes. Thus, I saw only a large white plain spread out before me, well nigh limitless toward the west. The air was so clear and transparent that mountains could be seen all around the oval lake which was about 100 kilometers long. The mountain chains extended from west-northwest to east-southeast, and seemed to converge in the western distance. Only the shores which sloped horizontally toward the center disappeared in the distance.

800

Unfortunately, we had little time to examine the view more closely on the pass. We met two riders up there who, as is customary in the wilderness, immediately engaged us in conversation. "Where do you come from? Where are you going?" they asked while they scrutinized our small caravan and let it pass by. I have scarcely seen more roguish-looking faces. They were dark brown from the sun, and their movements were very quiet, and yet nothing seemed to escape those watchful eyes, brown as a deer's. Their pointed lambskin caps were tilted coquettishly over their ears and their left ear lobes were pulled down with the weight of a heavy silver earring. They both had a sword in their belts, a gun on their backs, and each carried a four-meter lance whose shaft was wound around in front with an iron band, as a protection against sword thrusts. We all instinctively felt that these two were not to be trusted. They seemed particularly interested in finding out what my servant Liu carried on his back. He was carrying my large mercury barometer in a thick case. Tschang did not hesitate for a moment in replying to their question: "It is an occidental instrument with which you can look through mountains and can tell at any time whether there are robbers in the vicinity." The two simply nodded and one could see by their expressions that they did not want to be classed among those silly people who believe everything. In the steppes

as well as in China people usually do not take you at your word, for anyone who openly speaks the truth is considered stupid and naïve. 000

We set up camp at noon, quite close to the shores of the lake. The animals had good pasture there. But there was only a small strip of grass that reached to the lake. The rest of the entire eastern and northeastern shore is covered with high dunes, some of which reach far out into the lake. Only the extreme northeast corner is free from them. Thus, if the water level is high a flat bay can extend far into land. The entire eastern part of the lake is shallow. Because it has no drainage, the Koko Nor is dependent on summer rains to fill up. Its water level varies each year and even each season. And that is why we find disagreement among the few travelers who have come here as to the size of its eastern end as well as that of a number of small, flat dune islands. C 133

There were four black Tibetan tents an hour's distance from our camp, in a protected hollow on a mountain slope. In the afternoon the hsie dia and I rode over there to pay a visit. We were still more than 100 meters /195/ distant from it when we were surrounded by a raging pack of dogs. We dismounted in the nick of time and led our horses. When the latter are relieved of their burden they can always use their hind legs to defend themselves against charging dogs. Soon a few women came running up from the tents and kept back the dogs by throwing stones at them. They greeted us with friendliness, took our horses and led us into one of the tents. Their men were off on a cross-country trip, only an old man, a lama priest and a few half-grown boys were at home. But the Tibetan women invited us to sit down. T 361

In entering one of the square Tibetan tents, which look like large black dice, one always finds the interior divided into two parts by a large hearth. This hearth is by far the most important furnishing among the tent Tibetans as well as among those who live in houses. There, as almost everywhere in the world, it is considered sacred. In it and around it live the gods and the spirits. And because of it the women who do not belong to the family or who are not intimate friends, may not enter a strange tent. In Tibet, also, a woman is regarded as an impure creature. During her menstruation a woman is not supposed to cook or have anything to do with fire. In her impure state she might anger the gods and spirits and thus evoke the family's ruin. In Tibet, as well as in China and among so many other peoples, the woman is thought to bring bad luck. Since there is no way of knowing what condition a strange woman T 342 372 T 841

They skin them, clean them and then sew the carcass back into the skin so that it cannot so easily and stealthily be nibbled at by dogs. In this way the entire winter's supply of meat is stored in the tents. Inside it is always cold enough so that the meat does not spoil. T 231 T

It took a great deal of persuasion on our part to get one of the dogs. Even a Chinese in Hsining is not easily induced to sell his dog. A poor coolie might be, who does not have any possessions and whose home is elsewhere. But in that case his dog is no good. He will try to sell one of the stray dogs that he has picked up somewhere. In all of northeastern Tibet as well as on the border among the Chinese one can get a dog only as a gift. Thus, my hsiē dia man did not speak of buying one. He asked if they would give us a dog. We meant to give them silver earrings in exchange. And so the bargain was made. After the women had fed the dog which they had "given away" once more so that he would not bear a grudge against them, we were on the point of leaving when the men arrived. They did not at all agree that one of their dogs should be given away. "We're not fly-by-night vagabonds!" the man said angrily to his wife who had immediately shown him the earrings. "Women certainly never know what are good manners and customs. A dog is a member of the family and it is a great sin to give him away, and especially an old bitch whose puppies are already watchdogs around the tent." But fortunately the deal had already gone through. 432 231

January 15. We made our way onto the ice /of Koko Nor--Analyst/ just behind our camp site. It was cut up into countless floes which were chaotically piled on top of one another and wedged into each other, and along the shore there was a wide border of pack ice several meters high over which my animals could climb only with difficulty. The ice was so thick everywhere that it did not even crack softly when my eight yaks with their hundred pound packs marched across it. As usual, the animals stayed close together and just behind them came the mounted drivers (Plate XL). The ice did not give way, it seemed to be half a meter thick everywhere. We made rapid progress, for there was snow several centimeters thick on the ice and neither the yaks nor the ponies were shod, so that none of them ever slipped. My plan was to go along the north shore until I found a place that would offer good grazing for the animals, so that I would be able to undertake rather long excursions out on the lake. /197/ C 133

On this morning horsemen again came riding up and talked to us ooo

January 16. At one o'clock in the night we reached the east rim of the lake Koko Nor--Analyst/ and then followed along the dunes farther and farther south. These dunes consist of enormous sand heaps which rise up several hundred meters above the surface of the lake. Behind these a solid wall of mountains, without a gap, rises high and steep for a distance of several kilometers. There are few grass and pasture places on the east shore. There are no people living there. In the bright moonlight of the Tibetan highland one seems to see the minute details at a great distance; but every object is fallow, colorless, seemingly quivering and mosaic-like; we had to take care not to get lost. 133

Once during the night we suddenly and unexpectedly stood in front of a tent. Someone had erected an umbrella-shaped roof fastened to a long spear that was rammed into the ground. It was on the shore, in a pocket between two dunes. "These are thieves!" cried the government representative, the hsië dia, who had gone on ahead a little way, and was on the point of shooting into the tent close up, without any further questions. By the time I arrived the inmates of the tent were awake. But they did not dare come out. "We are pilgrims on our way to the sacred isle in the lake, spare our lives!" someone called out from the tent in an anxious, pitiful voice in Tibetan. One of them began praying: "Om mani padme hung! Om mani padme hung!" But we also heard the sound of flint on steel. "Watch out! shoot before it is too late!" the hsië dia again cried. "They are lighting their firelocks." I had difficulty in persuading the hot-headed, nervous men to ride on without shedding any blood. However, I myself believe that the people in the tent did not have the best intentions, for pilgrims are usually not armed and, besides, there is no road leading along the lake there. 000

By the time morning came the wind had died down. There was not an extraneous sound to be heard far and near. Only the little bit of snow that covered the ground creaked under our footsteps. In the early morning the temperature stood at -35°, and thus it was only a little colder than it had been the night before. All night long we had gone on; shortly after seven the night before we had left our unlucky camp and had marched on as quickly as possible, without stopping. At six the next morning, after eleven hours, we reached the southeast shore of the lake. We were all very tired now. The hsië dia, without saying anything, had fallen behind, so we took a longish rest in order to wait for him, and since we had not had anything warm to eat for 24 hours, we decided to cook.

C 133 Our stopping-place was a wonderful spot. The shore very gently sloped toward the lake, /Koko Nor--Analyst/ in flat, rather indistinct terraces. Lagoons, haff-like formations took up this part of the lake and beyond them far, far to the west extended the ice which here, too, had been cut up into countless floes and later pushed together again, just as though the cold of winter had suddenly frozen the lake in the midst of its wildest agitation. From our cooking place we could also clearly see the sacred rock isle, apparently near the south shore. It was the first time I had seen it, and it looked as though it could be reached in a day, so clear and bright was the perspective. We did not see any human beings, nor any horsemen or yak and sheep herds, although the entire south shore as well as the region round about us was covered with thick grass. /202/ Just opposite us rose, steep and bold, the giant pyramid of Amne Sertschen (Amnye gser chen) (1). Whereas its base, covered with

1. Amuni or Amnie, according to Klaproth and Rockhill Amye, means ancestor or grandfather. There are 13 such Amne-peaks in Northeast Tibet of which the Amne Machin is the highest and most sacred. Amne gser chen would probably mean "great golden ancestor," unless there is in the name a reminiscence of "Gesar."

thick meadows, very gradually tapered off into the lake, its upper part showed the barren forms of the Tibetan peaks found in the steppes, and bare detritus slopes shone down on us from those heights. We were glad, after the terrible night, to see the first rays of the sun turn this peak to gold. In truth, I understood on this [T 778] morning why this mountain is sacred to the Tibetans and why they say it is the dwelling place of one of their ancestors who, as mountain spirit, can determine the weal or woe of every living thing that moves about on its slopes!

T 782 Our dead-tired and shivering little band had no easy time in getting a little dung fire started on this morning. With the help of a single bellows that we had rescued, the bit of snow in our pot gradually melted and came slowly to a boil. But when the longed-for drink was finally ready, Fen was the first to reach for the tea ladle which he had carefully taken along from our unlucky camp; he filled it two or three times with tea and threw its contents high into the air. "Arro!" he cried loudly. "A yā-ā-ā! Amne Sertschen, Amne Machin, Amne Bayan! Hail to you and all your brethren!

N.w. China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues.

5: Tafel--433 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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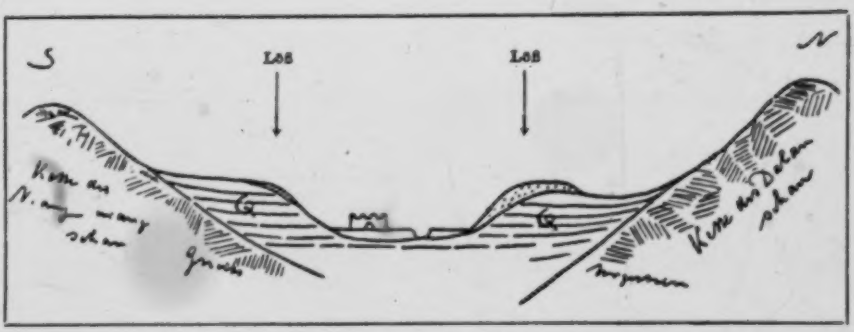

Fig. 15. Diagrammatic cross-section of the Da tung hsien Valley. Q equals Que tä-clays and -sands, Hung tu-formation.

Chain of Niang niang Shan — Gneiss

Chain of Dalan Shan — Primary rock

Place

Tafel LVII.

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(Seen from the ca

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5: Tafel--437 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

Plate LVIII.

/256B/

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342

Camp in the Schacs khoto Valley, view to the north.

132 atmosphere that scrapes our throat. The ball of the sun sinks in the west into a pale, grayish-white haze long before it has reached the horizon. And morning and evening the sky turns yellow, lemon-yellow and pale, and the entire firmament never catches any of the lavender and red tints, so dry and devoid of moisture is the winter air in those heights. The snow blanket which we Europeans like to see in winter comes only with the beginning of spring when the monsoons from the Chinese lowlands, from the moist coastal regions of southern Asia sweep up into the central highlands of the continent and when the moist warm air of the lowland has cooled off after it reaches the mountains. During the monsoon rains precipitation is greatest on the border of China and Tibet, in the regions where even the valley bottoms with their human settlements are so high that agriculture can scarcely be carried on even in these rather southerly latitudes, where the mountains suddenly seem to reach into the sky. Here the air, in passing over, discharges the largest amount of water ballast.

Thus on the ninth of March it began to rain in the miserable Chinese Mohammedan village of Bamba where I began assembling my new caravan. There, 2,700 meters high, the last wretched barley fields in the narrow valley border on the winter pastures of the Tibetan nomads and close by the mountain giants rise up more than 4,000 meters. At ten o'clock when I climbed into my saddle there was a dense snow blanket ten centimeters deep, from the night before; it was the first of the entire winter.

132 We quickly left the narrow, rocky valley, turned our backs to
133 the shrub- /258/ covered border mountain of Tibet and went back into the bare, yellow loess hills of China, and after only an hour's ride over loess ravines and loess saddles, there was not a patch of snow to be seen anywhere. Precipitation had occurred only where the air was forced to rise steeply upward. The loess-hill country at the brink of the Tibetan highlands had been waiting in vain for snow and rain for many months. Since we rode fast so that in the end we would not find the iron bars of the city gates of the Hsining frontier fortress closed in our faces, we moved all day in a thick cloud of dust which the swift feet of our ponies stirred up. We were surrounded only by barren, low hills composed of loess-covered reddish layers of gravel (100, 200 meters higher than the valley floors). Our surroundings shone dust-colored, yellow, grayish-
000 yellow and blinding in the bright mountain sun. I hated this loess landscape and I breathed a sigh of relief when in the evening at

5: Tafel--446 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ 1
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slaughtered. The little brook which runs through this valley ravine had, in the long winter months, prepared this obstacle for us. It had refused to let itself be bound by the winter's cold, but had, a violent fellow, again and again broken through the ice formations, flooded them, thickened them and piled them up until the result of its labors resembled a glacier. c 487

And yet by noon already my caravan climbed up the steep and narrow pass of the La tsche Mountains, the Lao ye Shan as the Chinese call it, at an altitude of over 3,800 meters.

The mountain range which I herewith crossed is part of the long chain emerging at Koko Nor from the mountain masses which have been leveled off into a sort of high plateau and coming to an end in the Lan chow fu region among the pliocene clays and the loess of North China. Altogether I crossed this range at six different places. Like several other ranges which emerge from the northern part of the East Tibetan highland, it gradually decreases in height toward the east. Like all the other mountain ranges north of the 32° north latitude, it contradicts Richthofen's theory of a sharp drop in the Tibetan plateau, a Landstaffel, on the Chinese side. Below Hsün hoa ting Shan the chain of the Lao ye is broken through by the Hwang Ho. Farther up it forms the watershed between the Hsining River and the Hwang Ho. c 133 487

The path across this pass was poor. The animals gasped pitifully under their burdens and we made very little headway. Every few minutes the beasts would stop, panting for breath. Our progress was fitful.

For the first few days of our journey I had rented an additional three dozen mules or so; thus my eye fell upon an imposing file climbing up the steep slope. The caravan moved up toward the pass like a giant worm, winding its way laboriously, desperately twisting to the right and left, /262/ contracting and expanding, but nevertheless making headway and steadfastly striving toward its goal. Amid much shouting and the never-ending "aoaoao" of the Chinese drivers, we finally passed through a tight notch of a narrow ridge and arrived at the top, and from there we climbed down again on the south slope which was much steeper than the northern one, into a narrow rocky valley.

We passed near a Chinese wall (Ts'ien bu tsch'eng) in which a lieutenant with a small squad of men guards a frontier outpost. Soon after, we again saw a few fields, passed Tibetan farm houses, and saw Garang, the seat of a Tibetan prince of Ts'ien bu (rank). Long c [712] T 361 792

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Meanwhile a letter arrived from the amban yamen in which the aged Excellency informed me that he had warmly recommended me to the ör fu ting of Kue fu. I was advised to start my journey from the latter city. However, if one realizes that the city of Kue de and the large territory it governs, which extends ten travel-days southward, is not under the jurisdiction of the amban yamen and that therefore, according to the customary Chinese logic, the responsibility, in case I had an accident, would not fall on the amban but on the ör fu of the Kue de, then the gracious recommendation was all too transparent. But of course other circumstances forced me to start my Hwang Ho journey from there.

A long tramp through a narrow ravine which was filled with rubble and was barren and deserted, brought me from I ts'e sche with my mules and horses to the banks of the Hwang Ho. My first task was to find out whether the way via Kue de would be possible, and therefore the bullocks were left behind at the Lao ye Shan. The valley of the great river itself which we followed upward for another few hours was bare and stony as the ravine had been. The nearest mountains all consisted of loose red conglomerates which offer little resistance to the summer rains and which are therefore so chaotically and deeply furrowed and torn up in so many thousands of places that even a mountain goat cannot climb their slopes. Blood-red Orgeln and pillars of clay and sand rise up skyward everywhere and one seldom saw a shrub, much less a tree or a house, but only occasionally in the distance a Tibetan temple site, a grotesque, strange-looking tschorten, the grave of a holy man. The road was deserted. I met few horsemen, and all of them carried guns and spears and had warlike miens. The right side of the river is also like a desert. There is a monastery in this desert which is famous because its Buddha image grows constantly larger. The devout inhabitants round about call it Tschang fo se, the monastery of the growing Buddha. Toward evening there appeared on the right bank of the Hwang Ho a thick clump of trees. There were a few larger valleys from the south that opened up there and conjured up a green oasis on the river bank. But we were still separated from the spot by a wearisome embarking and landing and a crossing of the Hwang Ho over 200 meters wide, which in summer becomes as much as 600 meters. The heavy, unwieldy boat is always carried far downstream by the current. It had thus grown late again before I reached the protective walls of the city of Kue de.

This city is at the moment the farthest Chinese station in North

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My caravan en route to the South Pole Mountain.

Arrival at the new camp site.

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The steppe of Da ho ba, furrowed with deep gorges. (In the foreground abandoned tent fireplaces; on the horizon in the north the Semenov Range with the saddle of Siansibel.)

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Plate LXIII

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137

An climber in the Tschegi Idyibuten Range, 3,700 meters high.

Limestone cliffs near Tschegi Grung.

/272C/

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Plate LXIV.

133

Tschegdylibai Mountain. Sandstone of Paleozoic age, in the center of the picture the typical flap of an inclined in these sandstone strata.

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From these stores there were always some that got into the trade each 713
year. For, although every Chinese soldier who deserted and sold his 703
gun was beheaded, this capital offense is so widespread, especially on the borders, that the mandarins did not dare place these repeater guns into the hands of their troops except in special cases, and preferred to equip their regiments with old muzzle-loaders. According to their superiors, there are very few soldiers who can withstand the temptation of running away and taking their guns along when the first favorable opportunity presents itself. They could always easily get 80-100 taels for their guns, in other words, a fortune with which they could rent a small field in some remote corner and realize their ideal, namely, raise a family. This was also the reason why in the exposed garrison of Schara khoto there was not a single repeater gun to be seen.

But let us return after this digression to my departure from the 000
Schara khoto Valley, from the yellow city, the city of the green meadows.

An easy climb brought me and my yak herds up the afore-mentioned 133
saddle of the mountain, to the water shed between the Hwang Ho, or the 208 sea, and the Asiatic plateau which is without an outlet. The altitude measured 3,420 meters. It is only 6 kilometers from Schara khoto to this pass which is not more than 300 meters higher.

Suddenly I could see far into the distance. China with its loess 000
dust, its oppressively narrow valleys, its torrential brooks and streams lay behind me, had been overcome. I am at the top! A blissful feeling spreads through my whole body and with a joyful heart I see the caravan slowly cross the pass, group by group. I feel that I have reached the climax of my life. With this band I would surely succeed in getting an insight into Tibet's most hidden secrets. I could not control my emotions. I was forced to let my shouts of joy ring out into the magnificent sunny morning, so that my Tibetans looked at me in amazement and believed I was trying to invoke the god of the pass.

I stood on the roof of the world, which extended from the snows of 133
Pamir up to my flat watershed. The first yung - as the Tibetans say - lay before me, a huge wide and flat valley basin, high above the timber line, without bush or tree, with only a few rounded dunes in the middle. In a yung valley the water course is not the essential thing. These are valleys which originated in other ages, which have been produced by other forces than those in action today. Nor was it possible to say whether this yung below me sloped toward the Yellow River to Lake Koko Nor or to the southeast. I was standing in a saddle of

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/288A/

Plate LXVI.

133

Tschürnong Gorge in the land of the Si cia Tibetans. (It was more than 300 metres between the spot where the photograph was taken and the river down below.)

/288B/

133

On our way to Khara Nor.

/288C/

133 of mountain peaks running west-northwest and east-southeast; it was far in the distance that the yung expanses before me cut off the parallel rocky heights. I saw a few snow-covered peaks but there was nothing sensational in the outlines and forms of mountains and valleys. The magnificent light, however, the fragrance, the sheer splendor of the sun, the sharp contrasts, the pitch-black lines of the rocks and all the the small remarkably deep shadows cast by the smallest object, every root, every stone, imbued this landscape which at first seemed intimidatingly stark, with a unique and wonderful charm. The dry mountain air was so clear that one lost all sense of proportion. My surroundings looked small and at the same time infinite.

On the pass I left the large trade route which the previous European travelers had taken and which Filchner and I had also followed together. I bore left and rode across the valley that lay before me, without following a trail. After 12 kilometers I found myself 100 meters lower than the pass and only then I stood at the water course that flows through this huge longitudinal valley. I came to a tiny brook and with it the source waters of the Ara Gol which flows in countless bends northwest and into the lake. With one step we were on the other side of it. Somewhat to the left of my course was a swamp out of which, along the same yung, a brook flows southeast into the Hwang Ho. This valley watershed is not very much higher than the level of the Koko Nor. If the surface of the lake rose - should the climate become moist - it could easily flow off through this valley to the Hwang Ho and the present salt lake could become fresh again.

Characteristic for the Tibetan plateau are watersheds in the axis of long valleys, and in many places in East Tibet, as well as here, I saw the source waters of the streams flowing toward China first of all /289/ wind through such huge flat valley basins with only a slight gradient, appearing like a strange, miserable descendant of these valley formations. As a rule they do not cut in deeply until after a considerable stretch and then quite suddenly, forming a valley within a valley, a new, a narrow and in its whole aspect a "young" valley. The entire Tibetan plateau looks distincly like something left over from another era, like a piece of earth produced under other conditions. The rivers along its edge are attempting to give it a new form and the regions not connected with the sea are slowly being tapped by the rivers of China. At the saddle over which I came up from Schara khoto the brook almost encroaches on the valley floor

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which today still belongs to the Koko Nor, and seeks to divert the 133
water.

Shortly after twelve o'clock of this first day of the journey we set 000
up camp in the middle of the large longitudinal valley (Plate LX). In other words, we did not get very far. Yaks are, after all, oxen and proceed slowly. If one could let the animals graze at night in East Tibet, it would be possible to extend the day's march; but since this is not possible because it is unsafe, one can only spend half the day in traveling. But during the short afternoon hours of our first day the animals sought in vain to get enough to eat. The herds of the nomads had left only the woody stalks of the dry winter grass which covered the earth like a thin yellow veil. (1)

1. This Ara Gol Plain is today inhabited by Tibetans and specifically by the Tschamri tribe. Until 80 years ago it was the land of the first banner of the Tschoros-Mongols with eleven squadrons, along the western part of which, on the lake, bordered the one Khalkha banner.

Our first night on the Tibetan plateau passed very quietly. After it had begun to grow dark the animals were driven into the center of the camp between the tents. We lay down to sleep at five different places around them and a guard carrying a loaded gun began to walk around the camp. Slowly the fires died down and the wind, too, gradually went to sleep. There was not an unfamiliar sound to be heard; nothing but the soft gurgling of the many ruminating cattle and now and then the shrill laughing call of the watchman broke the silence.

On the morning of April 24 the thermometer stood at -80°. We 133
left the broad longitudinal valley and crossed a low branch of the eastern continuation of the South Koko Nor Mountains, that is to say, the ranges that extend south from the Koko Nor in a west-northwest to east-southeast direction for several hundred kilometers (Plate LXI). Although we marched ahead without any path whatever, we got across without any difficulty. Early in the afternoon we encamped on the edge of the nent yung, a broad valley, that runs parallel to the one of the day before. On our way we had met many antilopes and round [136]
about our tent lived marmots who emerged from their holes out of curiosity and sat up on their hind legs, anxiously whistling when anyone approached. Our new camp had no water but there was still 000

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the fire for the rest of the night and held councils of war. And I sat 000
wakefully in my tent, afraid that some of them might inadvertantly run away. For, what guarantee did I have that the whole thing was not a well-laid scheme?

On the following morning it was very late when the caravan got under way. Even before day break I hunted antilopes and afterwards marmots (Arctomys robustus). The latter had just emerged from hibernation and looked very poorly.

April 25. As our march continued I had no guide. My Tibetans 133
had never been in this region, and the soldiers did not know a thing. It was my intention to avoid the large military road and work in the completely unfamiliar corners and the white spots on the map. I was also particularly interested in watersheds. /291/ But today I had the misfortune of getting into extremely difficult terrain. First of all, we crossed the basin-shaped valley, the edge of which we had just reached the day before. It contained beautiful pasture land, but it was too bad that it still looked so wintry and all the grass was yellow and dead. The valley was remarkably straight and was shaped like a giant trough. The lateral valleys opening into it are quite insignificant and disproportionate to the mighty dimensions of the main valley. In the middle we did not even find traces of a brook. That is why the nomads do not visit it except in passing, in spite of the abundance of grass, for the Tibetan women, exactly like our housewives, want to have their water close to the tent, no matter how little of it they use.

In the axis of this valley, farther toward the west, lies the Wayen or Bayan Nor, a fresh water lake several square kilometers in size, which has no visible drainage but which, in all probability, is connected subterraneously with lower areas farther to the south. Giant rubble and erratic masses are piled up here; these make possible a subterranean circulation of water. Most of the larger valley plains owe their shape and origin to the piling up of such masses. If one could clear away the loose material, one would find quite different surface formations.

After a few hours of travel we turned a corner in the rocks and the next parallel range extending northwest-southeast lay at my left. But at my right there suddenly appeared a labyrinth of steep and deep ravines. The rubble layers were split open at a depth of hundreds of meters and it proved impossible to cross these ravines with the animals. There was also a thin layer of loess here which had, in part, taken on the most grotesque forms. The rain had made inaccessible walls and slender towers of it, and great landslides had resulted from erosion.

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theory of divide et impera, and it suits them perfectly if the natives massacre each other. The Chinese have no real interest in the country. If they had, how could they have tolerated the governor of the huge province of Koko Nor, my amban from Hsining fu, who lived outside his district and was a frail, childish old man who left administrative matters completely in the hands of uncultivated secretaries and interpreters, and who never ventured farther into his kingdom than to Tsaghan tsch'eng (to the place of sacrifice, 50 lis west of Schara khoto) where he never stayed more than one day a year! 631

On this day, when the soldiers realized that I turned south from the Bayan Nor, their leader said that they would not be able to accompany me any farther, that they had already gone beyond the territory controlled by their superior officer. I saw no reason to keep the worthless gang any longer. I gave them their salary, they kowtowed to me and soon disappeared in the opposite direction, singing merrily. With them went a final letter to my parents which duly arrived at its destination three months later.

South of the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains which I have frequently mentioned, there stretches out a huge steppe known as the tala. I now planned to cross this because almost nothing was known about the size and nature of it. The name tala originally came from the Mongolian and, like the Tibetan yung, means simply a wide valley in the steppes. But today the Tibetans of the region use the word as a place name. The flat surface of the tala is shaped like an acute-angled triangle. The acute angle lies at the extreme west, somewhat farther west than the Dábassu Nor, the great salt lake which is famous for its easily-obtainable and pure cooking salt. The north side of the triangle is the South Koko Nor range, the south side is a chain which has been entered on our maps as the Semenow Mountains, after the famous Russian explorer, His Excellency Semenow-Tian-schansky. /293/ It is 200 kilometers from the top of this triangle to its base. The base is 80 kilometers wide and is formed by the Hwang Ho which comes roaring through a narrow, steep crevice, 150 meters deep. The Hwang Ho enters this region from the south and after it has flowed across the plain diagonally, it follows the eastern extension of the South Koko Nor Mountains to the city of Kue de. 133

The great plain was a determining factor for the course of the Hwang Ho. It, at last, conquered the river which leaves Tibet after a wandering course. One can see the steppes continue on the right

133 bank of the river also; and the high terraces of red clays and sand which I mentioned earlier when I visited the oasis of Kue de, also belong to it. These terraces show that the plain formerly extended much farther. But the name "tala" refers only to the part on the left shore of the Hwang Ho, and is feared by all the people of the vicinity because of its scarcity of water and dryness. The tala soil consists of sand and rubble, and great stretches of its surface are covered with dunes which are often amazingly high. The Tibetans call it rdo tang, "stony plain," because of its many stones.

Here, too, the Hwang Ho is a most useless fellow. It has cut its bed so deep and thereby buried the level of the underground water so far down that no brook is permanently able to rise to the surface through the rubble and sand. We are confronted on these steppes with an ancient tertiary valley which was later buried. Geologically speaking, the Hwang Ho arrived late in this region and once it had turned into the valley, it could not free itself from it; moreover, it was forced to follow the old, buried rock channel toward the east and was not even able to clear out and restore the original shape of the valley. The stream's power of erosion has heretofore affected only the depths and has dug out a narrow canyon which the river races through in youthful exuberance.

487 133 Four European expeditions had come within the vicinity of the tala before me. But all of them traveled along its edges and stayed on the important traffic routes along the foot of the mountain range in the north and south. These have gradually become wide, stony roads, through thousands of years of use. On the Filchner expedition we had, at my suggestion, tried to take a new route. But at that time we struggled unsuccessfully to find a route from Bayan Nor straight across the tala, and we were finally obliged to follow the main road which Rockhill and Grenard had taken before us. "You cannot go differently, there is no other way!" we had been told at that time. "It takes three long days to cross the tala, three days without water; the horses and oxen won't hold out that long." A year and a half later I happened to hear the ting of Dankar say that in 1905 on his trip into the Ngolok country he had come right through this desert, and therefore I would not let myself be frightened off when a new exclamation of "impossible!" reached my ears. Without making a lot of inquiries I traveled south from the Bayan Nor. Luck was with me on this new advance; we came upon a dried-out valley that did not wind too much and along the bottom of this our oxen made rapid progress, in spite of the many stones.

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133 The town which I had come across was called Kabatalen and the river was the Tschabtscha Chu.

Now, inasmuch as on all our maps and even on those in the Stieler atlas a river by the name of Huyuyung Chu is shown as arising in the Dábassu Nor and flowing through the region in which I found myself, I was not a little baffled by the fact that my Tschabtscha Chu and the Huyuyung Chu were not supposed to be one and the same river. In order to clarify this point and make certain of it I did not travel due south from Kabatalen but turned around again and went in search of the Huyuyung Chu.

137 The days in Kabatalen and before that in the dry valley were very bad for the animals. There were many stones and there was little grass. The valley slopes were bare; they consisted of rubble, of many coarse granite and quartz fragments, and the poor beasts walked themselves foot-sore without finding anything. But on the valley floor and on the edge of the brook the winter grass was completely consumed except for a few stubbles and dried up, hard /295/ shrubs. In the lowest and most protected places also the new grass was not more than 2 centimeters high, and even these insignificant traces of it were to be found only on the edge of springs which are remarkably abundant in Kabatalen because it is almost on a level with the Hwang Ho. In spring the animals are exceedingly thin because the yaks are dependent solely on open pastures, since the nomads do not make hay and do not feed them during the long winter months. A few days of fasting and slight exertions and they are completely exhausted. Thus, from the beginning I was forced to count on losing at least a half dozen oxen when I crossed the tala. But after a day of rest in Kabatalen the prospects became much worse, and on April 30 when I left the Tschabtscha Chu Valley there were already more than a half dozen stragglers. In the evening three yaks were missing; they had remained lying in the sand along the way. The first longer trek was already too much for them.

133 At Kabatalen we had already left the valley of the Tschabtscha
132 Chu and climbed up the plateau of the tala. During the first few hours of the morning we went over a hard and completely level surface like a huge threshing floor on which only now and then a miserable little plant grew. The soil consisted of pebbles that were solidly cemented together. A few dunes lay in our path, yellow piles 20-30 meters high, that looked as though giant hands had here worked with a winnowing shovel and separated chaff from wheat. Besides them the plain had been swept clean of the last grain of sand. The dunes

were of the typical and well-known barchan formation, crescent- 133
shaped, flat on the convex side and straight and steep on the concave 132
side. The convex side with its gradually ascending slope was turned toward the west. This clearly indicated that the prevailing wind in the tala came from the west. This westerly air current prevails during the cold season; it comes from the interior of the continent, is devoid of all moisture and dries the sand to such an extent that the latter follows the whims of the wind. The monsoon which comes up from the sea in summer cannot change the formation of the dunes because it is much gentler than the wintry west wind and is accompanied by rain which solidifies the masses of fine sand. In summer grass sprouts on the dunes, making it easier for the grass to go on growing during the winter.

Toward noon we reached a terrace that was three meters higher, 133
and then an extensive zone of pure sand. Dune followed dune and made progress difficult for the animals. Here our losses began.

All day we had a small group of hills in the west as our guides. When we finally reached these, the surface of a lake suddenly appeared. A dark blue body of water shone out from among mountains of yellow sand. It was the Si ni Ts'o and at this lake ends the Huyuyung Chu for which I was looking. The Si ni Ts'o, like the Bayan Nor, I discovered, has no outlet, but like the latter it contains fresh water. Its greatest length from east to west is 5 kilometers and from north to south, 3 kilometers. A long narrow neck of land which extends into the lake from the west creates two almost completely separate lakes, a northern and a southern one. This promontory has a high, sharp ridge of stratified sand masses and tells /296/ us the history of the lake. The Si ni Ts'o is an old loop of the Huyuyung Chu. The river empties from the west into the southern one of the two branches of the lake, and it formerly flowed out from the northern one in a northwesterly direction. But this outlet is today dry and covered with sand. I suspect that the large springs in the valley of Kabatalen are connected with the Si ni ts'o. They are lower than the level of the lake and the water of the lake can without difficulty flow thither under the hard, top layers of sand and pebbles of the tala. For this reason, too, the lake up to the present time will probably not have become the least bit salt. (1)

1. Lake Si ni Ts'o is frequently mentioned in the "Meng gu yu mu dyi," but is entirely lacking on our maps up to now.

C
133 Si ni Ts'o is not the only lake that owes its origin to an old loop of the Huyuyung Chu. A good day's journey westward there is another fresh-water lake without an outlet, the Gungga Nor, which Grenard discovered on his hasty flight after the murder of Dutreuil du Rhin. The Gungga Nor also contains fresh water. I visited it in 1904 together with Filchner and again alone in the winter of 1907. It is considerably smaller than Si ni Ts'o and seems to be connected by means of subterranean sands with the present course of the Huyuyung Chu.

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36! We encamped beside Si ni Ts'o on a sandy promontory, 50 meters above the lake; the place was very favorable for defense. Diagonally across the lake at a distance of about 2 kilometers we saw a large white tent on a small peninsula, otherwise there was not a trace of human beings far and wide. The big tent from the very first exerted a magic power of attraction for us. If it had not been so awkward to reach from our camp we should surely have visited it that same evening to discover what it meant. Even with our field glasses we were unable to discover a single occupant, nor were there any animals grazing in the vicinity. The tent seemed forgotten on the shore, only dull, mystical drum beats indicated that there was life inside: until far into the night the sounds mingled with the swish of the waves beating against the shore below our encampment. Only when, after midnight, a violent thunderstorm came up from the west, when lightning flashed and thunder rolled and crashed, did the rhythmic sounds cease, as do man-made noises in the face of elemental forces.

100 That night as I was writing in my diary and working on my topographical maps in my tent, big Tschang suddenly appeared before me, cleared his throat in order to be noticed and began in a flattering tone, "Sir, they all want to go back home. All of us are afraid. This morning you shot a crane. The spirits are angry with anyone who kills a crane; he will be punished with ill-luck and be obliged to follow the crane into death within the next three months. Fortune has already deserted you. Soon many more animals will be lost. We consulted fate twice with our dice and each time the answer was that we must all perish if we go on. I beg you in the name of everyone, release us from our contracts and if I may advise you, go yourself into a monastery for the next three months in order to cleanse yourself from the sin and free yourself from the spell. Otherwise you must die!" /297/

While these words were being spoken the rest of the men stood

The tissue of lies that my men invented was very adroit but for me it had the great disadvantage of keeping me captive in my tent. As soon as Tibetans approached, I had to hide my nose and all day I was obliged to play the indolent lao ye. I felt like a prisoner, but finally I unpacked my books and became absorbed in Faust and in Penck's Morphologie der Erdoberfläche. In this way the days of rest passed all too rapidly. 000

On May 3 we decamped. On the rest days I had had two goats killed and their skin removed without making a slit in the abdomen. The resultant bags became our water containers for the forthcoming march through the desert. We figured that we would not find water for three days. The two goat bags had to suffice for us eleven men.

As soon as the hills around the Si ni Ts'o lay behind us we traveled on through very low undulations. Flat steppes with a nice high stand of grass alternated with pebbly earth, with groups of barchan dunes and with areas of long dunes consisting of mealy sand. Not far from the lake on the hills which consist of stratified sand full of limestone and that rise up 150 meters above the present water level, I found fossilized (Pleistocene) fresh-water mussels and petrified bones of mammals such as I had already collected at the Gungga Nor. I gained the impression that the valley plain was once much higher and that the storms from the west carry everything away from here that has not hardened and been cemented together by rivers and lakes. 133

Day after day now the sun emerged from the clouds. The snow which covered the steppes on the morning of May 1 had long since disappeared completely. But it remained hazy; we could seldom get a clear view of the distance and the mountains surrounding the tala appeared only occasionally and we saw only their general outlines. [132]

When we left the Si ni Ts'o we kept to a southwesterly course because I thought I would thereby get out of the tala most quickly. On the evening of the first day's march in the desert the entire sky was covered with blood-red flames. It is rare that the sun can thus color the air in arid regions. The Chinese therefore assumed that there would be a heavy downpour during the night, and set up the tents. Usually we all slept in the open in order to be on the spot in an emergency. The nearest range of the Semenov Mountains, the southern enclosure of the tala, were sharply outlined against the horizon. Broad snow fields glistened from the higher peaks, and glowed red in the last rays of the sun, and the narrow rocky ridges formed blue-black silhouettes, like charred rafters and beams of a 000

000 burning house. Everyone praised my good fortune and rejoiced that the end of the tala was not far off, and everyone assured me that the much-feared steppes would be behind us by noon of the following day. By /301/ making the detour over the Si ni Ts'o I had not taken the tala at its widest point. My men were so sure of themselves that, without asking my permission, they used up the supply of water except for a few swallows. More than half a bag was wasted in washing dishes.

After a restless night - three times we were bothered with a pack of wolves which howled at us with voices that sounded so human that we always thought we were about to be attacked by robbers - the caravan set out shortly after five o'clock on the morning of May 4. This time I took advantage of the cold of early morning. At five o'clock the thermometer stood at -7.5° Celsius. We traveled without stopping until one in the afternoon, when I read +14.2° Celsius on my Assmann. The animals which were still wearing their thick, long winter coats were so generally exhausted that we could not think of going on. More than a dozen oxen were unable to reach the camp site and all the horses had to be sent back in order to pick up the packs that had been left behind. It was midnight before the exhausted animals, led by Hi'an and Me, got into camp.

C 133 When it finally cleared at sundown the peaks of the Semenov Mountains did not look as though they were a step closer than on the evening before. Only a steep cone due south now appeared separated from the rest of the mountains and proved to us that we had progressed. The jagged mountain lifted its black crown impudently and threateningly out of the yellow masses of sand which embraced its foot. It T was completely different in its whole structure and character from 778 the wall-like mountain chains behind it. It was the "Amne Bayan," the "rich mountain father," the sacred mountain of this region, a giant that stands guard not far from the Hwang Ho, and is said to contain unfathomable treasures about which legends are told by the neighboring people. It is situated a long way from the Semenov Mountains in the midst of shifting sands. There is supposed to be a tiny spring there which serves to refresh travelers, and I was also told of a sacred grove which the Tibetans guard anxiously, as well as of a temple inhabited temporarily by lama hermits.

In the evening when we were drinking our tea - there was just 080 enough for a cup apiece - there was a long and lively discussion as to whether or not the mountain had fooled us. The men from Kue de insisted that this was the case, for the mountain giant loves to do

136 reddish-brown, its short, upright mane and tail are black. The belly and the legs are a lighter color, often a dirty white and there are dark stripes running across the knees and the hocks. At the withers the stallions are 1.30 to 1.40 meters high; thus, they are as large as the common riding horses of the highlands. Especially when they were going fast, the animals were often to deceive us into thinking they were mounted. Soon after, we also saw tschiang herds coming from the left at a gallop, usually 15 to 20 of them and, in between, many delicately-built Dseren antelopes enlivened the yellow steppe which on the preceding day had been so completely dead.

133 Countless deep, well-worn paths made by the tschiang ran criss-cross over our route. We could not be too far away from water now. The valley continued to descend a little and later we came through a flat valley. In it we found remains of nomad encampments, meter-high wind-breaks made of dried cow dung and more than a dozen cooking places built of stones and loam, so-called takoa (Central Tibet: tab means "hearth") which not more than a month ago must have stood in the center of a black tent and been in use. But we searched in vain for water in the vicinity. The valley floor was completely dry, and not even a dry bed of pebbles was to be seen; nothing indicated that a stream had flowed through here even temporarily. The nomads seem to have camped here in late winter and early spring, at a time, therefore, when they could undoubtedly count on snowfall. But we did not let ourselves be diverted from the direction we had taken and rode straight on toward a small, isolated patch of snow that could be seen on the bordering mountains. /303/ We discovered on this day that the first row of mountains did not rise up very far above the plain filled with stone fragments which was the tala. That is what had deceived us on the evening before. In other words, we were still in the waterless desert.

OCC Toward noon I rode on ahead of the caravan; only two female dogs accompanied me. For a long time now, some of the animals had been unable to keep up, and even the rest crawled along uncertainly and at a dragging pace. Half the animals had no packs. We had piled up a large heap of supplies in a particular spot along the way. We simply had to have water otherwise there would be a catastrophe which might ruin all my plans. I estimated we were still 12 kilometers distant from the first patch of snow; this, for the poor, tired bullocks was an almost endless stretch. Suddenly I saw my dogs pounce on a hole, and a few seconds later my good little horse was also greedily drinking. My clever Tschimo, the ugly old bitch with

133

Peaks of the Wahong Chain to the north of Camp 42.

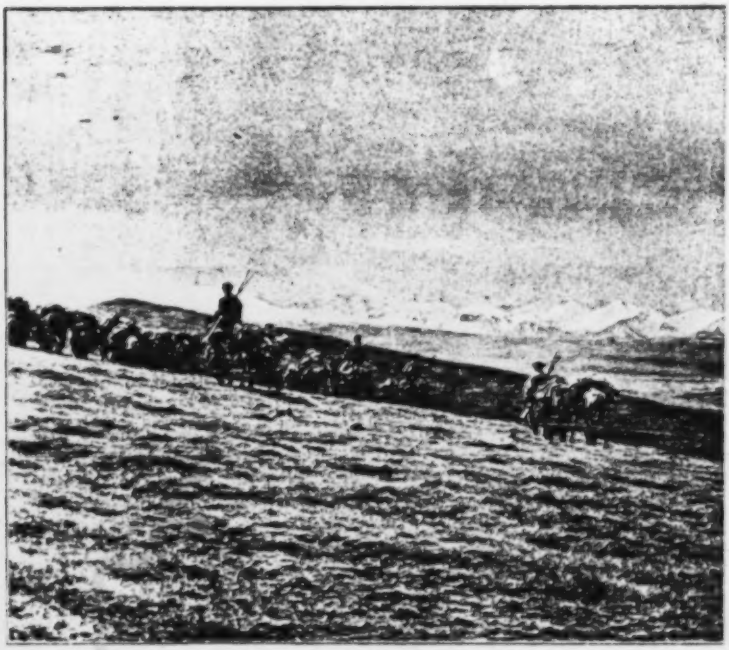
/304A/

5: Tafel--510 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF 13

Plate LXX.

23



Pass of the Arjin Mountain Range.

Valley of the Tschümar near its mouth in the Yangtze Kiang. (See Text in Volume II, page 53.)

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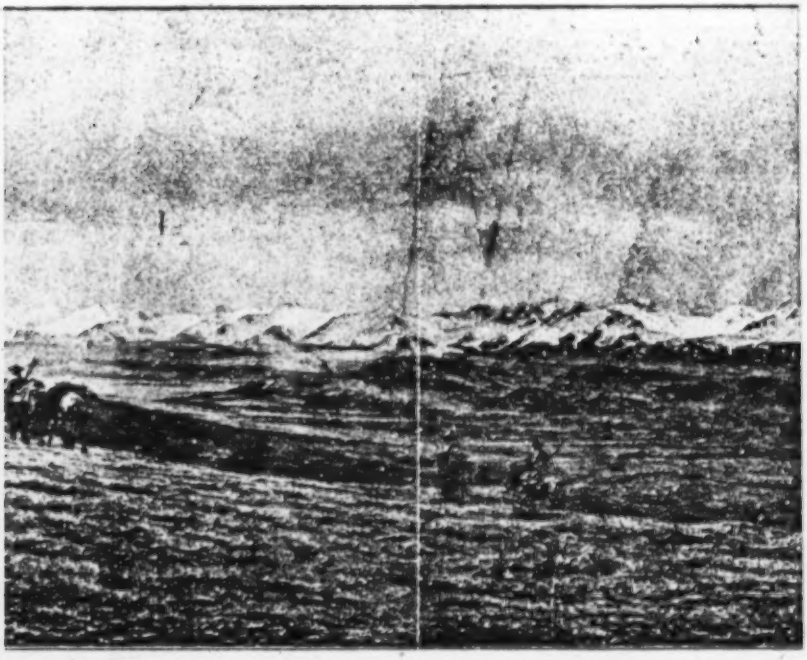
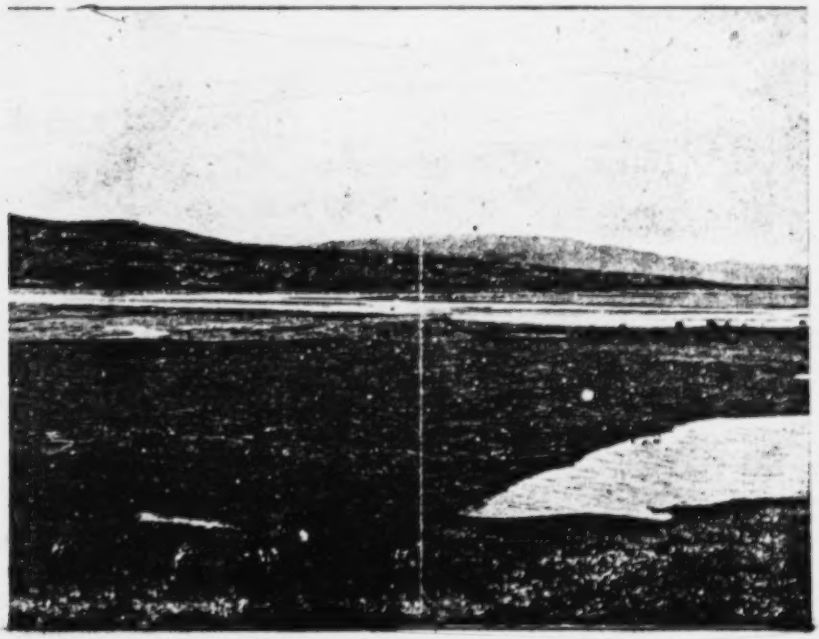
133



The western spurs of the Amne Machin Range.

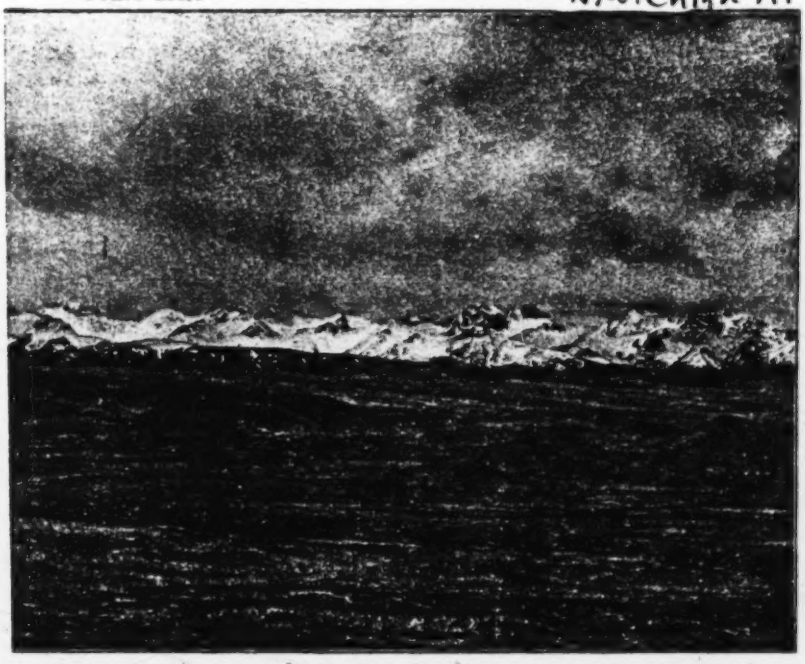


Valley of the Tschümar near its mouth in the Yangtze Kiang. (See Text in Volume II, page 53.)

5: Tafel--512 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

Plate LXX N.W. China AF 13

133



The western spurs of the Anne Machin Range.

Valley of the Tschümar near its mouth in the Yangtze Kiang. (See Text in Volume II, page 53.)

/304B (3)/

C 487 direction. It brought us into a new, wide lateral valley that is situated beyond the sacred Amne Bayan and runs parallel to the principal range of the Semenov Mountains and the southern border of the tala T 361 steppe. Here we found a small stream beside which we pitched camp 619 number 15. Farther southeast, in the distance, we could see the black tents of the Ats'o Lhardi Tibetans. We counted fifty tents. They looked like angular boulders, like mounds of termites against the still wintry, yellow prairie. We were still so far away from them that we could not establish communication. The entire tribe which carries on its own, independent marauding policy is said to have sixty families. Here, already, the Tibetans prefer to pitch their tents rather close together in order more easily to ward off attacks of other tribes.

C 133 The region in which the tents stood, the lower part of the lateral valley, is called "hoka" which is a Chinese designation consisting of ho, "the river," and ka (kou), "the mouth" of the river. In the Kue de dialect kou is always pronounced like ka. Here, again, there is an old Chinese castrum which has long since been abandoned; the direct road from Kabatalen across the tala to the south leads past it.

The new longitudinal valley which we had reached at camp number 15 is 50 - 60 kilometers long. It emerges from the chains of the Semenov Mountains at a sharp angle. Like all the other valley depressions in the region, its bottom is filled with masses of rock fragments and thus it is wide and forms a steppe. The hydrographic conditions of this mighty valley are extremely peculiar, for there is no brook running along the valley. Instead, the small streams that come down from the slopes and ravines, at various places break through the mountain range that separates the longitudinal valley from the valley plain. In this way various watersheds have been formed in the bottom of the longitudinal valley. These are so low that at first glance it seems incomprehensible why the flowing water has not made its way along the valley, especially since the bottoms of these watersheds are made up of rubble and sand which would offer little resistance, whereas the ridge of the mountain barrier which the brooks have evidently cut through consists of perpendicular, hard stone layers (permocarbon). Naturally, these abnormal rifts have not been made entirely by the present-day brooks. They have been caused by the filling-in and leveling of the longitudinal valley by the enormous, oft-mentioned rubble masses. The latter was so tremendous here that the valley floor was shoved up higher than

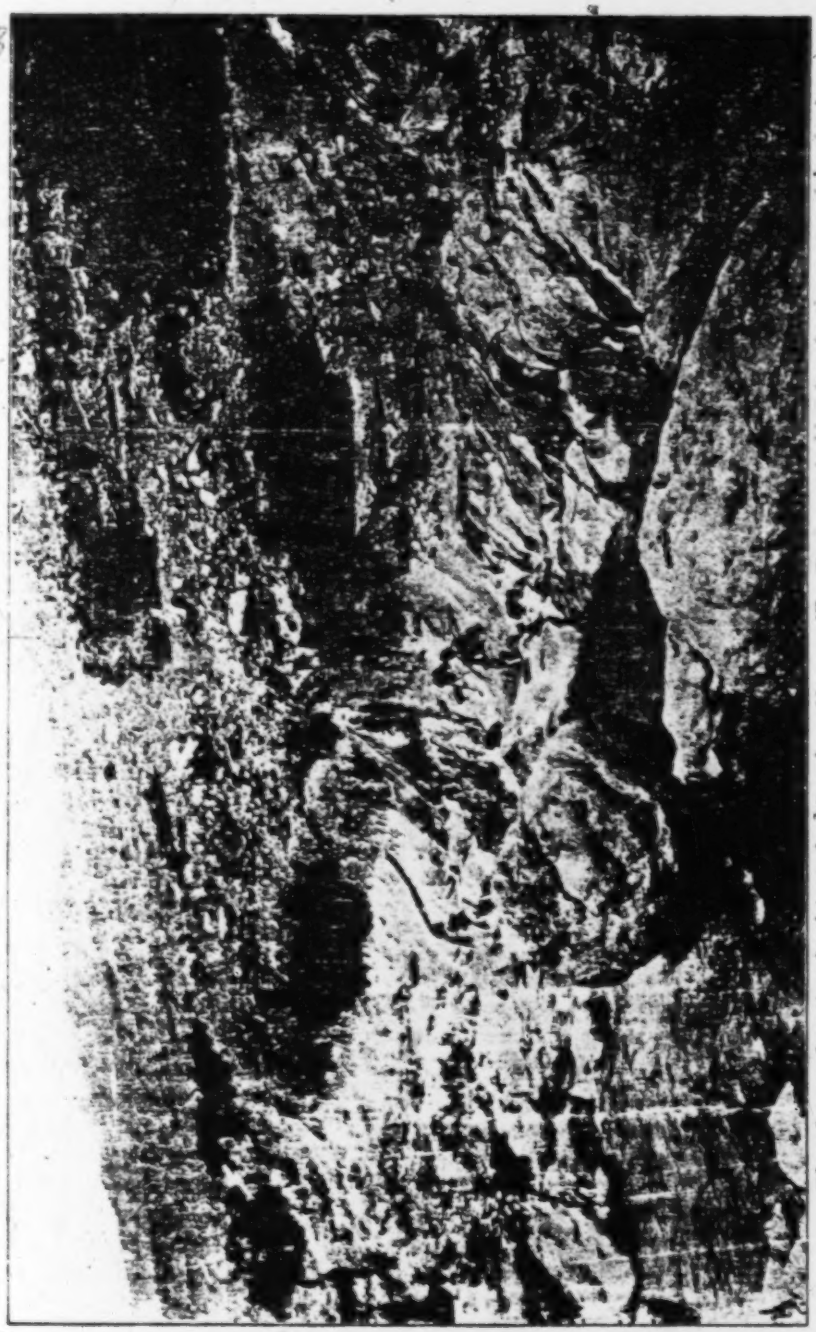
various points of the mountain-ridge barrier. The valley has been well-nigh buried in rubble and the mountains have been almost choked. There where deeper notches were present before the filling-in took place, the loose material made gradual inroads from one valley into the next. Thus today's brooks flow over these buried passes, /305/ and they have now even begun to cut into the strata of solid rock. Thus they have not yet been able to dig out a deeper valley in the rubble, as for instance at Hsining. 133

In the preceding chapters I have spoken of the filling-up of the valley basin of Hsining, Kue de, Di dao and many other depressions, in fact, I have reported similar formations in the territory of the Han and Dan Rivers, where old hollows were also filled in by huge layers of sand and clay and where river courses were diverted from one system of valleys to another. Traces of such deposits extend over a huge area of Central Asia. Everywhere it is clearly recognizable that they originated in a period in which folds of the large mountain ranges had already been built up almost to their present state and where the courses of many of the valleys had, in the main, assumed their present position. We can seldom observe in these deposits important tectonic changes and faults, unfortunately also few remains of plants and animals, so that a classification of the mighty deposits has not yet been possible, and the bones and teeth of mammals which show remarkably little variety of species have furnished the only clues to the age and type of formation. Nevertheless, they have proved that clays and pebbles of Kue de as well as those of Hsining, of a few valleys in K'am (Southeast Tibet) as well as those in the province of Shansi may be regarded as earth formations stemming from the end of the tertiary, and deposits left by running water. In North China we saw loess formations superimposed on these tertiary strata and distinctly separated from them. The loess formation conforms even more to the present-day shape of the country than the late tertiary clays and rubble. It can always be clearly seen that its formation belongs to the most recent period of our earth's history and that in many places it is going on today. Loess is also to be found on the Tibetan plateau, and not only on the edge, in the region of Kabatalen and Tschabtscha. But in Tibet there is little of it and it is confined to isolated patches that are almost non-existent compared with what one sees in North China. This fact, and even more, the rounded forms which have been little altered by running water and rain, make it seem more recent than that of the lowlands, and many a loess slope might be regarded as a

[text continues on p. 516]

5: Tafel--515 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

Plate LXXI. N.w.China AFU



The thermal spring baths at the [illegible] (Ta [illegible] g [illegible] the [illegible] b[illegible])

/facing p. 305/

N.W. China AF 13

133 deposit of the last centuries, to judge by its location. But the rubble masses which so often fill up the valleys of the Tibetan plateau, as a rule consist of large stones because they have never been carried very far. I found them occurring most frequently in the north. Clay deposits such as we find near Hsining and even more down near Di dao, are rare in Tibet; they alternate with rubble, are confined to individual spots, and very clearly indicate that they are remnants of former lakes and swamps. Isolated remnants of this kind which I found above 4,000-meter-altitudes in horizontal strata, show the same remarkable fire-red color as the clay deposits of Di dao, Kue de and other places down as far as Shansi.

The remnants of loess- and red hung tu-formations always point merely to great climatic fluctuations. Thus, in camp Number 15, I wrote down my immediate impressions of the natural phenomena I had observed, as follows: "The contrast between the yellow loess and the red deposits may be explained by great fluctuations in climate or rather in moisture, by long periods of rain and snow followed by a dry period. Only cosmic processes, the origin of which till now has been but a conjecture, could have caused this effect."

At Camp 15 we had a beautiful night, dry weather and a full moon. 000 We always arranged our camp so that the horses and mules were in the center, for they are the easiest to capture. They were attached by two's to a long chain by means of iron man-traps. The keys to these shackles were handed to me in the evening by my men and were kept in my pocket during the night. The bullocks which are more clumsy and therefore not /306/ as easy to drive off as the solipeds, were tethered in a double circle around the horses. The packs lay outside, stacked up like a small fortress, while we human beings slept on the very outside in six different places all around the camp. In this way I hoped to be best protected from thefts and robberies. I myself had a large felt blanket to sleep on and a second, thinner piece of felt which covered my whole body and made a water-proof protection on top. My bars of silver were packed in two chests and buried in the ground under my bed. Under my head I had a Tibetan saddle /Bocksattel/ so that I would have to wake up at the slightest suspicious noise. On the Tibetan steppes, of course, one is unfamiliar with what we Europeans consider a comfortable night's sleep. The curs are always yelping. A soft groan from one of the ruminates, the rattle of a chain startles them and sets them off. When the watchmen cry out their weird "Schschau! schau! schau!" into the night, the dogs all begin to feel uneasy and then the purposeless yelping

N.W. China AF13

increases. But we learn to wake up rapidly only when the barking sounds really serious. Then if wolves were creeping around in the pale moonlight, we quickly turned over and went calmly to sleep again. In the Tibetan steppes only man is a danger to man. 600

At Camp 15[1] too, a small pack of wolves appeared when it had grown dark and the camp had retired for the night. The moonlight was so bright that one could recognize the animals even at 300 meters. This time there were eight of them that circled around us. Dolefully whimpering, they sniffed with their noses in the air. We could see them at their full height against the bare ground. As soon as they looked as though they were coming toward the camp, my dogs dashed out with mad barking and the two opponents then stood looking at one another, baring their teeth. Neither the dogs nor the wolves were great heroes. The dogs showed courage only when they were accompanied by a man, but even then they were loathe to go farther than 100 meters from the camp. The wolves, on their part, tried to approach like thieves; when they caught sight of one of us human beings they dispersed timidly and ran off. I could not get a shot at them. 136

That night the temperature went down to -6°. As usual, the coldest period was just before sunrise. At six in the morning the caravan was packed and ready to go. We quickly crossed the rest of the longitudinal valley and climbed, at first without a trail, following a ravine, up the principal chain of the Semenov Mountains. But on account of the pack animals I was soon obliged to encamp again. Thus, our day's work did not amount to much. We had gone only 10 kilometers, but had climbed 600 meters in doing so. Our camp was 3,880 meters above sea level. There was an abundance of grass and the animals fared much better than at Schara khoto where, even during the winter, the last dry blade had been pulled off, but even here there was nothing but dry, dead grass from the year before. 133

The Semenov Mountains have not been clearly defined. The name was introduced by Obrutschew. He was looking from the South Koko Nor Mountains much farther to the northwest, /307/ at the Dábassu Nor, and saw to the south of him a new parallel range which, since a native name was lacking, he called after the head of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Semenov Tianschanski. (1) The

1. Peter Petrowitsch Semenov Tianschanski, born 1827, traveled through Tien Shan in 1857-1858. He died in March 1914 as the Nestor of Asiatic research.

[1] [In a valley emerging from the Semenov Mts. - Analyst]

133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibel chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibel is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives; they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 485 712 Up on the top of the Siansibel Pass we came upon the large caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 316 The descent south from the Siansibel Pass is extremely gentle. Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

khadar as well as a few trifles such as knives and boots, as a present and as remuneration for the grass which our animals consumed. I myself went on with the rest along the road which, from the time we left the Siansibel' Pass continued south almost in a straight line and was broad and well-worn. We set up our new camp at noon in one of the old loam fortresses, the so-called Ga fo ying pan. At the advice of my companions I now wore the dirtiest and shabbiest sheep skin and my long queue, which looked as though it harbored lice, on top of my head, and helped drive the animals of the caravan. When I had to halt for a few minutes on account of my cartographic work, I disarranged one of the packs as inconspicuously as possible and then sketched and took bearings behind the animals until the packs were tied up again. For we were no longer traveling alone. Scarcely had we come out of the Da ho ba Ravine when a few horsemen armed with swords, matchlocks and lances 4 meters long joined us. We were inspected and, with a sinister mien, asked "Where from?" and "Where to?" T 619 609

Late in the afternoon my emissaries returned, satisfied with the reception that had been given them. The humbo had not been at home. He had ridden forth to meet his scharba i.e., his Sung pan merchant, in order to accompany the latter's caravan safely to his tribe. Almost every tribe has such a merchant who appears each year with a new stock of goods, and stays six or nine months in the camp bartering wool, skins, musk and stag /310/ horns against his tea and other luxuries desired by the nomads, and who always returns to the Chinese lowland for only a short time. Often such merchants, even if they are Mohammedans, are married to Tibetan women. T 437 T [582]

In the absence of the chieftain, his wife and brother-in-law played hosts to my men. Tschang played his part so adroitly that the brother-in-law came riding into our camp that same evening with a present of milk, butter and tschuma, the pea-sized roots of Potentilla anserina, and stayed overnight with us. The next morning he showed us all the sacred spots in the vicinity and arranged to have us exchange a few yaks with members of his tribe. T 574

Our camp in the Ga fo ying pan was charmingly situated. It stood on an evenly-sloping, grass-covered rock terrace, on which the first fresh green was just beginning to show. On one side - only a few hundred meters from our tumble-down loam fortress - there was a narrow gorge, 150 meters deep, with sheer, perpendicular walls. Isolated tall trunks of fir, white pine and a cembra-like pine, which flourished beautifully down below in the sheltered fissure, C 133

C 133 stuck their gnarled, often tattered crowns out of the crack at the edge of the terrace (Plate LXII). Trees did not seem to grow above the area protected from the wind, as is also the case, for instance, on the North Atlantic Faroe Islands. The brook had dug its way into the hard, primary rock of limestone, as in our Alpine gorges. Its water was partly hidden, and almost flowed underground. In one place the fissure, at the bottom of which the watered gurgled, was only two meters wide and giant fallen trees formed natural bridges across. Toward the southeast of our camp, on the other hand, there rose a high limestone cliff with grotesque rock walls, with countless grottoes and points (Plate LXIII). Out of its cracks, isolated wind-torn firs grew T [194] rampant. There was a small monastery in among these limestone cliffs.[1] Our friend referred to it as Tschegr fisung gomba. The region 823 was so unique, so romantic that the Tibetans firmly believed it must be blessed by the gods, and that benign and mighty mountain gods must have established their dwellings here. For this reason hunting T [194] was forbidden all through this area, so that the spirits might under no circumstances be offended. The country was regarded as the Garden of Eden. Each sharp point of the mountain had a particular meaning or story for our guide. Here we marveled at a table of the gods, there at a giant altar on which one was supposed to make offerings and burn mountain cedar. Here was a jag of rock all hung with tufts of sheep wool, there a spot was pointed out to us where the imprint of a mountain spirit's foot was supposed to be smeared with butter by the devout. The terra rossa that grew between the limestone cliffs was the best medicine, we were told. A natural hole in the rock was used as a test of virtue. It was just large enough so that a medium-sized man, if he turned, could squeeze through. The hollow had become quite smooth and greasy because so many people had squeezed through it. To please our guide, we each of us in turn had to pass through this hole of virtue. For me, with my 1.82 meters it was a precarious undertaking and I do not know whether I should ever have seen daylight again if I had not been pushed from the rear and pulled from the front. "People with noses like that are never good," observed our guide afterward. "Why did you take along this /311/ T strange-looking servant?" he said, turning to Da Tschang.

T 788 423 The limestone mountain is regarded far and wide as sacred and as having healing powers. The Tibetans take week-long journeys to come here and beg for protection from pestilences for their herds. "It is more important and profitable for us to treat our mountain spirit well than to undertake a journey to Lhasa, a pilgrimage to this

1 [Near the Da ho ba ravine.—Analyst]

T 756 [515] she must never have brought her skin in contact with water. Of course a woman is not supposed to wash, for to do so would mean washing away her good luck. /312/ The thousands of deep wrinkles, large and small, in her face and the upper part of her body were stiff with grease and dirt. A thick, black layer of dirt covered her arms and legs, - during her work she went barefoot for religious reasons, in order to be like Buddha. Bareheaded, her head shaved, around her neck countless leather pouches containing amulets, which hung down to her withered breasts, her body covered with an old sleeveless priest's garment, hollow-eyed and hoarse from having treated Sung, - thus the old nun sat before me. During the pause for lunch she had cozily knitted a sock with thick iron knitting needles. Now she was as transformed. She stared at me. With a clinking bell in her left hand and a tinny-sounding tambourine made of two human skulls in her right, she began yelling at me, at first in a bass tone, then shrilly and piercingly, more and more rapidly and terribly. Now she drops her bell and tambourine and with a satanic howl she almost sticks her thin, claw-like fingers into my face. Then she strokes my body with supple, coaxing movements like the most skillful hypnotist and a moment later the bell-ringing and tambourine-beating are taken up again, so hastily, so swiftly that the witch's rushing words, her incantations and maledictions, all her Tibetan corruptions of Sanskrit words afflict my weary ears like a melody. She worked over me thus for two hours, and at the end of that time the bad spirit of my illness was supposed to be expelled. But afterwards I could not sleep well for many nights. I kept having the same dream, and over and over again the old tschumo passed her dirty claws over my face and woke me up.

T 795 The tschumo of Tschegr fisung belonged to the Bönbo sect, she turned her prayer wheel to the left, that is, counter-clockwise. Bembe (Bönbo, Bonpo) are rather frequent among the tent Tibetans in Northeast Tibet, but probably there are no more than anywhere else in Tibet. They are adherents of the first Tibetan shaman cult which today, however, has undergone as important transformations as Tibetan Buddhism itself. They have taken a great deal from lamaism. The strange thing about its distribution now is that it is rare for whole tribes to adhere to the Bönbo faith, usually only individual families have remained Bönbo.

C 133 From Ga fo ying pan we went almost due west. We aimed to cross the next mountain range. We now had to climb over a mighty chain which showed a strike of N 45° W., and which was

built up of extremely steep and, for long distances, of absolutely 133
vertical layers of Permian sandstone and argillaceous slate slabs. A labyrinth of quartz veins gleamed out of the dark green and blue rock. This white quartz is the parent rock of the gold that the Chinese wash out of the valley gravel. We began our ascent just beyond our camp. To the left and right of our route countless peaks showed a snow-cap. In accordance with the vertical layers present, the mountains showed a complex structure, but there were no sharp outlines anywhere. The rock was too soft to admit of large rock formations.

On the second day after we left the tents of the Schüch'tsong Tibetans we already crossed the easy pass of Tscheger tscheibtsen (rdyibtsen) la whose /313/ altitude I determined with a boiling /Siede/ thermometer to be 4,255 meters. However, the peaks are 1,000 meters higher. A barren highland valley now lay spread out before us; it ran straight as an arrow to the northwest. But immediately beyond it new peaks arose, and a new high and unfathomable wall of mountains stood in our path. The barren valley was shaped like a kneading trough, and the secondary ravines terminated in the mountains round about in the shape of broad, round depressions. All the peaks that were not covered with snow were thickly strewn with angular fragments of boulders.

The vegetation was frighteningly sparse. In the bottom of the 137
large valley as well as in a few valley pockets there were highland moors that showed denser coverings of grass. But these were interspersed with thousands, nay, millions of small water holes so that the plant covering looked as though it were moth-eaten or like a sieve (see Figure 17). The plants were all only 10 centimeters high. Added to that, it was mid-winter. The temperature rose to above freezing only minutes at a time. The individual tufts of grass were frozen solid and the poor animals slipped off the round plant cushions at almost every step into the half-meter- and often meter-deep puddle holes which now in winter were almost dry and filled with pointed, sharp needles of ice. In the turf of these highland moors - the Tibetans call them naka - the Carex genus predominates and the animals reluctantly ate the hard stalks of these. (1)

1. In many of these naka holes there are countless iron bacteria whose metabolic products, ferrous oxide precipitation, is deposited at the bottom of the puddles in thick red crusts.

5: Taffel--526 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF 13

133

/313/

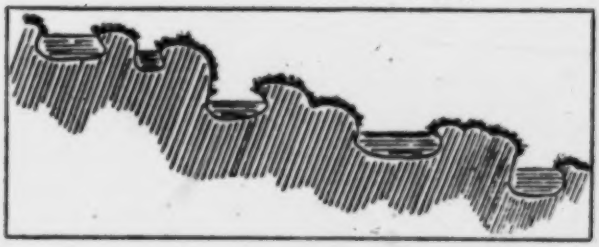


Fig. 17. Diagrammatic cross-section of a mountain slope with naka puddles. (The horizontal lines indicate the water of the puddles.)

lying in wait, and they did not move. Are they scouts of a robber band? Before I retired I filled all my pockets with cartridges and once again examined the mechanism of my weapons. 000

May 18. Contrary to all expectations, the night passed quietly. A double sentry had been set up. And we all, without exception, slept in the open. This is no fun at a temperature of -12°, especially when every few minutes a shower of ice particles blows in over the mountain peaks, so that one feels as though one were on a polar expedition. I myself was somewhat equipped for this, but most of my men, besides their every-day fur and their felt rain coats had only a thin fur cover between themselves and the icy ground. The most annoying thing I found was the hoar-frost that formed on one's body, as well as the needles of ice that seemed to scratch one's face raw at every movement. The cold, loaded guns also did not make very cozy bed partners.

Today, as usual, we were in our saddles shortly after six o'clock. After a laborious ascent we crossed a mighty moraine wall at 4,310 meters. It was covered all over with puddles and divided the large longitudinal furrow of the Sarong Valley in half into a northwestern and a southeastern slope. This watershed was called Ser yung gunka. We followed the furrow of the valley in a southeasterly direction (Plate LXIV) and thus soon got into lower altitudes. It was not long before there were abandoned cooking hearths by the roadside, camp sites of the previous summer. We now aimed at a large and deep valley that pushed in from the west. Behind this valley, toward the south, our glance took in a huge alpine landscape. Countless long mountain ridges, /315/ snowy peaks and snow-covered crests, one behind the other formed the horizon. The whole territory on the left side of the Hwang Ho shows extremely high mountain ridges, but is very much cut up because of the summer monsoons. Heights of more than 6,000 meters alternate with valley floors of 3,500 meters. C 133

During today's march we suddenly came upon the four Tibetans who had disturbed us so very much the evening before. They were allegedly hunting kyang and said they belonged to the Wanschdsch' Lharde tribe. When we called to them one of the four turned around and yelled at the top of his lungs: "Come on, come!" They wanted us to believe that they were not alone, that there were other armed men behind the nearest hill. But actually there were no others. T 619

Camp 23 lay 3,790 meters high and during the night the temperature went down to only zero, although hardly an eighth of the sky was overcast. After we had traveled only a few kilometers down the T 233

000 commit suicide, only to make things uncomfortable for me. Chinese, as well as Tibetans believe that it is easy for a dead person to take revenge on a living one and that this type of revenge is exceedingly sweet. If I had not had Mohammedans with me, I would have lost this fight over the opium with the personnel of my caravan. With their help alone I effected my purpose of becoming the opium supervisor of my men and cutting down on their daily rations somewhat each day. In this way I controlled the opium threat within three weeks. But on May 22 and 23 Lao Tschang, a man of 45 and a cousin of Da Tschang, howled like a dog all day long because he got less than his quantity of opium.

137 Not far from the tents of the Sidia I had more ill luck. The most valuable of my riding horses, a five-year-old, dark bluish-gray pacer suddenly fell sick. It trembled all over and could walk only totteringly. We soon pitched camp, but the animal nevertheless collapsed. It had eaten du ts'a, a poisonous grass, that not infrequently occurs in Tibet. Many horses die of it. The most unpleasant thing about this type of poisoning is that horses never learn not to eat this grass. I was told that horses sometimes become sick three or four times in succession. But in most cases the poison is soon fatal.

7% May 23. According to the Chinese calendar this is the first of the leap-year month. Last night the men built a large altar of earth and stones. At sunrise they performed their sacrifices on it. Tsch'eng blows into a shell, sprinkles water, and everyone prostrates himself before the rising sun. Cedar twigs which have been brought from the Ga fo ying pan are burned as well as a few grains of rice and /319/ pieces of tsamba dough. This service is held on the first and the fifteenth of each month. Seen from my tent, this cult always looks very biblical.

133 We had been traveling in the Tschürnong Chu Valley for a long time now. In the Sidia Fan tse territory this valley is many kilometers wide and is almost a plain with low roundish rows of hills for a distance of more than 50 kilometers, up to the other side of the Hwang Ho. The Tschürnong Tschü River itself, however, we saw for the first time on May 24. We were amazed when we stood before a crevice over 200 meters deep, in which, far below the river rushed along with dashing waves (Plate LXVI). Such contrasts are not to be found anywhere in our Alps. Here there was an unfathomable rock terrace covered with low grass and clearly recognizable as the floor of an ancient glacier, while in the very center of it was a deep, precipitous gorge, full of rock fragments, cataracts and eddies, on whose walls

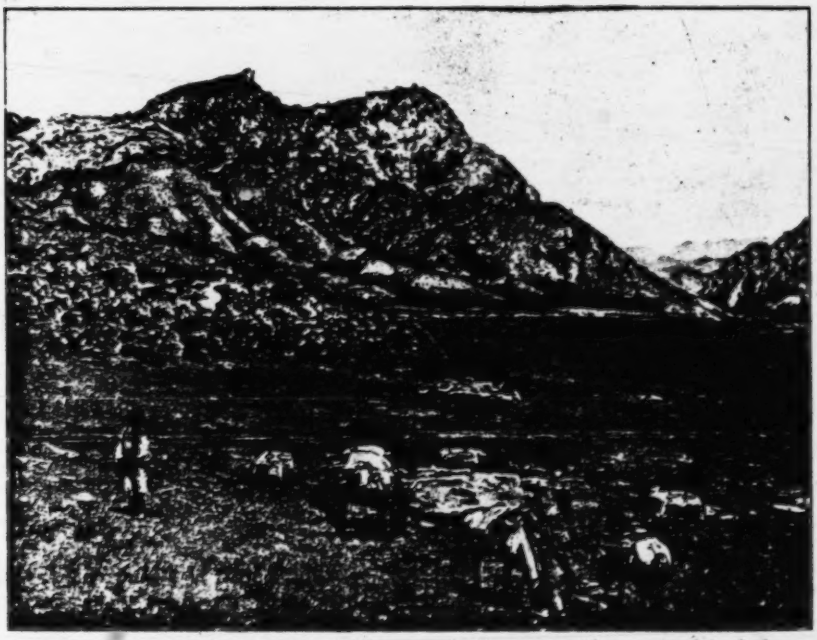
grew firs and cedars. The landscape was crowned by the rocky cone of sacred nTobder which far down was covered with snow, and whose peak was characterized by a huge altar and a lab rtse that could be seen far and wide, where the natives offered sacrifices on certain days. 133

The Tschürnong Chu is the largest left tributary of the Hwang Ho in all Tibet. It marks the boundary between the Panak'a and the Ngolokkaksum. It comes from the western foot of the same Machin, flows in a wide bend to the north and then, like all Tibetan rivers, follows the prevailing strike of the rocks for some distance and hurries on toward the Hwang Ho in an east and southeasterly direction. It is notoriously dangerous. Even at Hsining fu people told me many bad things about it. In fact, it was because of the Tschürnong Chu that I wanted to travel from Kue de up the right side of the Hwang Ho. It is dangerous not so much because of the actual amount of water it contains but because of its falls and the depth of its bed which is largely cut into vertical walls of rock. There is no ford anywhere.

Accompanied by a servant, I climbed down to the bottom of the ravine and tried to get across at the point where a large yak road leads across the river. But my horse lost its footing just a few steps from shore and the current carried us along willy-nilly. Mindful of the instructions I had once received when I was with the dragoons, I slipped off the horse's back into the water and swam along beside the animal, holding onto its mane. But even though the horse was thus relieved of its load, although it was naked like myself and neither its saddle nor even its head harness could form an impediment, nevertheless we had great difficulty in reaching shore. When we reached shore the first time it was so steep that the horse could not gain a foothold. We were obliged to let ourselves be carried along once again. The poor beast finally reached shore 500 meters farther down, but it was stiff with cold and short of breath because of the rarefied atmosphere. Yaks swim better than horses, but I would have had to make them swim with their packs, and so I had to abandon the idea of exploring the mountains south of the Tschürnong Chu. The river was too dangerous an obstacle. If I had forced the issue, it would probably have cost me half my animals and my luggage. So I turned /320/ west and followed the Tschürnong Chu upstream. There was no longer a road. Deep ravines, one next to the other and one steeper than the other, had to be crossed and they so fatigued the yaks that the latter were on the point of dropping. At Camp 27 another of the bullocks was killed because it could not keep up. My Dungan tied its legs together, turned its head to the west so that its spirit would find Kaaba and from there- 000

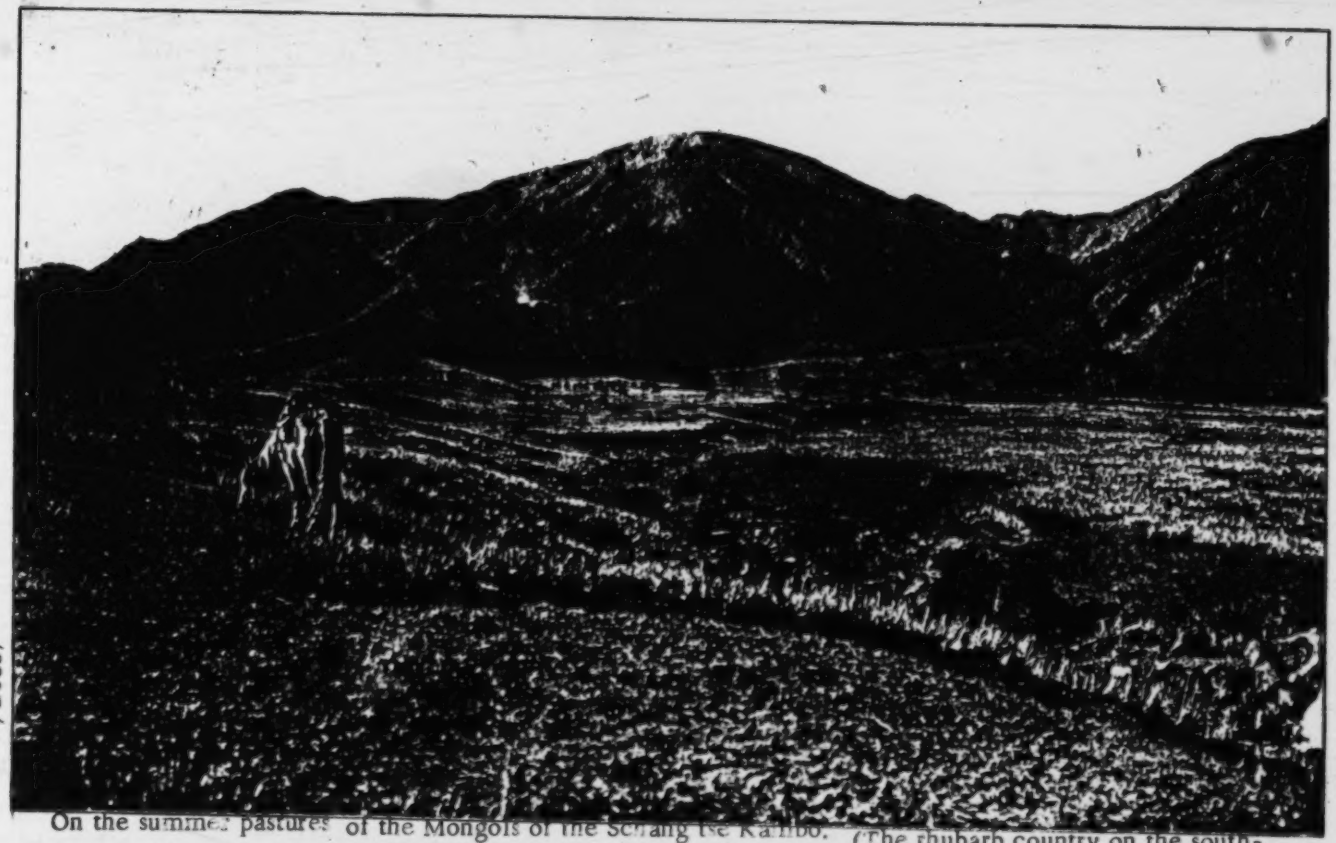
[text continues on p.539]

● 133



Landscape near the Rengan Tibetans in East Tsaidam. (Behind the horses an abandoned tent hearth (+), around the outside three clay chests (++) filled with Tsa ts'a.)

In the upper Tsaghan Usse Valley.



On the summer pastures of the Mongols of the Schang Ise Ka-lbo. (The rhubarb country on the south-eastern edge of Tsaidam, see page 571.)

/320C/

brought along. Then they began tooting up there. One of the men lifted a large sea shell to his lips and wheedled tones out of it which resembled the braying of an ox. At the same time a second and third man called the names of mountain spirits, turning in all directions as he did so, and letting scraps of wool and bits of printed paper (Tibetan: slong rschda, written: rlung rta, see Figure 18) flutter off in the breeze. It was the service which traveling akkas from the little monastery near Dankar were celebrating in honor of the day of the full moon, for it just happened to be the fifteenth of the month according to the Tibetan calendar. They were on a journey to the Wanschdäch' tseidia Tibetans from whom they were supposed to collect gifts for their monastery during the course of the summer. The Wanschdäch' tseidia had been grazing their flocks here during the winter. All the monasteries of Amdo send such emissaries as pastors to the nomads. The Gum bum monastery alone sends out many hundreds annually. The gifts which these monks bring back serve to cover the cost of running the monastery. T 792 782

As we rode on we found down in the valley the luggage of the priests who had worshipped on top of the mountain; it consisted of a small yak caravan carrying food supplies and merchandise for trade. C 133 136

Our 30th camp was 3,900 meters high, but still belonged to the /323/ basin of the Tschürnong Chu. The valley formations had become broad and rounded. One could again speak of valley plains. Along with this widening of the valley, the flora and fauna changed. The ground was covered by only 5 centimeters of top soil, and there were no longer any cuckoos after the last meter-high brush. On the other hand, herds of kyang which had not been visible down in the ravines galloped across the open country, and traces of wild yaks, of Ovis poli and similar large ruminants lay bleaching along the wayside. Around numerous pools there were pompous-looking cranes and waddling ducks and geese.

On June 8 it began snowing at four in the morning and the storm lasted all day so that we did not move from the spot. The clouds hung far down into the valley. The temperature stayed around $\pm 0^{\circ}$. It was an extremely uncomfortable camp. But everyone was in good spirits because we had fresh meat. I had shot my first kyang.

June 9. We decamped very early in the morning with the sky overcast. Around noon we slowly approached a pass. The very last stretch was somewhat more steep and caused us a lot of work. But the difficulties of the pass did not consist of the altitude - I measured 4,370 meters at the top - nor in the angle of elevation, but in the C 133

133 bottomless mud that covered everything. At each step the animals sank up to their hocks into the sandy-gravelly earth that was saturated with water. There was almost no vegetation. Here and there grew a few pulvinus plants, otherwise there was nothing but bare sand and angular stone fragments.

133 487 Once again we crossed the water-shed between the Hwang Ho and Central Asia which has no natural drainage. Devout travelers had marked the place with a large heap of stones and a lab (r)tse made entirely of white quartz fragments, crowned with huge wild yak skulls. Southeast of the pass - we could reach it simply by following a small valley - there was a large lake almost palpably near. It was the Tibetan Merduch' ts'o (1) (Khara Nor according to Roborowski). It

1. The Sidia Tibetans called it thus or Mergenduch' Ts'o.

seemed child's play to reach it on that same day, and from a distance a green shimmer promised ample food for the animals (Plate LXVII). But though to the eye the way seemed easy, it was very difficult actually to traverse. The entire descent down to the lake was a continuation of the same barren morass. Only on the narrow trails used by the kyang, the animals did not sink down to their bellies in mud. The aerial distance from the pass had measured 10 kilometers to the lake. But the caravan was obliged to make laborious detours. A few of the men were constantly occupied unloading animals that had got stuck, pulling them out and reloading them.

"Gung schi, gung schi! - we congratulate you, we congratulate you!" cried my men when, in the late afternoon, we encamped on solid, dry earth at Camp 31 which was, however, still far from the lake. "You have been very lucky, sir, the mountain spirits do not wish you ill, you have not lost a single animal!" We had, of course, proceeded cautiously and had always sent ahead scouts. The good mood lasted when, /324/ contrary to all expectation, we were able to brew hot tea in the camp. The sun had come out from behind thick clouds for only a few minutes but that had sufficed to prepare our fuel for us. The wild yak dung had dried astonishingly quickly as a result of the strong rays in this altitude. An added factor was the wide strip along the lake which showed a covering of grass. The water table which reached the surface farther up and on the mountain slopes, flowed underground here, even the brooks were buried in sand before they reached the lake.

On June 10 we reached the shore of the Merduch' Ts'o without further difficulty. The lake lay like a mirror before us. Half of it was still frozen. Blocks of bluish ice stood out against the dark green of the water, and around the shore were bizarre-shaped ice boulders that told of violent storms. Ice floes a foot thick had been hurled onto land at a distance of many meters, and there they formed a high wall. This must have been done by the winter storms, the summer storms do not have the power to move such tremendous masses, not even severe thunderstorms, of which we were having two a day as a rule. C 133

I followed the shore all day long. I wanted to survey the entire west shore and travel over it, because here low hills had created varied shore formations, deep bays and peninsulas. We were finally stopped by a tiny brook on the extreme western edge of the lake, where we could not find any footing. There we encamped, close by the lake on a narrow headland which ended in a rocky hill. We had just rounded up the animals and rid them of their packs when a magnificent specimen of a Tibetan stag dashed down the rocky hill and ran straight through the midst of the herd. This was the only time throughout my whole journey that I saw such an animal. C [136]

The Merduch' Ts'o is 4,100 meters high and is about 23 square kilometers in size. To judge from the marks on the shore, its water level varies a great deal. And no wonder! There was no outlet to be seen anywhere. Nevertheless, it has perfectly fresh water, just like the Si ni Ts'o, the Gungga Nor and the Bayan Nor which also have no outflow. The nomads never seek out its shores, because the pastures are no longer good enough. On the other hand, Tibetan hunters often come here. We found quite a number of tado (tabrdo) cooking places consisting of three stones, such as travelers and hunters erect in order to make a tripod for their cooking pots. T [224]

June 11. Today I was pushed off far to the west of the course I hoped to follow. The caravan was obliged to march many hours until it could venture to cross the bottomless morass of the brook. Even so, it took us much more than an hour to go a little more than five meters.

The mountain slopes showed an incline of no more than 5°. But the rocks had dissolved to form a fine, brown, clayey earth that retained all the water. At a 2° and 3° gradient it was too wet for grasses, and finally even for cushions of moss; the naked earth, or rather bare mud covered the entire plain. I finally pitched Camp 33 on a low saddle, the first dry spot I could find. It was 4,315 meters high (Plate LXX). Beside it there was a thicket of mountain willow C 133 137

C
133 /325/ almost one meter high. The pussy willows had just begun to
137 show. Blue and yellow iris on short stems peeped out of the ground. We stayed in that camp two days, two gloomy, gray, rainy days. The clouds dispersed only to make room for darker ones that discharged hail, snow and rain - often amid thunder and lightning. Only for brief moments the magnificent panorama was revealed and we saw toward the south the glistening white peak of sacred Amne Machin, and, towering 1,000 meters above thousands of snow-caps, the ice-bound surface of Tossun Nor (Mongolian), the Butter Lake, gleamed far to the west. Then it became so clear that with my Zeiss glasses I could distinctly follow a wild yak herd, about sixty head, at a distance of 11 1/2 kilometers.

T
579 On our next march, Da Tschang told of one of his worst experiences in Tibet. Four years before he was traveling from Hsining fu to K'am with his Tibetan wife and three K'am Tibetans. They had passed Merduch' Ts'o and had come to the town of Sum ndu. We saw this spot, 13 kilometers southwest of our route, where three valleys open up into the large Tossun Nor Plain. The travelers had only a half dozen pack horses besides their riding horses, and so they covered about 50 kilometers a day. In Sum ndu suddenly a bullet whizzed past them. They quickly retired behind a sand dune and slipped into a hole from whence they hoped to defend themselves. Da Tschang's pack horse was carrying his entire fortune, but the defense looked hopeless. They were surrounded by 120 Sakuch' Fan tse who now closed in on them in their retreat.

T
628 If possible, Tibetans avoid killing people. They are held back by fear of tribal revenge, as well as by fear of the spirit of the person killed, which seeks its former possessions. Thus, the rascals were persuaded to parley, in spite of their much greater numbers. Finally, Da Tschang and his friends were permitted to take themselves off on five, skinny old Rosinantes. The robbers kept their horses, their packs and all their good clothes. They were given only enough flour to last until they reached the Horkurma Fan tse who at that time were domiciled three travel-days south on the Hwang Ho. There they were obliged to shepherd flocks for many weeks until a caravan took them along.

C
133 My caravan was now in the territory of Lake Tossun Nor, which
136 the Tibetans call Dung re Ts'o ner. Herds of antilope and kyang disported themselves on the edge of the great plain that extended from my camp 2[illegible] kilometers to the Tossun Nor.

5: Tafel--546 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ 1
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On June 13 we battled with the mud from six in the morning until far into the afternoon. I crossed a wide valley that extends into the plain of the Tossun Nor, and then climbed over a huge moraine wall. In this way I again came to the upper course of the Tschürnong Chu. Our new camp lay on a rather steep naka field which was strewn with pools and flowers. Farther below in the valley, closer to the Tschümong, we could see herds and tents. We, too, had been noticed down there, for a few hours after our arrival individual pairs of horsemen circled around us on the northern and western rise. We counted on communicating /326/ with the natives on the next day. But fate decreed otherwise. C 133 T 361

Today at twelve noon we had a violent thunderstorm with hail, lightning and thunder. At eight in the evening another thunderstorm passed by north of us and at half past nine we were again in the midst of one. All the elements were let loose. One flash of lightning followed another, illuminating the jagged edge of the mountains round about. Thunder rumbled literally without ceasing for half an hour. The first fine rain was followed by hail, as usual. We were hit by hailstones the size of walnuts. Howling, the dogs crawled into the tents and under the chests. The horses, raving with pain, pulled at their ropes, became entangled in their chains and fell over each other. The entire troop of yaks which were leashed together seemed to be on the point of flight. We had all we could do to prevent a stampede. While this was going on we were being lashed by the pieces of ice that rained down on us. In between, the lightning bolts sounded like rifle shots when they struck nearby. It seemed never to end. The hail was followed by hard snow, and in the end the grains lay more than half a foot deep. Suddenly - what was that? A shot? A bullet had come through my tent in which a candle burned. Then another shot and another. "Y-i-i! h-u-u-u...! hu-u-u! Yi - i!" It was pitch dark. The valley meadow resounded with countless voices. "You cowards," one of the voices called down the slope, "we'll shoot you all dead if you dare defend yourselves! Flee or croak! You Chinese curs!" - "We'll see who croaks first, dirty dogs!" my men called back. Aimlessly our shots whizzed into the darkness. Only a dozen shots were needed, and this storm also passed like a phantom. With a "Yi!" and a "Yu-u-u...!" we set out to investigate. The rascals had only dared come within 100 meters. That is as near to the camp as the stealthy traces led and there lay slow matches that had got wet. C 132 T 579

A brisk west wind helped us keep a large campfire going the rest of the night, on which the kyang meat of the day before was cooked. 000

000 I lay beside it wrapped in fur and felt coats, and watched the sentries each of which for a period of an hour made a wide arc around the camp. Beside me the others squatted, holding their guns as I was doing, until slowly one head after another fell forward.

133 When it grew light we quickly loaded the animals and off we went the way we had come. The sacred Amne Machin with its "eighteen heads" had been beckoning to me for many days. Its unexplored glaciers and crevasses were almost irresistably drawing me on. How often the name of this mountain was invoked around my campfires! How often was a lha gsol offered up to it, or our hats removed while Tsch'eng standing upright threw the first scoop from the kettle into the air, as a libation in its honor!

On our maps Amne Machin is a long chain extending from the Tossun Nor many hundreds of kilometers toward the southeast. I discovered that the Tibetans apply this name to only the central mass which resembles Mont Blanc in our Alps. The rest of the range for which the natives have no name shows many points 5,300 - 5,500 meters high. /327/ The divine mountain looms up among them, lofty and proud, at an altitude of about 6,500 meters. (According to the Meng gu yu mu dyi, it is called Tsi sche Shan by the Chinese and is 300 lis long. In the Yüan period it was said to have been called Yirma bum ula. Among present-day Tibetans it is known as Amnni matschan musum ula, "the feared grandfather ice mountain." According to Jäschke's Tibetan-German dictionary its /Tibetan? name is rMabya tschen hbomra, "the lord of the Yellow River.")

000 We had won in the nocturnal encounter - only one horse was missing the next morning when we counted the animals - but for a side-trip to the glaciers of the mountain, the stakes seemed too high and my caravan was too precious to me. For my important goal lay much farther to the west.

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/328/ CHAPTER X

Into Tsaidam

133 We retreated over the east end of the Tossun Nor Plain. Our battle with the morass began anew. Pure mud covered wide barren areas. Two horses grew so weak from constantly sinking in that it cost us the greatest effort to get them to the north edge of the plain where there were sand dunes and it was tolerably dry. Five yak bullocks were also

[text continues on p 549]

unable to keep step with the caravan. On the next two days I saw 133
individual groups of riders through my field glasses. But none of them ventured to come close to us.

Our march now continued due north where there was a large white spot on the map on which "mighty mountain massif with perpetual snow" stood out in bold letters. Camp 36 (Plate LXVIII), 37 and 38 nestled at the foot of precipitous limestone mountains on which I collected carbon- (Culm) fossils (Phillipsia and Productus). To the west of us lay a high valley, many kilometers wide, filled with mud. Up on the peak of the limestone mountains, at an altitude of 4,500 meters, I found breeding, yellow Kasarka geese. It is difficult to imagine a 136.
more uncomfortable place for this business of hatching. There was seldom a tiny plant to be seen in a rock crevice. Wherever there was a sheltered spot, a hollow, it was filled with snow. Why do only these birds come out of the mild Chinese lowlands summer after summer to breed and molt in these storm-tossed unfriendly heights? On the plain there are also many small birds living in hollows in the ground. I saw three or four different kinds. During the day they twitter and half sing and even at night I could often hear them peep. They live on seeds and insects. One of the most common birds was the Tibetan lark (Melanocorypha maxima). Besides these we also observed kites, eagles and vultures. All the other birds that we still saw on the Tschürnong: cuckoos, gray doves, magpies, were left behind. As soon as the sun appears a few butterflies flit over the low grass, but always the same species.[1] There is an abundance of lesser fauna

1. Among others, the following were collected here: Papilio machaon-ladakensis Moore; Pap. tamerlanus Oberthür; Armandia thaidina Blanch; Aporia hippia-tibetana Gr.; Mesapia peloria Hew.; Melitaea didymaturanica Stgr.

but not a great variety of species. Spiders seem to be the most frequently-occurring insects, especially Laufspinnen. There are also a few species of flies and above all many wood-lice. Among beetles there are Karaben 12 millimeters long.

During this time the weather was very changeable. At Camp 36 132
a cloudless, starry sky spread over us so that it cooled off to minus eight degrees and thick hoar frost, a rarity in /329/ in these altitudes, covered the ground. At Camp 37 we once again had to put in a day of rest because we were enveloped in clouds all day and wet snow swirled about us. At noon a shaggy, strange dog appeared at the door

[text continues on p. 551]

5: Tafel--550 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13

133

Fig. 19. Tosain Nor west of Camp 34.

000 that my Dungan next to me in the heat of the chase shot with block-sight, in spite of the distance I gave him; otherwise the butchery would have been too cruel.

We hastened to get to the wounded animals as soon as we could, but even so fifteen minutes elapsed before we reached them. A mighty bull now separated himself from the herd and came rushing toward us. But before he came dangerously near he changed his mind and ran after the others. Two animals were bleeding profusely. My Dungan pounced on them. It was high time that they were killed if the meat was to be kosher for a Mohammedan; in a little while dark blood ran out of their severed throats. I myself went off in search of the third wounded animal which was trying to follow the herd. The latter had already calmed down and were heading for the entrance to the old glacier-circus, dragging along at a comfortable cattle-gait. Finally my victim comes within gun shot and I succeed in hitting it in such a way that the Mohammedans will be able to turn it toward the west and slaughter it according to their rites. As a result of my new shot the entire black herd falls over the mighty, creviced granite blocks of a gorge. A dreadful picture unfolds. Here an animal falls and kicks and struggles to get out of a crack between the boulders, yonder a calf disappears without a trace. And on top of everything, a powerful thunderstorm with thunder, lightning and sleet breaks loose with mad, Tibetan fury, booming infinitely mightier between the rock walls than my gun. The plaintive bellow of the cows looking for their calves is ghastly amid the incessant clap of thunder. I, who had caused all this misery, was reminded of Schiller's words in the mouth of the mountain spirit:

"The earth has room for all -
Why pursue my flock?"

333 I was anxious to get back to camp quickly, for I had left only seven men behind. Fortunately, I found that all was well there. My hunters did not arrive home until late at night with their meat and their trophies. Even while they had been skinning the animals, they were encircled by vultures and wolves.

●133 Not too far from this camp, the brook which we had followed here from the southeast breaks through the chain of rocks on the left and makes a narrow gorge. A not too long march downstream brought me to hot springs which I had been looking for for a long time. Rockhill had discovered them in the year 1892. (1) Therewith I

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 129.

C
133 was again on familiar ground. I knew now that I was standing beside the Tsaghan usse River and only had to follow its course in order to reach my next goal, Tsaidam. For the present, however, the miserable condition of my animals demanded several days of rest. I pitched Camp 44 close to the springs. We had now come down to 4,000 meters again, and excellent grass offered nourishment for the poor yaks and horses. The not very powerful but very hot springs gush forth on either side of the brook which suddenly cuts
C sharply into the valley floor and forms cascades. The silicate- and
133 limestone-sinter formations of the springs have firmly cemented the
T otherwise loose, coarse rubble masses and afforded the brook only a
529 narrow passage. They have also created caves and basin-like structures, true thermal spring baths. Round about on the pastures, large old cooking hearths and other remains showed that at times nomads
T with their families and herds came up here for weeks at a time.
[788] Prayer pennants, tufts of wool and jaw-bones of sheep, decorated with Tibetan prayer symbols, as well as small heaps of quartz fragments clearly showed that the springs had been very beneficial to the people who had visited them and that the little spot was regarded as sacred, a place prepared by beneficent mountain spirits for the welfare of mankind. Human beings had, however, done little to improve the baths. A neck-breaking path led down to the springs. One was obliged to stoop over and pass a grotto which gave off a strong odor of sulfur, in order to get to a natural tub which was the only possible place to bathe. Most of the water which gushes out of the ground at a temperature of +87.7°, immediately flows into a mountain stream which, at the time of my visit, had a temperature of +4°. But that one basin that was as large as an ordinary bathtub made it possible to bring the temperature of the hot water to any desired degree. All one had to do was stop up the small channel which fed it with a little loam. In a short time the hot water was cooled by the cold air of Tibet (Plate LXXI).

The effect which the natural bath had on the different types of
000 men of my caravan was very characteristic. The Fan tse Me from Kue de examined the opportunity and made off, muttering prayers. He was not ill, therefore he did not need the water. The Mohammedans H'an and the two Ma went to the hottest places and rubbed their foreheads, hands and feet clean, reciting prayers. My Chinese washed the upper part of their bodies. Only Da Tschang - the only one of my men, incidentally, who could read - imitated me and took a full bath. I, the European, had to make up for the

Plate LXXVII. N.W. China AFB

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Mouth of the Wulaszti. (The border mountains of Tsaidam in the Barun territory are completely bare. There are a few plants only along the edges of the brooks.)

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Woulded kyang on the southern edge of Tsaidam. (In the background the border range of Burkhan Buda, in front of it Piedmont gravel.)

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Mani rDyayu near the yurts of the Eastern Mongols, and border range of the Burkhan Buda Mountains.
(Taken 10 kilometres from the foot of the mountains.)

Border chain of the Burkhan Buda Mountains near the Yoghoro Valley.

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they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

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278 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning
437 of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

324 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for
386 medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of
262 another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as
000 my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our
●133 day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

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rented four camels for the crossing. On their high stilt legs they brought the bags of flour dry to the opposite shore, whereas the water ran over the backs of the bullocks. C 133

We camped on the left side of the river at an altitude of 3,170 meters, in other words, not much higher than the large Tsaidam Plain. Because of this, we were almost eaten up by millions of mosquitoes. To the north of us the Yohg'ore Valley soon passed over into the Tsaidam Plain. In the distance we saw the groups of houses comprising Schang rdi kura. On account of the mosquito-pest which was very painful for the animals - we were unable to let the horses graze freely even for a minute because they would immediately attempt to gallop off - I left the Yogh'ore Valley without visiting the houses of the Schang rdi with my caravan. On the following days I traveled over foothills and over several passes of 3,700-4,000 meters into the Barun territory (Plate LXXVIII). I was constantly running into individual Mongol settlements, yurts and flocks. Through some valleys I traveled as fast as I could. I suddenly learned that I had chanced on regions where there was a cattle epidemic. Now, some of my animals had allegedly had the disease, and I had bought them in regions where the pest had just raged very severely; yaks who have survived the disease are called tarma in Tibetan. Nevertheless, I was very much concerned for my herd. C 136 C 563 232

On July 12 we crossed the Ara Usse gol. Da Tschang and I were far ahead of the caravan and we reached this valley early. I was very hospitably received and entertained there by a Tibetan mamba, by a colleague of the science of medicine. The mamba with his wrinkled spouse, a Mongol woman, lived in a Tibetan black yak-hair tent which, inside, was furnished in Mongolian style. It had a two-winged entrance door and instead of the takoa, the walled and well-burning hearth of the Tibetans which always divides their tents in half, it had, Mongolian fashion, a cooking pot on a round, iron tripod about a foot high in the middle of the tent. In the rear of the tent there were a few chests on which stood a few dozen brass bowls containing holy water. The gentleman had evidently carefully packed away his gods before he invited us to step inside. From the ceiling hung countless small cloth pouches, blackened with soot, in which he kept his medicines, roots and seeds. He pulled down a little bag from the driest corner and showed me its contents. It revealed nitrate of potash which was supposed to come from the Lop region, and which he used to prepare gun powder. We talked about the weather and about cattle epidemics. The Ngolok and K'am T 756 342

T 756 Tibetans are said to have a good remedy for the latter. They are said to induce a sort of protective disease in their animals so that their animals do not contract the diseases as often or as severely. They kill young, sick animals when they are in the recuperative stage and feed their meat and blood to well animals. After this the latter are said to be sick for almost a week and eat nothing, but afterward they are immune, the mamba said. This "medicine" is largely bought from the Ngolok by the Koko Nor Tibetans and Mongols. But by the time it reaches the north it is usually spoiled and then it is reportedly not very efficacious. /345/

C 243 563 On July 14 we reached Ikhe gol. Here, at 3,185 meters, we came upon barley fields which the Barun Mongols had planted. I had also seen some in the lower Yogh'ore Valley. They were capable of being irrigated but looked extremely poor. I never again saw such uncared-for fields. The Mongols maintain that they are able to cultivate the same field only every six years. Then only do they plow their fields and sow thinly between the huge clods of earth, without harrowing or fertilizing. The weeds which grow up during the long period when the fields lie fallow are almost never removed, so that it was difficult for me to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated acres. The Ts'aidam Mongols are surely the laziest farmers in the world. For this reason they are obliged to get the largest part of their barley supply in Dankar.

C 133 From our camp along the Ikhe Gol we soon came out of the mountains. But we were obliged to march from morning till night in order to find a new pasture for our animals. The way led over a desert of stones, over the Piedmont gravel, the schala (Mongolian) of the Tsaidam Basin. The edge of the mountains, from which the Tibetan highland descends into the Tsaidam Plain, runs west-northwest to east-southeast. The declivity consists of completely barren, savagely cut-up crests which, toward the north, sink into the yellowish, weather-beaten dust and gravel of the schala. The latter is only very sparsely covered with desert plants, with tamarisks and other low shrubs. The bullocks reluctantly and very laboriously stamped over the sharp-edged stones of the ground. (Plate LXXVII). The farther west I came, the drier became the character of the landscape, and the more signs of vegetation disappeared. With every step it became more like a desert. For a long time now there had been no more small woods in the border-mountains, and the grass patches also dwindled noticeably.

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

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Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

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CHAPTER XI

Into High Tibet

000 The pleasant days of freedom on the pastures of the Barun Mongols passed all too quickly for the tired animals of my caravan. I was sorry to have to load them down again with their heavy burdens. The thirty-first of July passed with last-minute preparations and with a roll-call of the oxen. I found myself obliged to eliminate five yoke of oxen which had not recovered sufficiently. Two of my men also had to be released to go to Hsining, whither they were able to travel with a few Mongols. I was worried whether one of them would ever see his home again. He had suffered from a lung infection since the time of our damp encampment in the Wahong Mountains. /Fig. 1./

In order to rouse the most indolent of my servants I gave those who presented the least chafed-looking animals a small tip of two taels. (The animals of my Mohammedans looked in surprisingly good shape.) This idea of mine was all too European; the rest of that day and for many weeks thereafter it caused quarrels and fights among my men. Those who had been left empty-handed said it was unjust, that it was not their fault exactly that their charges were chafed, that they had probably been especially sinful people whose souls had been punished by being "changed" into beasts of burden, and given the additional penalty of being chafed and of having to undertake such a long and difficult journey as mine was. In arguing with a Chinese one always gets the worst of it. In the end I had to interfere in all seriousness and separate the two wrestling parties. Just in case lao si ye (the old gentleman, - meaning me) should ever be crazy enough to hand out rewards again, each one was going to make sure of getting the best animals. For my part, I vowed to let this experience suffice.

• 133 Scarcely had I set out with my caravan on August 1 when I met my Mongol friend, Dyoba Dyentsen. He offered to be my guide on the first day, and he brought me to a delightful pasture in the nearest parallel valley lying somewhat to the west, /2/ that of the Türketse gol. He himself had settled down for the month of August near this new camp of mine, and far away from other tents. The mountain pastures in this extreme western part of the Barun Mountains are very sparse. The farther west one travels the greater the inroads made by the grassless desert belt of the salt swamps of Tsaidam into the mountain range bordering on the plateau. The swamps are without drainage. The situation is such that the Dsun-Mongols who live farther

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west have no mountain pastures at all and are entirely dependent on their reed pastures full of salt in the Tsaidam plain. Even in the Türketse Valley the Barun Mongols can live only a few weeks during the year, and only in scattered places. They are therefore practically defenseless against razzias of even small divisions of Ngolok who, on a hunting excursion, may choose a souvenir from the herds of the Mongols. It certainly requires courage and a degree of fatalism almost unknown to us Europeans, for these people to continue to settle down there in spite of this always threatening danger of being so easily robbed of their herds.

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Dyoba reported that he convinced himself the day before on the Alang Nor that there were no Tibetans hunting there. I could be reassured. However, he also showed me a place farther up the valley where an observation post set up by my men could see any approaching robber bands, in plenty of time. After that he dragged me, willy nilly, to a hermit. He said he thought that before such a difficult undertaking one ought to have one's fortune told by a holy man.

An hour's steep ascent over rought granite blocks brought Dyoba Dyentsen and me, along with Tschang, to the holy man. He lived high in the mountains under a ledge of rock which offered only the scantiest protection. We approached the lama, bearing a khádar, and with butter and flour, according to the custom of the country. Dyoba introduced me with Mongolian ceremoniousness and in the most flowery style, and explained the purpose of our visit. The holy man who was about 70 years old and had long, wild and unkempt hair and weather-worn features, did not seem to be aware of us at first. In an absent-minded fashion he counted off innumerable "Om mani padme hung" on his well-worn rosary. When he had gone around once and prayed off the 108 little stone pellets, he sometimes fingered one of the other appendages on his rosary, a broad pincette, and with it he busily plucked out a few sprouting whiskers. The visible furnishings of his rock dwelling consisted of a small iron cooking pot, a water pitcher of yak leather, a leather bag for tsamba flour, a chest filled with butter, a small drum made of the upper portion of two human skulls, a trumpet made from a human tibia, Tibetan prayer books which were wrapped in a silk cloth that was covered with a thick layer of grease. Wherever I looked, on pieces of stone, on rock ledges, on cloth pennants fluttering in the wind, Tibetan maxims stared at me. This barefooted, bareheaded and half naked old man with his brown beardless face furrowed with wrinkles and his priest's toga which was once purple but was now dirty and ragged, presented a moving picture in

exception and give milk even without a calf. It is undoubtedly also a mere superstition that the calves of hybrid yaks are good for nothing. These animals (called schdur in Tibetan) are to be found fully grown, although it is very rare; but they seem to be vigorous and among Filchner's herd there was one that rendered us useful services. Although I found it fit, I was ridiculed at the time for letting it be palmed off on me. /7/ The colorful cattle that are found among the Mongols and Mohammedans are also, according to their owners, not supposed to lose their calves if they are to continue to give milk. Tibetans as well as Mohammedans say that veal does not taste good. The meat of the slaughtered p'ien nu (schdur) calves is thrown away and never eaten. It is well known that Chinese are horrified at the thought of eating beef. Even in Hsining fu where Chinese customs are to a great extent mixed with Tibetan and Mohammedan ones, there are a great many Chinese who consider it a mortal sin to eat beef and who refuse to drink milk. Among Chinese on the Tibetan border as well, the general opinion is: niu she fo, the cow is a Buddha. It is also considered a sin to use it for riding; humans should only use it to plough. However, the Tibetan generally spares his horse and rides on his yak, and particularly his p'ien niu (Tibetan: ntso) (Plate LIX of Vol. I).

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On the third of August when the packs had been tied up we were greeted by a beautifully clear morning. This weather prevailed almost all the time of my stay in the Barun-Tsaidam territory. Amid jolly song we went farther up the valley of Turketse gol. Soon after we left our camp the valley's big caravan road that I had heard of became a narrow hardly discernible path that looked more like a kyang route than a bridle path. Only on a terrace of rolling stones leading to a brook where we had to dismount, were there distinct traces of the animals of previous caravans. We went due south, and toward the end the path was very steep. Vegetation was more and more sparse. In spite of the precipitous slope the soil higher up was a barren mass of sand and mire, interspersed with huge piles of rubble and slabs of rock. My little black cluster moved unbelievably slowly toward the pass. The yaks panted heavily. One after another of the animals sank helpless and motionless into the almost bottomless mire. It was no small task to keep unloading the 30-40 kilogram packs, extricate the animals and tie the packs on again.

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At the pass which was only 4,815 meters high there was, unfortunately, one snow cloud chased by another and this prevented me from climbing a peak that was about a thousand meters higher than the

133 pass. There were only a few brief, clear moments when the hard, stinging kernels of snow permitted our watering eyes to catch a glimpse of the wild landscape of the pass. At such moments the chaos of partially crumbled slabs and heaps of rock covering an ancient, tremendous glacier circle that had its mouth towards the north, was all the more imposing.

Nowhere in this Burkh' an Buda mountain range did I see areas of eternal snows. Although there is more precipitation here than down below in the Tsaidam basin, it cannot withstand the drying power of the sun.

The peaks around the Türketse pass are almost buried in mounds of slab and rubble and this illustrates the earlier, gradual recession of the glacier in this entire region.

821 "Haya! ien tshi da de ch'en ā!" "Alas! how very big is the ien tschi!" sighed the Chinese when they finally reached the top and sank down completely exhausted from the great exertion caused by the mire and the rarefied atmosphere. /8/ The idea that a particular type of gas, ien tschi, is very "big" on the heights of Tibet, and that this causes difficulty in breathing in the mountains, is widespread.

132 We were also quite painfully affected by the sudden low temperature (at noon it was still around the freezing point) together with the west wind that howled around our ears, especially after the warm July days in the lowlands. I was scarcely able to steady the metal eclimeter, and only shaky marks appeared on the damp, cold surface of the paper.

133 From the 4,815 meter Türketse pass the descent is very gradual toward the south. The entire southern slope of the great Tsaidam border range is buried under huge moraines. We Europeans call this mountain range by the collective term Burkh' an Buda; however, the natives, the Mongols, use this name for only one of the more prominent peaks that is to be found somewhat to the west of my route.

We were all happy that the notorious ascent into the Tibetan highland had been accomplished without losses, and there seemed to be no further difficulties in the way of leading the over-exerted animals to succulent pastures on that same day; for in the distance we saw the most inviting-looking green spots in the region of the Alang Nor. However, my four-footed friends were not to partake of a green meal on that day, although from that vantage point travel in Tibet looks so simple not only at home but often on the road itself. We found ourselves on a flat part of a southern slope, on rubble imbedded in sand that was completely soaked with the water of the summer rainy season. There was absolutely no plant covering or roots which might

have helped the poor hoofed animals to get over the terrain. Of the 50 oxen often more than half were stuck up to their bellies in the swamp, until their drivers unloaded them and pulled them out. Hours went by and we had not progressed one kilometer. My herd lay scattered about over a large area, just as on the Tsassora and the Merduch' ts' o. Here an animal gave up exhausted from the struggle, and only rolled its eyes; and yonder another attempted to wrench itself free with its last bit of strength, like a house fly on glued paper. It was positively miraculous that finally all of them ploughed their way through. Finally, breathing rapidly, man and beast lay down on the partially dried off bit of land on the banks of a small brook that served as drainage. Only the sheep did not want to stay here where there were only a few pulvinate plants, but no tidbits. They had managed to get over all obstacles with agility, and had caused me who was to look out for them because the rest of the men were busy with the caravan, moments of palpitation when I saw them lightfooted as they were, race after each ranunculus, campanula or edelweiss on the sides of the rocky crags that loomed round about. They almost escaped into a gorge without leaving a trace. (1)

1. A large part of the Tibetan highland that I saw is made up of soft swampy sections, rubble consisting of quartz fragments, crumbled sandstone and sand, all saturated with moisture, and interspersed with single large rock fragments of the substratum. At 4,000-5,000 meter heights the surface thaws during the summer months. Not only the large valleys with their /9/ rubble, but even more the southern slope of the pass and the bottom of mountain slopes are so filled with moisture that the pack animals sink in with every step. At the Türketse pass we found "flowing soil." The surface of the loose rubble embankments was seamed with fissures and mounds and gradually slipping, because it was soaked through and yielded to gravity, and deep down probably rested on ice or at least on ground that has been frozen for countless ages. However, this shifting of the surface is not only to be found in High Tibet on barren spots as at the Türketse pass. I often saw the thin grass covering of an entire slope with its dense matting of roots slide down in one piece as a result of the saturation of the substratum with water, and form horizontal streaks of folds and

133 excrescences a half meter high and up to 100 meters long. The plant covering that had slid off resembled a layer of snow that slides off a smooth slate roof and forms folds in the process (see illustration 2).

000 /9/ August 4. During the past night we had more difficulty with the sheep. When shortly after sun-down a couple of wolves were heard near the tent, the frightened animals tore their ropes and crazily ran off. It was long after midnight before four of my men succeeded in catching them and bringing them back. This delayed our start in the morning. Fortunately the brook farther down had already washed out a sort of valley in the rubble mass and the poor animals who had moved close together shivering in the icy cold night, were no longer strained beyond endurance. We had not gone far that morning when my dogs succeeded in catching a young kyang. It was an adorable little animal, scarcely more than a month old, that went along with one of my horses, led by the bridle without giving any trouble. Since it had not been wounded by the dogs, I meant to try to raise it on the milk of my yak cow. From the very beginning it was not only my darling but that of everyone. Only the milch cow could not bear the long-legged, kicking red creature that walked about freely in the camp (Plate II) and bumped into all the cooking pots and the people. She refused to let it come near her. However, in my medicine chest I found a glass and a rubber hose from which a bottle was made and on that day as well as the following ones I devoted a great deal of time trying to make the foal drink. It was a thankless business. For if the milk did not flow the little animal turned quickly around and began kicking me with its hind legs. /Fig. 2. Cross-section of a thin plant layer sliding down a slope. /

Today we traveled 25 kilometers and set up camp when a snow storm of several hours' duration cut off visibility. We had not reached the Alang Nor. It had been a bleak trip along the valley of the little brook, down the moraine wall that looked like a thick protuberance in the southern section of the border chain. In our new encampment we were protected to a certain extent by flat rubble mounds. It was better not to be unnecessarily conspicuous with my small following on the broad, open steppes along the lake, otherwise impromptu robbers might become aware of me. The Tibetan highland atmosphere is uncannily clear /10/ especially after a snow squall. As before strict orders were given to extinguish all campfires when darkness approached.

133 On August 5 we crossed the broad steppe valley just to the west of

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Fig. a.
Cross-section of a thin plant layer sliding down a slope.

the Alang Nor, (Alak Nor), (Plate I). There were lush meadows 133
along the lake shore. Otherwise there were alternate swampy places, spots with grass that grew 10-15 centimeters high, and sections of gravelly rubble. Sand dunes had formed around a small hillock of rock in the middle of the valley, and their thin covering of grass gave off a faint green shimmer. However, not the smallest shrub was to 136
be seen. The steppe seemed dead. But how quickly it came to life not far away with antilopes, kyang, wild yak, wolves, foxes, marmots and bears when I took up my Zeiss field glasses! Several times one of my men came galloping excitedly up to me and pointed to a moving dot in the distance. Fortunately, however, the supposed Tibetan turned out to be a harmless bear or kyang. There were also huge herds of wild yaks on the plains, and they could be seen many kilometers off in their black pelts. They were proof enough that for some time there had been no one in the valley. Incidentally, these wild yaks are by no means altogether harmless. Although I took every precaution in our new camp and always kept two men on guard, nevertheless that afternoon a yak bull suddenly stood in the midst of my grazing cattle. The black giant seemed to be larger than life next to my tame animals, and he glared haughtily and rather surprised at the inferior creatures. I hesitated a moment, undecided whether to reach for my camera or for my rifle. My watchmen had fled when the monster had come racing up grunting and shaking his huge and bushy black tail. However, before I stepped out of my tent with my camera and gun a tragedy had happened. In a blind rage the bull had rammed his pointed horns into one of my animals, through the pillion, and tossed it into the air. The monster trudged off when he heard the shouts of distress coming from my men, and was pursued by the bullets of my watchmen who had recovered their courage. However, one of the best yak oxen lay dead on the ground.

After I lost the greater part of my equipment and with it my Euro- 821
pean tent in the attack on the Koko Nor I had had to make shift with a thin Chinese tent. This always caused great difficulty when I had to change my photographic plates. Even with the thinnest crescent of the moon in the sky it was not dark even under my blanket. On the night of August 5 there was a full moon and therefore no prospect of sufficient darkness throughout the night. I was therefore not a little happy when a bank of clouds in the east brought absolute darkness into the interior of my tent. I quickly decided to change plates, but while I was in the midst of doing this I was interrupted by a strange occurrence. My companions outside suddenly made a most frightful racket. Their

shots and yells sounded as though robbers were outside the camp; 821
they beat on lids and cooking pots like mad, in fact, on anything that makes a noise. The sharp whistling of shots pierced the shouting. At any moment I expected bullets to fly through my tent, as they did that time at Amne Maschin. As quickly as possible I /11/ packed away my plates and dashed out of the tent, cocked a Mauser pistol in each hand. The noise did not cease. Those of my men who were not shooting were swinging their swords which gleamed in the magic light of the camp fire. Threateningly one of them brandished his long lance. H'an and Tsch'eng dash up to me: "The monster, the voracious frog of heaven (1) has appeared in the sky!" ---

1. Called arha by the Tsaidam Mongols; it is the Ra hu of Indian mythology. The monster is also often addressed as wolf.

It was an eclipse of the moon. The cloud bank had disappeared and the full moon stood in a clear sky, but only a fast-disappearing part of its orb was bright, the greater part of it lay in the shadow of the earth. That was why it was so nice and dark in my tent! When the occultation grew less an altar was erected, incense was burned and they all fell on their knees and made a kowtow to the beloved and happily rescued celestial body.

In the southern part of the Alang Nor plain (2) there was a steep 133

2. It is also often pronounced Alak Nor.

ascent. It was necessary for us to reach a plateau that rose up in terrace formations. Many erratic granite and lime blocks a cubic meter in size towered out of the red disintegrated sand masses. They not only enabled me to make deductions concerning the history of the terrace, but also made me fear a renewed, difficult struggle with bottomless moraine mire.

We were still at the bottom of the slope when I inadvertantly came 136
upon a huge herd of wild yak. I counted 1,200 animals. They were outlined against the autumnal green of the meager pasture in the shape of a black, roundish mass. As usual the animals had drawn close together during the night. Huge amounts of droppings that covered a whole hillside and were recognizable at a distance of one kilometer betrayed their resting place for the night. At seven in the morning they were scattered over a wide area grazing, and a space of several

square kilometers looked as though it had been spattered with large black ink-blots. However, because of the almost total absence of /136 grass, I sought in vain to capture with my camera this magnificent picture of primeval ages, showing not man but wild cattle to be masters of the land. When they caught sight of me the nearest young bulls came toward me and threatened me, lowering and shaking their mighty heads as though they wanted to demonstrate: see! we'll lower our horns and then toss you merrily into the air.

The highland at the Alang Nor is, to be sure, uninhabited, but the yaks are so often disturbed by hunters that many of them recognize the dangers threatening them at the hands of humans. When some of the more experienced animals became aware of me as I crept up, the mass of them drew closer together, appearing blacker all the time. The old lead bull had also got wind of me and set out at a gallop leading the others. Like a huge, woolly, coal-black army worm, he seemed to be wending his way slowly up the slope. Soon, however, only the sound of a peculiar roaring and of falling stones caused by thousands of stamping hoofs came down to me from the distance. I only got the rear of the train on my plate; and with it an old jealous /12/ bull (Plate II). For a long time this old gentleman kept wagging his huge black tail at me in a challenging way. The tail was big enough to have made a handsome parade plume for three Prussian officers of the guard. However, finally even he did not quite trust the situation, and in a waddling trot he followed the herd of his more fortunate competitor, keeping a respectful distance of several hundred meters. The sandy mire caused the heavy animals much delay. Before they reached the height they had fallen into step again. In the melee many of the cows had lost track of their calves, and the latter followed behind in droves. My Tibetan servant Tschaschi killed one with his matchlock; for my utilitarian apostles informed me that killing the calves of wild yak is no sin.

When I myself reached the top of the "Sang-plateau" the yak went slowly off in three groups, each led by an old bull, toward the pastures on the northern foot of the next rocky mountain where we were able to observe them for another whole day.

Following the wild yak I had crossed the water shed between the Hwang Ho and the waters that hurry on toward the Tsaidam basin. /133 This was in the area of shifting masses. A few bare peaks that look like new steps rise up all around this peculiar plateau whose name Dyoba said was "Sang." (1) To the eye these rocky peaks look like

1. Probably meaning Tschang tang, the northern plain of the

great barren steppes of northern Tibet.

133

hills, and yet they reach a height of over 5,000 meters. Between the mountains there are undulating plains many kilometers wide. Countless small round pools without visible outlets are found all over. (Plate IV)

Nevertheless, although the terrain looked simple, our march to the south proved very time-consuming. It was impossible to take the heavily-burdened yak directly across the plain. The middle of the plain was a bottomless mire and I could only take detours along the foot of the mountains, and they required many additional hours. If occasionally we had to cross a valley, hours were spent looking for a half-way passable spot and in unpacking and re-loading the animals which had sunk deep into the soft ground. After even a short stretch of this, man and beast lie exhausted on the ground, struggling for breath.

On this wide plateau I saw Orongo-antilopes (2) for the first time. 136

2. Pantholops Hodgsoni Abel. My companions called these animals by the Tibetan name of tso (gtsod) and the Chinese name ling yang. The Mongols call it orongo. I found these animals only on undulating plains 4,000 meters high. The swampy plateaus near the Sing su h'ai are the eastern boundaries of their territory and from there it reaches far to the west over the entire northern part of Tibet. Wherever I found orongo-antilopes in northern Tibet, there were always great numbers of them. Their sharp eastern boundary seems all the more surprising, but this fact is also known to the Tibetans. As true inhabitants of Tschang tang /plateau/, the orongo-antilopes are not very timid; one can easily approach them at 100-150 meters. If the animals feel disturbed they cautiously retire to the middle of the plain. In sharp contrast to the small, very timid dsere-antilopes (gazella picticaudate Hodgson) who in flight /13/ first leap into the air, pulling in all fours and then dash off over cliffs and rocks into the mountains, the movement of the orongo may almost be called clumsy, to which their somewhat heavy body and thick neck contribute. When the orongo travels fast it amounts to a quick trot which, however, is not so easily imitated by any other animal.

rdya nagbo sdyenba dar
sog serbo sdyenba niam.

T 631
C 631

The offering of the black-clad Chinese rose up,
The offering of the yellow-clad Mongols was forced down."

The last remark referred to the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu dynasty. In 1724 under Emperor Yung tsch'eng, the Manchu general and prince "Ta" (Ta ai) created the minister-residency of Hsining fu. To this day he is known to every K'am Tibetan and honored in songs (1)

1. In the year 1731, i.e. eight years after the defeat of Lobzang Dandsin (See pages 312 and 313, Vol. I), Norbo Taidschi, the Dsassak of the western Torghut banner, as well as Duke Latsab, the Dsassak of the southern, left Khoschot banner, and Araptan Taidschi of the southern, front Torghut banner rose up against the Manchu. All three banners were near Rardscha gomba on the Hwang Ho. The Norbo people drove out all Chinese that had settled down on the Koko Nor. It was the last flare-up of the love of liberty and the old lust for power of the Mongols of Koko Nor. The Khoit of the Bayan Nor immediately came to the assistance of the Chinese, and in 1732 under the amban Ta ai these last heroes of freedom were defeated on a battlefield south of the Soloma and not far from Muru (muren) ussu. Norbo was captured and beheaded in Hsining. In this way a larger part of K'am was brought under the administration of Hsining.

as the Selanf dorge amban, the Hsining amban with the yellow, golden girdle.

Suddenly, without any organic relationship, the wide plain of the Sea of Stars, which is many kilometers broad, stretches out from the midst of numerous hills and mountains. It looks like a filled-in lake through which the Soloma (the Mongolian name for the upper Hwang Ho) follows its winding course. Somewhat farther to the east of the place where the obo of the Odontala (Mongolian name for "Sea of Stars") looms up, the blue mirror of Ts'aring Nor begins. It is surrounded with many green hills and sends out countless inlets far into the hilly country, between low slopes filled with hollows

C 133

and narrow ridges. (2)

●133
103

2. Ts'aring Nor (written skya rengs according to Ch. Das) is the Mongolian name for the western one of the two large lakes of the Hwang Ho which were discovered in 1884 by Prschevalski. In 1904 I stood on the shore of the eastern lake, Noring Nor (Mongolian). There the character of the landscape is still quite the same. There, too, are found low, rounded hills between swampy hollows. The Tibetan names of these lakes: "Ts'o schdyara," "Ts'o ngora," are more common than the Mongolian ones. (The Meng gu yu mu dyi calls the lakes Tsha ring and O ring, in which ring means "long," o (Tibetan ngo means "blue," and tscha means "white.")

133 On a ride with Tschang over the eastern part of the Sea of Stars I made good time. There were countless dunes on which some grass was just sprouting, and three broad branches of the Soloma that were always more than one meter deep, as well as accumulations of loess-like dust hard by impassable swamps and between flat lakes. For a long time these formations seemed to comprise an inexplicable mixture. Even in the days that followed when I traveled along the northern edge of the Sea of Stars, I often asked myself how it was possible that desert and swamp could be so close together here. Even though the month of August had been much drier here than June was in the Wahong Mountains, nevertheless the picture of desert and swamp did not seem to fit the climate (see p.106).

000 On August 12 I gave the order to set up camp on a pretty, sandy pasture in the plains. During the day we were only once enveloped for a few minutes /16/ by a cloud of hail. The snow-fields on the Kuenlun Mountains (1) to the south were greatly reduced as a result

1. It is not surprising that the Chinese call this relatively unimportant mountain by this name which for us means one of the largest Asiatic mountain ranges. As we have said before, for a Chinese acquainted with the locality, the name of a mountain range means only the name of a particular peak or pass. In this case, I suspect, the reverse is the case: a Chinese name that is used in some distant place was afterwards applied by officers to a certain place.

000 from our camp-site in a barchan shelter.

On August 13 I attempted in vain to get with my caravan over the swampy plains toward the south. It was not to be considered on the barren plain that glittered white from countless quartz fragments. /Plates I, II, III and IV appear between pp. 16 and 17 in original text//17/

On August 14 I was again snowed-in for a whole day and unable to see anything. If I sat on the floor of my tent amid all the packs, I had just about as much room as in a narrow ship's cabin. How I envied ship travelers when I had to wait for days within my narrow tent walls, while every gust of the wind drove a fine mist through the walls of thin cotton. The few books I had with me took on the appearance of playing cards, and acquired the added attraction of substituting for games of patience.

Our only diversion on this latest snow-bound day was the chase for a kyang stallion that for hours had been grazing peacefully among my horses, and the sudden death of our little favorite, the kyang foal. It had convulsions and died immediately after. Lao Sung also had a mild adventure here. He was supposed to watch the herd of sheep but it had got away from him. The herd and my servant were not to be found for a day and a night. The next morning he said that the sheep had suddenly fled from a bad spirit (dri /written hdre/ Tibetan). He maintained that he had had a dreadful night; quite close to him bears were sitting about. It is true that on the following day during our march I killed an enormous old bear. The minute it appeared it was immortalized by the camera and then the fatal bullet was fired. (Plate III). The blow that my hand camera received on this hunt was too much for it; this was the last picture it took in Tibet.

•/133 The western border of Sing su h'ai also consists of low sandstone hills. In the midst of these on an entirely flat pass and in sandy rubble lies the water shed between the Hwang Ho and the Schogha Gol which breaks through a distance of many days of traveling to the west toward Tsaidam. From this vantage point I could once again look beyond the Schogha Valley and see a long stretch of the beautiful Burkh'an Buda Mountains that formed a sharply divided chain of peaks. The detritus masses reached up to the passes, and I take them to be remnants and testimonies of the huge glacier that once covered Tibet.

000 Here at camp 69 the dispute over the Barun tip flared up with renewed force among my men. Sung and the Tibetan Tschaschi angrily pulled each other's pig-tails, even though neither of them had got anything. Sung now wanted to force his comrade to take over a

his previous experience and before I was ready to shoot, his shot had driven away both of them. 000

I had come to the region about which the Tsaidam Mongols had so often told me, the highland in which there lived people who did not raise cattle or sheep and did not farm, but who dressed in thick furs and nourished themselves on mice and rats. They were supposed to have their homes hard by the Soloma source water (1) and the

1. Mongolian name for the upper Hwang Ho.

Muru Usse (2).

2. Mongolian name for Yangtze Kiang.

The Tibetan bears (Ursus lagomyarius, Ursus pruinosus Blyth) vary a great deal as to color. The white neck-band also differs greatly in width. Sometimes it is only a white spot at the throat, about the size of that of a Malay bear, and sometimes it is a broad white band that runs all around the neck. In fact, often the bear's shoulder is completely white over a 20 centimeter wide area. The color of the body is a light, dirty grayish yellow. The hind legs have different-sized areas of greenish black. In winter, especially, their color is very dark. No wonder the Mongols in Tsaidam tell each other that up in the mountains there are black, white, and yellow bears, and bears as red as cattle. 136

August 18. Only a short distance from the camp-site I had come to a low saddle between two peaks where only isolated white rocks containing petrified carbon-coral fragments stood out among otherwise rounded mountain formations, when I had a view of the extreme western, true headwaters of the Hwang Ho. They lie in a trough many kilometers wide and are covered with a dense, low growth of hard rushes, interspersed with innumerable drainless pools. From the largest basin that looked like a lake flowed a brook that was one meter deep but so narrow that it could be crossed with one step. This we can probably call the true source of the Hwang Ho (3) (Plate VI). 133

3. Chinese accounts about the upper course of the Hwang Ho are very scant up to the beginning of the Yüan dynasty. According to De Mailla, Histoire de la Chine, Vol. 9, p. 404, 1779, Kublai Khan sent the Chinese mathematician Tu schi to look for the head waters in the year 1280.

•133 According to his account, the water gathers from a hundred different directions in a large swampy plain (called sing su h'ai) and from there enters the two lakes Ala Nor from which flows the Tschi ping ho which farther down is called the Hwang Ho. However, Tu schi is supposed to have come only as far as Kue de! (This accounts for the confusion between the Alang Nor and the Ts'aring and Oring Nor.) In the year 1704 the Emperor Kang hsi demanded a new report on the source of the Hwang Ho. After the Hwang Ho flooded the great plain in the year 1780, Emperor Kien lung finally sent out an expedition in the year 1782 to explore the river thoroughly and to make a sacrifice to the river god at the source. With the help of the Koko Nor-Mongols, Amita, son of Akuli, went from Hsining fu up to the source. He reported that he followed the river Altan Gol upwards from Odontala (Sea of Stars) and thus discovered the golden rock of the north star (Altan gashun tscholo) which is an isolated, golden-yellow rock about 100 feet high in the pool that forms the source. (See further: Mémoires concern. les Chin., Vol. 10, and Plath: Mandschurei, Vol. 2, Timkowski, Vol. 2.) In recognition of the support which the Mongolian standard-bearers lent the Manchurian explorer, most of them were at that time appointed hereditary princes and taidschi.

136 A pair of the yellow Chinese kasarka-geese ruffled the blue surface of the lake, and two others in their thin moulting feathers laboriously /21/ flew off making a clucking noise just as we approached the shore. A lark rose up from the heath which was clad in its autumn colors, and the bird proclaimed in its shrill tones the peace of this world which was untouched by humans. A few wild yaks made a coal-black silhouette against the brilliant yellow-green and the blue of the sky. But peace and happiness were a mere delusion. On the motionless mirror of the lake floated the swollen carcasses of two yaks and along the shore there were many yak skulls and bones, more than two hundred from animals that had only recently been killed. Several days before this we were struck by the number of sick yaks that we came across. They were standing there indifferently, spittle running from their mouths, and mutely noted our passing. Only if we got too close did they wearily turn aside. Here at the lake seemed to be the

000 gorged a little too much on the kyang and was therefore giving himself the cold-water cure. Fortunately he did not seriously pursue my three men, but also hastened away after being so rudely interrupted in his slumber.

The adventure gave the men plenty of material for the long evenings around the campfire, accompanied by the monotonous swish of a pair of bellows. I found the Chinese always very sensitive toward taunts and sneers, and since the motto: live and let live! is bred in their bones, the run-aways were teased surprisingly little for their obvious cowardice. Only Tschang who had always boasted of his brave deeds, was not permitted to open his mouth so wide during the next few days. In fact, he had few friends because, although he was clever, he was also very lazy.

133 When in summer the sun glistens on the uninhabited heights of Tibet and perhaps far down on the horizon a gray veil of cloud that passes with barely audible thunderclaps, gradually conceals peak after peak and valley after valley, causing the otherwise blue hollows and elevations to turn white within a short time, - at such times it is magnificent up there in the wilderness. And this is the way it was on the blunt crest that I had chosen already the day before in the mountain range southwest of the Hwang Ho source, as the route of our journey toward the upper Yangtze Kiang. This nameless point was not a mountain that loomed up above the others and yet I was able to see a tremendous distance across the many parallel mountain chains. One chain after another ran N 70° W. Each one was endlessly long so that where they left off one seemed to see the phenomenon of the curvature of the earth, just as one does with sail boats on the high seas. Between them lay just as long parallel valleys, wide and brown, with many tiny oval lakes in them, and this completed the picture of a gigantic petrified ground swell.

There was a snow-covered height, not very far above the 4,790 meter high pass which my caravan crossed, and beyond it lay unfolded in perfect beauty the view which I have just described. Here also the rocks presented a picture of the same conditions that we had encountered everywhere since we found the granite masses in the Burkh'an Buda mountain range: here also I found vertical layers of clayey slate and
000 sandstone. I was laboriously climbing over the thin fragments of disintegrated outcroppings and scrambling up the almost perpendicular rock slabs that look as though they had been artificially rammed into the softer intermediate layers which on the surface had become detritus and sand, when above me rose up as though by magic the

000 at the twelfth hour, and rain and hail stung our faces for an hour or more. Toward evening (it was always astonishing how quickly and easily it all happened) the cloud masses broke up. The wind died down, and by the time night fell the enchantingly beautiful starry sky of Tibet appeared, offering an invitation to my men to spend hours telling their legends of the river of heaven (the milky way), of the king's son and his beloved who were permitted to live together only after they had become stars.

136 After I had come down lower and thus reached better grass pasturage, larger herds of kyang began to appear; unusually often there was other wild game: yak (Plate VII), hares, foxes and marmots, so that we did not have to kill a sheep for long periods. On the other hand, there were no orongo-antilopes in the valley. These animals evidently like the extremely high, inhospitable regions where, on wide slightly undulating plateaus there is just enough food for their modest needs. On the other hand, I here added a beautiful example of ovis poli to my collection. This is a gigantic wild sheep which the Chinese call da t'ou wan yang, and the Mongols, argali. It seems to be rather rare in East Tibet, and to occur only in the northern part, in rocky /28/ regions above the timber line. I never saw more than three or four at one time. They are extremely timid, even though they have little to fear from the Tibetan matchlocks. The buck was almost as 000 big as a young wild yak. My men shook their heads doubtfully at this new, crazy idea of their master who was bent on taking along what seemed to them a useless mass of bones and powerful horns. It required infinite patience and cunning to persuade the men to carry out my order, and only the promise of a larger tip finally induced one of them to add it to his burden.

"It must be especially powerful medicine," I heard Tschang saying outside at the campfire, "that the lao ai ye is willing to give so much for it. Why, apart from the tea money it will surely cost him two yaks because the burden will be too much for them if the gui of the animal ever mounts it."

133 The way down the valley was endlessly long. Over a period of days we looked in vain for a large body of water. The walls of rock and rubble slopes seemed to rise up ever higher and wilder. On the morning of August 28 nothing in the steep, narrow mountain region indicated the proximity of a large stream, when suddenly we came round a bend and heard the sound of the mighty Yangtze Kiang quite close to us. Again part of the task that I had set myself was carried out. We had reached the "Blue River," the Da Kiang, the Kin scha

Kiang (river of golden sand), the Tung t'ien Ho (1), the Muru Ussu (2) /133

1. Rockhill in "The land of the lamas": t'ung t'ien h'o (river of all heaven).

2. Or: Muren Usse (river water), formerly: Kuke Usse (blue water).

of the Mongols, the schDdre Tschü, Dre Chu of the Tibetans and all the other dozens of names that people have given this river on its long journey seaward. It is not 200 meters wide and pushes and winds its way between countless high terraces, exactly as I had seen the Hwang Ho do in the Ngolok country two years before. Here also there was a relatively narrow parallel valley on either side of which mountain chains rise up to a height of 1,000 meters, consisting of upright, almost perpendicular sandstone and argillite banks, with rich veins of quartz. (Plate VIII)

I immediately rode one of the largest horses I possessed into the 000 stream, but after a few steps it had already lost footing. Much farther down-stream we finally came, panting and puffing to the protective shore. It was impossible to ford the stream with our heavily-laden animals, even though the much wider river bed indicated that at present the water was at a particularly low level. However, just at the point where the valley which I had descended opened up, the conditions for a crossing seemed very favorable, and I therefore decided to camp right on the spot and have a raft built. Provisions had been made for such an emergency. From the time we had left Barun the sheep and goats we had slaughtered were skinned all in one piece, so that these skins had now only to be tied together at the legs and neck and the bags thus formed blown up. The poles we needed I had had dragged along from Barun Tsaidam. They were used to build the frame of the raft to which twelve of these air sacks were fastened. Although my /29/ men were not exactly river men, they nevertheless proved to be very adept in this primitive art of raft-building. Each of them had often seen such a work of art on his native river, and most of them had traveled long distances in this way.

And so everyone was in good spirits on that first afternoon along the Yangtze Kiang. The temperature of the water was +12°C, and most of the men used the opportunity to bathe. None of them could swim without an air tube, but with one of these which they tied lengthwise to their chests so that their entire torsos were practically

tschü ka. For two months they had let the animals of their caravan 000
graze in Nag tschüka while they themselves, as was customary, went the rest of the way to Lhasa to the kowtow on hired horses. Now they were thanking their hosts by robbing them! "Oh well, that happens to be our custom," was the way dirty Tschaschi finally excused himself. /33/

A brief day's march west of the ford again took us, by means of a 133
gradual ascent, into the actual High Tibet. There the orongo-antelope again appeared. The farther west we went the lower became the mountains which rose out of the ever-widening desert valley. The mountains throughout showed almost vertical strata of sandstone. A whole row of mountain chains which at the Chu Mar ford are divided by deep valleys and loomed up before me at the river, disappear in the west under the level of this high plateau. From the deep tub-like valley of the Yangtze Kiang which, at the place where I ran into it, was attempting to change the typical U-shaped valley of the glacial age, I had climbed up, within a few days, to the high plateau of North Tibet, which spreads out more and more to the west.

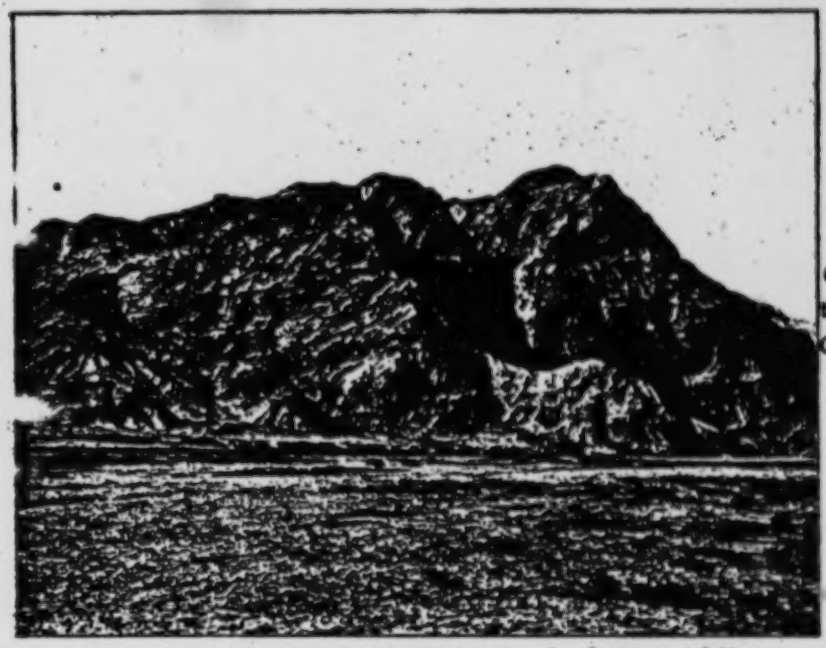
I traveled along the southern border of this valley. There, at the northern foot of the mountains which are at first only 400 meters high and a mass of deep furrows, there were still a great many continuous grassy stretches. The middle of the upper valley was barren and only the lowest pulvinate plants covered the ground. Somewhat to the north of the center, the river which I had crossed at the great ford, meandered along in a shallow bed. Beyond the river I saw sand dunes which, in the distance, toward the northern edge of the valley, took on ever mightier shapes. The natural boundary was again formed by flatly ascending sandstone mountains. In the distance they looked like a solid mass, and in spite of the Tibetan clarity of the atmosphere, one could see individual valleys at this distance only with the help of a good pair of field glasses. At the extreme northern horizon, finally, could be seen mighty domes of snow. At first glance it was impossible to realize that these were only the extreme heights of narrow mountain ridges stretching immeasurably far to the northwest. Each of us thought that the first peak which we could only see indistinctly and vibrating in the sunlight, was a small cumulus cloud.

At that time I had to travel westward for several days before I 000
realized what lay before me and how I could reconcile the vast panorama before me with the scant picture on my map. Without realizing it at the time I had climbed the eastern end of the high valley which was more than 1,000 kilometers long, along which Hedin

Plate XII.

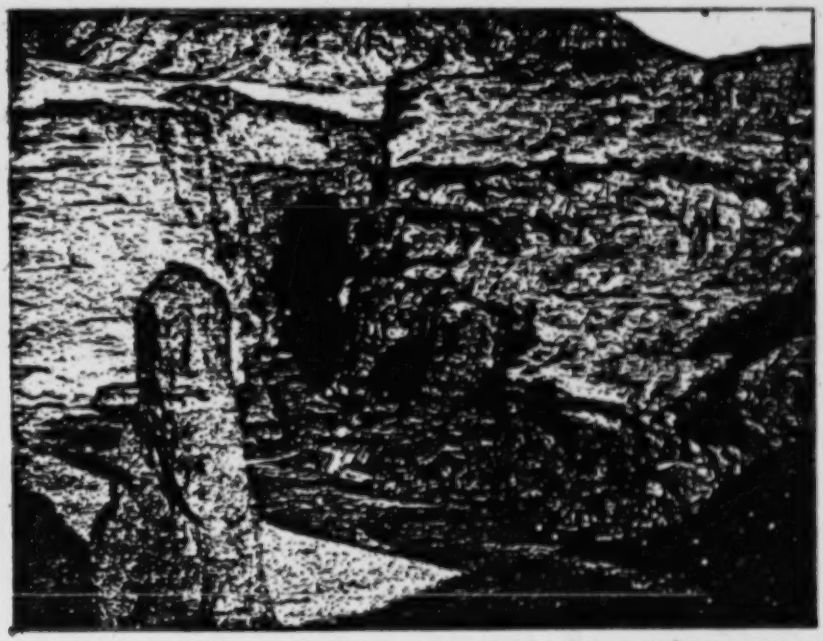
/40 (D)/

133.



Gorge of the Schogha Gol

Chalk mountains at the Schogha Gol. (In the foreground lie the five last yak oxen.)



The Natschi Gol in its rocky gorge. (At the bottom of it my companions are in the act of hiding the rescued box containing cash for the journey.)

our cooking fire and saw us. But the bear took his time. He raised 000
himself up on his hind paws, plopped down again and stared at us until we got up, threw stones at him and set our dogs on him. Then he turned around quickly and in a rapid trot overtook Reinecke and Isengrim.

On September 27 we finally reached a notch, an entirely flat 133.
gap (4, 870 meters) in the chain of the Marco Polo Range. From here it continued in an easterly direction and there were only a few high mountains. Later in Tsaidam I learned that this was the Tschüm tsing pass (Plate XI). From here there was a steep descent to the north down to a stream valley running toward Tsaidam. Shortly before, we had seen in the distance, to the right, a large lake whose blue mirrored surface extended 15 kilometers to the east. It looked very pretty surrounded by low sandstone- and argillite hills, and lay somewhat below 4, 700 meters in front of the eastern end of the great moraine of the Marco Polo Mountains.

At this place our yak calf had to give up his young life. There 000
was a great to-do until it was slaughtered. Everybody suffered from hunger but no one wanted to undertake the killing. First off the Dungani declared that they could not commit this great sin. Finally a couple of the more enlightened ones, especially Da Tschang, persuaded Ma to kill it according to Mohammedan rites. But only the thought that the common cooking pot would become un-kosher for them if the calf should be strangled according to Fan tse ritual or perhaps shot by me, moved him to do it. The entire end of the day until far into the night they debated about this sin and about the actual or imaginary necessity which prompted it. The whole four- to five-month-old animal was consumed by us in one single meal and yet not one of us /47/ had had enough to eat. Not one of my companions had ever tasted veal before. It was excellent meat, but because of the sin involved, they admitted only reluctantly how well it tasted.

The valley down which we traveled was more barren and desolate than any I had previously encountered. I did not cease to marvel how the Tibetan caravans find enough food here for their herds of yak which number in the thousands. It seems as though one could count every blade of grass along the way, so sparse is the growth. The sharp-edged slate and sandstone slabs looked black among the slopes in the sameness of their vertical stratification. Detritus slopes such as are found in our Alps were hardly to be seen. Atmospheric precipitations are so slight that they can hardly move along

the fragments into which the primary rock is split by the daily freezing and thawing of water in cracks and crevices. The rock generally disintegrates on the spot and turns into fine dust and mire, out of which more resistant layers that still adhere to the rock, project in the form of paper-thin laminae and fragments. / Fig. 4 appears here in original text. /

In our first camp in this valley a foot of snow bore down on us in the morning. During the night hard, round kernels, like hail, had bounced down. When I cautiously peeked out of my felt cover, I saw the yak oxen lying beside me, motionless, like stone idols. I was ready to pronounce them dead when I heard them grind their teeth. They had nothing in their stomachs to ruminate.

At half past six in the morning it began to clear a little, but soon new clouds appeared. We "made our toilets" and then squatted silently around the fire which in three-quarters of an hour hardly brought the tea water to a boil. An icy wind penetrated our bones; it preserved the snow this time, although usually the effect of the sun rapidly makes the snow disappear. And so we tramped on down the valley. The luo tse or tie-shoes that we had sewn at the unlucky camp were scraped through at the heel and ball of the foot (see Fig. 4). Most of the men complained of sore feet. Even the yak limped more than they walked. Their hoofs were worn down. Three of them were lame and almost all of them were chafed. Formerly I always treated these wounds with kalium permanganicum which resulted in rapid healing. Now I had to watch helplessly how the wounds grew bigger and bigger.

September 28. We are still following the valley. It is terribly dry and barren. The stream has also dried up. The desert-like character of the Central Asiatic camel steppes is beginning to appear. The grassy terraces that have served as campsites of caravans stand out like oases.

Today we shot a lonely wild yak bull, an ancient, tough animal. Its body had not yet grown cold before we were already cutting off pieces of meat /48/ and eating them raw. Only after we had satisfied our worst hunger pangs did we look for dried dung and then lay the steaks on the little glimmering heap and roasted them. We boiled only very little meat and that for a short time only, so that it would not become as tough as leather.

Finally, amid mist and fog, a larger stream appeared toward the east. This was the huge valley of the Schogha Gol which Prschewalski had at one time discovered and which I had longed for. The river is

• 133 divided into several branches and makes wide bends, whereupon it enters a narrow passage between chalk cliffs at the point where we reached it.

000 We had now descended to 3, 980 meters and were rid of the discomforts caused by the thin air. There was now quite a bit of vegetation, thorny, prickly bushes, even shrubs that were almost as tall as a man, but there was no more grass for the starving animals. It was terrible for me to have to see their suffering.

In the camp at the Schogha Gol I had to reach a difficult decision. To follow the Schogha downstream, as I had planned, was out of the question. The river disappeared between absolutely vertical walls of limestone (Plate XII). We had waded one-half kilometer down the icy stream without seeing the end of the gorge.

Should we follow the Lhasa road further and go up-stream along the Schogha,or should we take new paths across the unknown rocky mountains in front of us to the north?

I weighed off our provisions. If they were strictly rationed they would last eight days. During this time it would, however, be impossible for us to reach inhabited country by way of the Lhasa road. It was hopeless to count on hunting luck and stretch our supplies with meat, because of the barrenness of the region. The morale of my men was completely undermined when the new obstacle, the Schogha gorge, confronted us so unexpectedly. I had to hear bitter reproaches, as though I were to blame for all our misfortune. If luck did not soon come my way I would have to look forward to serious mutiny. Nevertheless I risked abandoning the well-worn road which filled my men with such confidence. Better a horrible end than endless horror!

Thus we set out into a trackless uncertainty, and after crossing the Schogha we climb up between bare slopes of rubble. We are surrounded by nothing but stony, cheerless barren mountains. The yak can hardly move, now that they are even supposed to go up-hill. Tscheng, Sung and Me do not cease to rattle off their prayers, finger their rosaries, and swing their prayer mill. The day is slowly dying. In vain we halt to look for grass and water. Our need was great. But when it is greatest there is always help nearest at hand. Late in the evening we came to a small patch of grass, we came upon snow which we could melt, and we saw close in front of us a pass from which beckoned a lab (r)tse. (1) At least there had been people here before us!

1. I later learned that it was called Schah'ka kottel. The Ngolok are supposed to use this pass on their robbing expeditions.

ourselves should get out of this waste land and reach people, we would return with fresh animals and gather it up. Without a word the camera, the box of plates and cartridges were buried in a hollow. Silently we dragged on. Every step was an effort. 000

A second valley now joined ours from the south, on the left. It is rather narrower than ours, but indicates the direction and points directly north, in other words to Tsaidam. My aneroid barometers indicate about 3, 200 meters. Consequently it cannot be much farther to the Mongolian plain. But where in the world is the Nätschi Gol? The valley to the south is also completely dry and sterile. The sands of the valley bottom stretch completely flat over to the farther foot of the mountain. There is not a trace of a summer rain bed. - - There - - what do I hear? 133

What is that murmur? - Is it an hallucination? Is it the wind humming in my ears? I go on a few steps and am standing quite close to the sought-for stream. Deep down in a narrow crevice a mighty torrent churns its yellowish green waters. The sudden, vertical drop into the broad sandy valley was almost 100 meters deep (Plate XII). For a long distance it was impossible to get to the water. Even at the place where we finally camp in the evening we could reach the water only by climbing hand over foot. /51/ There was no food for the animals here either. A few kyang - perhaps it had been riding horses - had once passed a night in the vicinity. The yak devoured their old, rotted dung. It was disgraceful! One of them - it was the second of the two we had picked up on the way - was at the end of its strength. It was still comparatively fat. We therefore killed it and boiled its meat all night long. We consumed it ravenously the next morning, but it still tasted horridly sweetish and had a nauseating effect. 000

October 4. In the gorge down below we buried the rest of our things. The bar silver, our treasury for the journey, was for the most part deposited here (Plate XII). Only the notes and sketches of maps were taken along. The last two oxen could stagger along almost completely unburdened. At the slightest slope, however, where there was only a modest ascent, they wanted to halt and lie down. Their hearts were giving out. The alpine animals that scarcely ever came down lower than 3, 000 meters suffered just as much from the exertion as humans. On this day, too, we went on into the dusk. During the afternoon the Nätschi Gol Valley had grown continually wider. The river was far off when we lay down to rest.

/56 (A)/

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Our view from the last pass (the Schach'ka kottel) on the way down to Tsaidam.

II

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K 782 Tsch'eng also always made a new tardo, the three stones of our waka. For reasons of superstition they never used one that belonged to a previous company of travelers. When we left he always said the following words to the tardo: "I shall see you again." This was done in the hope that the god dwelling in the fire place, whom he had given food, would protect him from all dangers and would safely bring him back to this same place. After my earlier accounts, I need not mention the fact that with the words, mtschod bambel he offered a libation to the gods of each article of food before he tasted it.

K 284 My guides were also very much concerned that we should gnaw all the bones clean. Lama dyi said: "Travelers who do not clean up their food will surely be attacked by robbers in Tibet, because their extravagance marks them as strangers and rich people, and the robbers lie in wait for them until an opportune moment for an attack presents itself." He carefully opened all bones and took out the marrow. Only the tibia must never be opened. I could never discover the reason for this; it was very dangerous, I was told.

K 787 [B27] If one of us sneezed they said that someone far away had spoken the name of that person. Just as in China, white spots on the finger nails meant that somewhere a relative has died; and if someone's ears turned red, they immediately said that at home something bad was being said about him. When a sheep had been killed, they always examined the edge of the spleen and predicted the future from that.

K 754 The Dam-Mongols have the same superstitions as the Tibetans. They, too, believe that if one sticks a hair or a bit of finger-nail into a lump of clay that is supposed to represent a certain person /61/ or if one uses a picture or photograph, one can hex a person to death.

C • 133 With Lama dyi we traveled 50-60 kilometers daily. We cooked only twice a day and we rode all day at a quick pace. On the second day beyond Tengelik we were still going almost due east. Soon we came out of the big forest. The Piedmont gravel which extended toward us from the foot of the Dsun mongu ula and Burkh'an Buda (a bare, projecting mass of mountains on the edge of High Tibet in the south) now bordered salt springs and a naked salt swamp behind a narrow chain of dunes. The swamp, fortunately, was rather dry so that the animals only occasionally sank in up to their knees and had to be pulled out. (1)

1. The Tsaidam swamp which I here crossed from southwest to northeast, shows forms which Hedin describes

in speaking of his winter journey in the northwestern part of Tsaidam in his Scientific Results....., Stockholm 1905, Vol. III, p. 298. He adds profile illustrations. Hedin uses the following comparison: "like a gigantic and suddenly congealed stream of lava." A crust as hard as stone which resounded under the hoofs of our horses now covered the ground where, according to Lama dyi's accounts, in summer no one could get across. There was a complete absence of vegetation. The mire which was sometimes sandy and sometimes more earthy, as well as the salt on top of the swamp formed thousands of mounds up to one-half meter high, notches and lamellae which all came to thin points and were turned at an angle of 45° toward the west. Between these gleamed snow-white saltpeter (called biltsching here) and transparent crystals of cooking salt out of druses and cavities made by bubbles that had burst. These forms originate every year when the swamp dries up in the fall, as soon as the weather gets cold and the precipitation of summer ceases. Hedin describes them as he saw them in December. The peaks that are turned toward the west indicate the influence of the west winds. These begin in the fall and, together with the cold during the night, bring about a rapid evaporation. 133

The boundary between the Tädschinär dsassak and the Dsun dsassak territory runs straight through this salt desert. In the evening we set up camp at the H'ara (Khara) Usse Gol. The river had heavy, brown waves and ran toward the northwest in great bends. It was 10 meters wide but scarcely more than a foot deep and the river bed made only a small depression in the plain. Farther up the H'ara Usse Gol was a much more imposing body of water; there it becomes the Wulasetä Gol along which I camped in July. The Ikhe Gol, the Türketse Gol, as well as others find their continuation in this H'ara Usse (black water).

The muddy water pushed its way soundlessly through the barren waste which showed neither tree nor shrub. The entire country lay dead. The winter sky of central Asia rested upon it, not a cloud showing. And yet it was a magnificent picture. The narrow strip of reeds along the river bank swayed like a field of grain - it was the only thing the animals found to eat. Salt and saltpeter covered the 000

000 plain round about. The blinding white of the salt blended with the whiteness of the ice that had formed on the banks. The far, far mountains looked like a faint line against the sky, bordering this wilderness, inimical to all life. When the sun neared the horizon a greenish cold mist descended upon the plain. It made us shiver to the bone, and conjured up a thousand new reflexes. And when it grew dark and I lay on the ground under my fur, like the men round about me, and listened to the whispering reeds and to the salt kernels which the wind blew softly over me, I was unable to sleep. Not a mountain, not a rock, /62/ not a shrub formed a quiet sillhouette to which the eye could cling. Only millions and millions of stars flickered round about me, even on the horizon they sparkled through the clear air of the highland as bright as in the zenith. I felt dizzy, and even toward morning in my dreams I felt as though I were all alone drifting on an ocean, without a will of my own, bowing to fate, just as Lama dyi with his nine dice determined it beforehand.

"Indeed, we love this land, our native land," the Mongols told me. Lama dyi simply could not understand that I did not find his native country magnificent, that I would rather not stay there. The deserts that surrounded his country, in which the little earth spirits (gji bdag) did not prepare the earth for humans, made his land seem particularly attractive, for it kept away the Ketutse and Tangutse, the Chinese and Tibetans.

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•133 Beyond the H'ara Usse we went on in a straight northeasterly direction. All around there were salt- and saltpeter surfaces, mixed with earth and sand; they were seldom in a pure crystallized state. We crossed several branches of the Bayan Gol which, in its upper part, is called Yoghore Gol. Lama dyi thought it was the Lu sha Ho of the Tang sen legend. In the evening we camped on the banks of the Bulungir Gol. With it we had reached the northern edge of the Tsaidam Swamp, for the Bulungir Gol gets its water from the ravines of the Serluk (Sarlik) and Timurtu ula. The entire distance we had covered in the footsteps of many hundreds of horses. They were the tracks of the bu se, the alms, which the Tädschinär dsassak had paid to the Gum bum monastery this year. The lama had driven 400 three to four-year-old animals home from their summer campaign.

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AH3 The two Mongols now became more and more wary. If we saw a few kyang in the distance Lama dyi immediately feared they were riders and robbers. In the evening of the fourth day we came to some tents, the yurts of the belli, the prince of the Kukut Mongols, that lay hidden behind stately dunes. The place is called Tsokh'o and is an

000 (see p. 65). They do not throw the stones in a heap but place pebbles and flat stones the size of a fist upright on the side of the path.

beyond the saddle, the path descended lower and lower between the naked rocks. We were passing through the Domu gaschu Valley between wild gorges until, at twilight, we had put the Serluk- (yak-) mountain range behind us. And once again a huge salt swamp lay before us. It extended immeasurable kilometers to the northwest. We finally lay down to sleep at the edge of it. Our guides tied the nose ropes of the three old camels that we had hired in Dalan Turgan tight together, so that none of them could graze, but also so that none of them after the long day's march would further wound the soles of its feet on the many sharp stones. Besides the camels I had been given six ponies in Dalan Turgan, which were probably about 16 to 20 years old. They presented veritable sample cards of old hoof- and leg diseases. At first I had been charged one tael apiece and the meren would have me believe his Mongols had nothing better, that all the good ones had been stolen by the Tibetans or paid as taxes to the bel'li. After much cross-examination he was cornered and finally confessed that they were animals which the wang the king, bought himself at the Koko Nor, for he had had a little "encounter" with the Wanschdäch'e and was now paying blood money for a few Tibetans who were shot. The parties agreed on 120 horses as expiation; but since nothing was said about the kind of horses that were to be paid, the wang was buying them all over for one or two taels a piece, which according to the present exchange was three to five marks. Thus it is easy to imagine what a proud cavalcade we presented on that journey. On the second day everyone had to walk because the horses could no longer carry us. Even on the first day riding on the rattling, tottering skeletons was no fun, I had the most vigorous animal of all because it was the youngest, but it had /65/ deer hoofs in front and on the left hind leg it suffered from spavin. The latter disease, incidentally, occurs very seldom in Tibet.

133 From the extensive basin formed by the flat salt swamp of the Serkhe Nor, 2,950 meters above sea level, we traveled up the gentle rise of a broad valley mouth, and up to the little Dulan River which enters from the northeast. To the north as well as the south high yellow and quite bare rock mountains rose out of the fallow steppes. The scenery did not give a pleasant impression. Everything was dry and parched. Everywhere the valleys were filled with masses of detritus on which grew large bushes of a certain tough grass species

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(cobresia) which even the camels did not care to touch.

About 6 kilometers to the left of my path a tree and a building resembling a manor rose out of the plain. It was the former monastery and dwelling of the Kukut bef'li, which lay abandoned since 1896. Fleeing Dungani had plundered and burned it after the rebellion at Hsining fu had been suppressed. A few kilometers to our right lay, standing out from the plains like a small cube, an old Chinese fort with drill- and parade-ground. It, too, was abandoned at that time and lay completely dead.

When these two buildings were sighted, old memories were awakened among my men. My Ma from Bamba had been among the Mohammedans who had ignited the houses of the Kukut bef'li, whereas Sung from Kue de, was among the Chinese soldiers who were pursuing the fleeing Mohammedans, and had spent a month in the old fort with the Chinese commander-in-chief Yen.

The rebellion soon died down when, in January 1896, the first rumors reached Hsining fu that General Tung fu hsiang with his much-feared battalion was coming from the Japanese-Chinese war in Manchuria and rapidly approaching Kansu in order to suppress the Mohammedan rebellion. Even before Tung fu hsiang's arrival, the Kansu generals were able to break up the four-months siege of Hsining fu without striking a further blow, and even to imprison a large part of the Dungani and their leaders in Doba, in a fortress which lies below Bamba, a little to the north of the Hsining-Dankar highway. My servant Han was one of those who were imprisoned in Doba. After battles and assaults that lasted for weeks they finally despaired of the success of their cause. The Islamic fatalism and fanaticism of the Dungani melted under the fire of modern field artillery which the Chinese directed against the clay fortress. They begged the victors for mercy and when the Chinese demanded the head of the ring-leader, discord arose among the Mohammedans and it came to the point where Han and several others decapitated the Dungani leader who would not hear of subjection, in his own house. They packed the head dripping with blood into a bag and threw it down from the walls to the besiegers.

However, herewith only the possibility of negotiating with the Chinese had been brought about. My Han said that they themselves had never thought that the Chinese would keep their word and be content with the leader's head. The Chinese now demanded that 800 men should be chosen by the Dungani themselves and be delivered for decapitation. /66/ For six days the two parties haggled on the walls

000 about the camels, nor had they accomplished anything in the Ngolok-Horkurma affair. However, in spite of this, both interpreters were well-satisfied with their dealings and now wanted to travel back to Dankar as quickly as possible. They rode "ula," that is, the natives along the way had to provide horses and guides for them from one tribe to another. They counted on being in Dankar in six days in this fashion. Schü had received a present of a good, young horse from the Ts'ien hu; he sold it to me for an acceptable sum and so I could join the interpreters with two of my servants. I took only a few provisions and my notebooks and map sketches with me; the rest of the baggage and the remaining servants were to wait for the Wang ka. Just as we were riding off, Tsch'eng and Me whom I had, according to their wish, paid and discharged the week before, came to me weeping and complained that the two interpreters had taken 10 taels away from them because they were carrying on business in Tibet without a license. Tsch'eng had in the meantime collected money from the Nian in payment of old debts for boots. There was of course /77/ nothing for me to do but take on their fine. In Dulan se the two interpreters had also demanded a male donkey from a pen-sa (borax) digger who had come from Kurluk and also had no passport. (1) The

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1. From the region of the Kurluk- (Kurlik-) Mongols, five days' journey north of the Kurlik Nor, 8,000 Chinese pounds of pen-sa, unpurified borax (tala in Tibetan and Mongolian) are annually exported. Again it is principally Dungani who work the borax pits. It is processed in Dankar. In its purified state only about 2,000 catties are left over.

poor devil had nothing else that was worth taking along. Among the rest of the animals that they were dragging along I also discovered an old acquaintance: the horse with spavin, that I had ridden on my way from Dalan Turgan. The person from whom they got that could only be grateful to them. It was a dignified, but strangely assorted cavalcade with which I set out from Dulan se.

133 At first we followed the valley of the Dulan River upward for a few hours, then we crossed a flat pass that was nevertheless 3,615 meters high, over to the Tala depression. The broad, treeless, yellowish green Tala plain stretched endlessly to the east. On the north it was bordered by grassy hills, but on the south there towered a snow-covered wall of mountains with wild, jagged peaks of tremendous size.

Between all this the salt lake Dábassu Nor stood out like a small, turquoise blue eye. According to my calculations this lake must cover about 120 square kilometers, but in the huge valley where there was not a tree, a wood, or a house for the eye to cling to, it dwindled to the size of a clear, pretty little pool. On Lake Dábassu the Tala Valley is already 40 kilometers wide. However, one could not have any conception of the true size of this valley in the sparkling clarity of the winter atmosphere and the total lack of objects of comparison. Lake Dabassu is the chief salt spring of the entire Hsining border territory. Its shores are bordered by a wide band of cooking salt, and snow-white masses of it float in the wind-whipped center of the lake. On the north shore an old Mongolian fortress stands next to a spring. Today two communities of Duchu-Tibetans, Duchu goma and Duchu chima, occupy the east shore. There are 140 families living in tents. Still farther east they border on the Tschebt'sa.

As darkness approached we rode into a yurt village where a pack of dogs almost unhorsed us. We had reached the small community of the Hartschiu (Kharatschut) dsassak, where the two interpreters had to change their ula and their guides. Since I was traveling with the two Tung sche, I was, without a word, received as a guest into the yurt of a Mongol. For a small fee my horses were driven to the community pasture by the women. They also sold me meat and flour. If one disregarded the construction of the tents, one felt one was among Tibetans. Their clothing, the structure of their faces, their customs and weapons were those of the Fan tse.

Today the Hartschiu are only a small tribe. There are cordial relations between the family of the Hartschiu dsassak and that of the Wang ka. Several generations ago the Hartschiu (they are also descendants of Guschri Khan) helped out the Wang ka with a son and heir, when the Wang ka were only able to fill the Mina-fo seats in the temple with their first-born sons /78/ but did not have enough for an heir to the throne. At the present time the oldest son of the ruling Wang ye was presented to the family of the Hartschiu dsassak, because he had no male heir.

On that evening I saw no more of the two Tung sche, but I heard them working very hard. Blows were dealt because the Mongols did not bring them a sheep quickly enough; more blows, because the sheep, when it finally came, was not fat; still more blows because the Mongols wanted to furnish ula to a tribe in the north of the Koko Nor and not to one in the south. My ideas of the authority of the Chinese were completely refuted. I would never have believed that

000 Turning off suddenly we then sought the protection of a lateral valley, one to two kilometers from the road. Meanwhile it has grown pitch-dark. The horses are tethered and graze throughout the night, as far as the length of their rope permits. They stop for only brief half hours to lie down to sleep. We always looked for a spot for them that had the best possible grass and, if at all possible, was sheltered from the strong west-wind. When we were ready to lie down our hands and feet were stiff from cold and we curled up like worms in order to keep the last bit of warmth from escaping. At this time the thermometer goes down to -16°, and once on a pass it dropped to -20°, and the west-wind never seemed to stop. The last shirts we were able to rescue were long since in shreds, our trousers consisted only of traces. In fact, like three Ngolok, in grimy, dishevelled furs and with sheep boots and no stockings we rode for three days along the Blue Sea, the Ts'o ngombo. /80/

487 Our road consisted of an old well-worn yak path. It led from the Dabassu depression over a pass 3,750 meters high in the south Koko Nor Mountains, and then straight on, only one or two kilometers from the shore of the lake toward the Chinese border market Dankar.

• 133 The shores of the large inland sea are flat and sandy in the south. There are no projecting rocks. It is a broad flat valley filled with water, exactly like the neighboring tala was (to judge from the shell remains) before the Hwang Ho drained it in the east. The lake is probably at no point more than 100 meters deep.

There are many small brooks flowing into it. The Tibetans can count 108, as many as there are beads in their rosaries. All of them already had thick crusts of ice and therefore caused us difficulty. Many of them have deltas extending into the lake and form small lagoons. In the northwest is the largest tributary, the Bukhain Gol, which with its sediment has formed a peninsula extending 25 kilometers into the oval of the lake. From a great distance, from the heights of the south Koko Nor Mountain range, the discoloration of the water in front of this peninsula makes one realize that there is extensive shallowness.

Twenty-two kilometers from the southern shore the sacred island dances like a skiff on the blue restless waves of the Ts'o ning (1).

1. Mongolian: Kuisu (navel), or according to Meng gu yu mu dyi: Khuisun tolkhä. The Dankar Chinese call this island Hai sin Shan and say it is a mountain in the heart of the lake.

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Here the Akkas live and pray, and communicate with the rest of the world only in winter when the lake is frozen over. It is an island that rises up in rock formations with hills that are covered with grass pastures. In the clear winter air the island seemed very near and it seemed to me I could see everything that was on it from the road I was on. It is supposed to be eight li around. C 133

Nine kilometers from the south shore of the lake and 18 kilometers to the west of the large island of Ts'o ning there are still more cliffs rising up over the surface of the lake. They are white in color and are called Tsaghan khada by the Mongols. Among them is the rock which, according to the legend, one of the bad spirits, named Tscheger sämo, threw toward Ts'o ning in order to destroy the island or at least move it from the spot. K 713

It was, so the story goes, around the time when unsuccessful attempts were made to erect temples and monasteries in Lhasa. The buildings always collapsed and the Tibetan king therefore sent his vassals all over the world in order to discover the reason for this misfortune. One of the lamas that had been sent out met an old, blind holy man in the plain now covered by the Koko Nor. The old man, in senile loquacity, said that at the spot where the king was trying to erect his temples there was a large subterranean sea. The latter would flow from Lhasa over into this direction as soon as an emissary of the king would find out about it. Scarcely was the secret revealed when the two heard the surging of the water and the emissary of the king could barely escape on his horse, while the old man was swallowed up by the waves. The water would even have flooded all the mountains if some divinity had not had mercy and taken a huge rock and stopped up the hole out of which the water was flowing. This rock is the sacred island Ts'o ning. However, the bad Titan was angry /81/ that the water did not cause more destruction and he wanted to throw stones to move Ts'o ning and re-open the hole. Fortunately for all mankind he did not hit Ts'o ning. The stones which he threw toward Ts'o ning from the shore, all fell into the water half way to the island and there they can still be seen.

According to a Chinese version a woman once wanted to fetch water from a well where the island is today and forgot to put the lid on the well. So the water rose up and covered the entire plain. A god, Wo fo (Buddha), finally had mercy and threw a slab, the island, onto the magic spring. C 713

There were magnificent grass pastures covering the entire south shore of the lake from the water's edge up to the rounded peaks that C 137

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Passage across the frozen Ma Chu (Hwang Ho) in the land of the Horkurma Ngolok. (Altitude above sea level 4,200 meters.)

6: Tafel--161 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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Plate XX.

/104D/

• 133

View from the castle of the Tendo be hu. (Looking up the valley.)

000 XVIII, XIX and XX appear between pp. 104 and 105 in original text. /
/105/ painful heart constrictions. We felt thoroughly done in, in short, we had the same illness that had overtaken us on the Tschürnong. The others who had not fallen sick had been fortunate enough to have their stomachs reject the morsels that were meant for it. If the
T 753 Tibetans say that it is a sin against the local spirits to slaughter the weak caravan animals and eat them and they will be punished by the gods for doing so, they probably base their belief on experience. Our camps during these first days of February where we were over 4,000 meters and the thermometer sank to -30°, in fact, even -35° night after night, were not the place to investigate in detail the cause of these toxic effects. The only thing I was able to determine was that all the animals in Tibet that could not keep up with the caravan because of exhaustion and that I had had killed showed ascites and an unusual amount of serum-like liquid in all the sheaths of the muscles, which is a well-known phenomenon among animals that have been over-taxed. The high altitude which brings water to a boil at 84° and the scarcity of fuel which, in spite of the use of bellows, causes people to eat boiled meat half raw, help prevent the harmful and disease-provoking substances from being killed.

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• 133 On February 2 our daily storm did not get started until nine o'clock, but it kept up the rest of the day with undiminished vigor. It was exceptionally clear in the highlands and the northwest glacier and crevasse of the Amne Machin was plainly visible in spite of the distance. On February 3 the storm continued unabated. I shook with fever and my teeth chattered from it and from the icy storm. However, we crossed the Tossun Nor Plain and passed the east end of the Tossun Nor (1), where large springs formed open water holes at which

1. The Tossun Nor belongs to the most beautiful of the highland lakes. It reminded me of the Vierwaldstätter Lake. However, there is not a house along its shore that invites one to stop, no pine forests, only two to three meter high willow shrubs along the shore. Dung re ts'o nag (pronounced "ner"), "Lake of the Thousand Mountains" is the name the Tibetans give it, because it is surrounded by high mountains that rise precipitously out of the dark waters. It is a submerged valley that follows the general direction of the folds in the mountains and formerly presumably sent its waters eastward to the Tschürnong. At least in that direction I found everywhere

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> huge masses of erratic boulders that filled and blocked up all the valleys. I estimated its length at the longest point to be 57 kilometers and its corresponding width 13 kilometers. The area covered by water is about 340 square kilometers. In former times when the Mongols were still masters they were supposed to have set up their yurts here in summer and they gave it the Mongolian name of Tossun Nor because of the rich pastures that were favorable to the production of butter.

the animals could at last drink their fill. There were light gray wild geese surrounding the springs, and they made a great noise. They had been kept here by the abundance of fish. The lake was at no point frozen solid, its surface was covered with pack ice. Sand clouds blew across the plains; in the place where in summer there is a bottomless mire, now the shifting sands whip across the cracked skin of the face. The daily storm which usually lasted eleven hours with undiminished force, brought large masses of dust, and down below in the plain at 4,200 meters, visibility was very poor, shifting from a few hundred meters to about two kilometers. Nevertheless we had not dared ride past the Dung /106/ re ts'o dschayu where once upon a time Da Tschang had been attacked. Most of us no longer wanted to ride, everyone was afraid of freezing his legs on horseback. But after I had gone only a short distance on foot it seemed to me that my chest would burst and I struggled yawning spasmodically for breath, while shuffling along in my clumsy Mongolian boots.

On the following day we crossed a flat, low pass and came into the broad rdo tschü steppe in which the west wind blew up one dust column after another. We had now come into regions that drain directly into the upper Hwang Ho. This low plain also forms an undesirable swamp in the summer, onto which perhaps only light-footed antilope herds venture, but which was now transformed into a dusty desert, a pocket of shifting sands. We encamped on the first spot of grass that we encountered. But by the time we had unloaded, the day was gone. My man from Dankar, Li, almost froze to death at that time. His face was thickly swollen, cold, with no sensation, and waxen, like that of a dead person. He could no longer walk or talk. We hoisted him like a sack of flour onto a pony and dragged him out of the unprotected plain. At the camp we brought him back to life by rubbing him, and beside the fire he literally thawed out completely, so that he could soon hold the cup of hot tea and bring it to his blue lips. Strangely

6: Tafel--173 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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Plate XXI

/112A/

• 133

The Dre Chû Yangtze Kiang not far from Tombunda. (There are ice-floes on the river.)

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18 men, all bronze figures, grotesquely lit by the flickering fire, when the banter accelerated and quickly took on menacing forms. Suddenly the son of be hu, an extremely handsome youth of barely 18 years who had not yet been weather-beaten by the rough climate of his native country, leaps up as though he had been bitten by a tarantula. With flashing eyes he rips his broad sword out of its sheath and with a wild curse he is about to hack away at the singer whose turn it happens to be and who is making his audience laugh. The servants barely intercept with their swords the well-aimed, powerful thrust and the be hu himself with difficulty disarms his crazed son. The song had touched an old, not completely healed wound. The singer who was in the service of the be hu was a Dergi by birth. Now the Dergi had in the last decades used their power to humiliate the Tschendu by means of attacks, by illegal seizure and taxation of their fields, to such an extent that the be hu in despair finally offered the insolent Dergi an annual rent for his hereditary lands. In fact he himself had traveled to Hsining primarily because of /114/ this affair, and had complained to the amban and had asked protection from the Chinese government. Now a thoughtless word bearing on this matter had been uttered and suddenly our feast had ended. The little prince would not calm down, in fact he wanted to wrench everyone's sword from him and strike down his opponent. The latter was hardly less excited. While the chief was still holding down his hot-blooded son, my Mohammedans sneaked off and I, too, slipped away without a word as soon as I found a gap. All of us were familiar with the dangerousness of the Tibetans when they are incited by alcohol, and we had reason to be afraid that we might suddenly receive the brunt of their fury.

C 133

During the next few days our joint trek took us through low hilly country. Peace reigned in the caravan. The hills we had to climb were hardly more than 100 meters high and were gently shaped. Considering the high altitude, all the slopes and broad valleys showed relatively dense vegetation. It was seldom that I found a bit of primary or stratified rock in a corner of a brook or on a narrow ridge, that might tell me something about the nature of the earth here. Here, also, there are still to be found sandstone and slate rocks where the direction of strike is N 70° W, with the layers almost perpendicular. On the second day we crossed the Tschiang Chu (Kyang Chü) which was only 20 meters wide and frozen over. It takes a winding course through a mellow-looking valley that is visited in summer by nomads' herds. Here the large caravan lost two yaks that had slipped on the ice and suffered sprained hips. For this crossing the drivers had tied

T 492

T 492 together the hind legs at the ankles of a large part of the animals and all the valuable hybrid yaks, so that they would not sprawl apart. The heavily-laden animals with short, immovable legs looked like large chests that were being shoved across the ice from behind. On the sub-
T 484 sequent marches the loss of oxen was considerable, although the Tibetans covered only 20 kilometers a day at the most. However, we were often obliged to climb over frozen naka fields and high moors and that winded the animals. We always set out extremely early, earlier than I had ever succeeded in getting my Chinese started. Dawn was just faintly beginning when the last herd of yaks was quitting the old camp. During the first days be hu and his riders stayed behind until my Chinese had brewed their tea and tied up their packs. Then with a boastful smile showed me how quickly they could take down their tents and pack them, how skilfully a Fan tse saddles his mount and fastens the most awkward bundle to the primitive pack saddle with a few knots only.

C 130 South of the Hwang Ho I found surprisingly much snow as compared with the northern part of my route. However, it was nowhere deep; a 10 centimeter covering is very ample for this region. There was snow over a foot deep only in the numerous holes, in the dried-out pools and basins of the naka moors, which here play a more important role in the growth of vegetation than in the north. At that time it was always very misty, too. Visibility was so limited that one could often not see ahead more than one kilometer. The west wind had lost considerable force and as a result /115/ we did not suffer so much from cold. But at night the temperature always sank to at least -26°.

C 133 On February 11 we were obliged to cross a high, steep moraine 2 kilometers wide, where round granite boulders many cubic meters in size jutted out between reddish, loose sand. This mound is - so far as I was able to survey its gigantic proportions in the prevailing fog and mist - the left lateral moraine of an erstwhile glacier projection that extended over 100 kilometers from west to east. From it one reaches the broad Wa Yung or Tsa ge Yung, a plain running east and west, which harbors a small stream that later flows into the Re Tschü. The latter joins the Ser Tschü and, in the country of the Horkurma, finally flows along the wide swamp valley that is known by the Tibetans as the Re Chü warma, i.e., mouth of the Re Chü (mountain water) into the Hwang Ho. At the place where we crossed it the Wa Yung was over four kilometers wide and formed a precious grassy plain that had
000 been touched only by kyang, antilopes and wild yaks. Here, from

6: Tafel--180 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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South of the Wa Yung the hills gradually became somewhat higher and passed over into broad, massive mountains, although their gray-green slaty rock did not change. The valleys were all broad-bottomed, typically U-shaped and even at the end they were still broad, terminating like a trough. Many lateral gorges were kettle-shaped and frequently they lacked a valley- or ravine-like connection with the main valley; instead, they terminated high above the large draining trenches. There were indications everywhere - not to mention erratic boulders of granite - of an erstwhile large-scale glaciation and surface formations, both of which are characteristic only of old glacier regions. However, actual glaciers have disappeared from these regions, and not even an eternal snow field is left anywhere (Plate XIX).

The water shed between the Hwang Ho and the first large river that finally flows into the Yangtze Kiang was reached only after the third day from the Wa Yung. Our pass was 4,900 meters high and is called Rara niembo La (Plate XVIII). It was a moraine consisting of sand, scratched slate and sandstone fragments mixed with huge, rounded erratic boulders spread out over four kilometers between peaks that were only a few hundred meters higher. The mountain chain showed me a core of granite against which the argillaceous slate and sandstone formations of Tibet are pressed in almost vertical stratification. The layer is parallel with other large chains and around N 65° W.

From the Rara niembo La onward we went downhill somewhat more rapidly than we had come up from the north. The succeeding camps (Numbers 21 and 22 from Schara khoto) led us into altitudes of 4,745 and 4,490 meters respectively. Then we went uphill again, always between a labyrinth of hills up and down to the water shed near the Dsa Chu. The new pass lay in a chaos of peaks and was only a little under 5,000 meters. We rode through wild, jagged mountains until we reached the Dsa Chu itself. Not until we were south of the second pass, 4,500 meters high, did we come upon settlements, in fact the first definite traces of human beings. All the way from the Hwang Ho, 11 days of travel, nothing except perhaps half a dozen small stone lab (r) tse and here and there an old weather-beaten tab rdo betrayed the fact that we were on a road. The trade caravan covered this distance without a single day of rest. The Tibetans sought to cover the distance as quickly as possible, as though the road were on fire. Whoever had things to lose talked, day in and day out, only of the danger of robbers, and prayed unceasingly that the caravan might get through unscathed. No one ever again opened a brandy jug. At night most of the people slept without a tent, with

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collapses; it was hit. I was the most surprised of all at the accidental hit. The Tibetans regarded it as magic. Be hu grabbed the gun from my hands and from that moment on he guarded it like a treasure. Of course he had no conception whatever about gauging and I did not think it was in my interests to initiate him into the mysteries of our European art of shooting. For who knows how he will receive the next European traveler!

On February 15 we encamped in the Sege Tschü Yung, a long longitudinal valley that has cut its way through the massive mountains of sheer slabs of slate, parallel with the other large river courses, the Ma Chu, Chu Chu, Tsage Chu and, farher south, the Dsa Chu and finally the De Chu (Dre Chu). A small rock hill, crowned with an obo rose up beside our campsite. It is called the Sege nara nadi obo, and is particularly yibtr (rdyibtsen meaning "venerable"). The rocks which show somewhat grotesque forms, are covered with long wool cords, and more or less faded prayer pennants fluttered on countless poles, huge wooden stakes and lances. As a result of our visit the number of pennants increased by a few more fresh, gay and colorful ones. At this point we happened on a spring for the first time in eight days. All the animals eagerly pounced on the bubbling spring that gushed from the midst of a cone of ice as /119/ though from the crater of a volcano. On the previous days they had only tasted dusty snow that they had bitten into while they were grazing. The farther south we pushed, the heavier the snow became. Yet here, too, there was a striking amount of evaporation. A fresh blanket of snow about 10 centimeters deep could be absorbed by the sun within two hours, even with a veil of clouds, without first melting. At the great water shed this side of the Dsa Chu Valley there was over a foot of snow. In the cavities and holes into which the animals stepped inadvertantly, it was up to one and one-half meters deep. On the last day's march before reaching the inhabited territory the K'am ba left behind a full dozen oxen and among my mules there were also some injured as a result of falls over rock ledges. The Tibetans would probably have had even greater losses if they had not sent out couriers announcing the arrival of the large caravan and had not been met by horsemen with fresh animals from the Tendo ba (Chinese: Tschendu) and Anir ba (Plate XXV).

We had now come into the land of the Dsa Chu ka ba, a nomad people numbering about 20,000, which grazes its flocks to the right and left of the Dsa Chu (Chinese: Ya lung Kiang). It is part of the Dergi kingdom and is divided into 26-30 sub-tribes. Anir ba (Amir ba)

broad, frozen Dsa Chu River, then up a broad former moraine to a watershed 4,480 meters high, and down a lateral gorge of the Dre Chu (of the Yangtze Kiang). 090

From the water shed to the south and southwest the eye could see only mountains, a sea of jagged peaks, a turbulent ocean of mountains. Black, dreary valleys, bare of snow, that had a melancholy appearance, were wedged in between thousands of white crests.

My first glance of the K'am province was not very inviting. And, to make my advance into these mountainous lands seem even more foolhardy, I was greeted with a thousand black, mistrustful, poisonous stares by lamas and lay horsemen. Not one of my movements escaped them, they were hostile to every note I took, every compass and aneroid reading; they saw in me only a common spy so that my companions urgently begged me again and again: "Don't show your notebook, hide your instrument, don't look through your glass, master! They are already grumbling because you want to explore their country in order to bring them sinister misfortune." T 609

The ease of travel we found on the high plateau is suddenly over. The Tibetan highland here is gutted by millions of deep channels. The peaks still extend to the high regions that in the west interrupt the broad plains and barren stretches; but in between the flowing water has, with violent force, formed ravines that shelter woods and fields, all kinds of animals and industrious farmers and craftsmen. Here the traveler can no longer cover immeasurable distances so quickly and easily as in the Tschang tang. Here one must keep assiduously to the natural paths that have been discovered and used by the inhabitants. C EB

In descending we first went down a rubble slope, then the path followed a foaming brook that was bordered with ice. When I had reached an altitude of 4,000 meters the snow disappeared and the lower we came, the steeper became the sides of the valleys that enclosed us like prison walls. In the form of black crumbling rocks the mountain slopes plunged down against the ever-narrowing valley bottom and gave one an ever-increasing feeling of oppression and anxiety.

Gradually my pack animals could no longer keep pace with the light-footed cavalcade of the be hu, and we rode alone in the rear. A little below 4,000 meters we came upon the first houses. They were dirty, low, one- and two-storied huts made of baked loam and broken stones, with flat roofs and small holes serving as windows and doors. They stood one against the other, stuck together like swallows' nests. And everything about them was grimy and /Plates XXV, XXVI, T 342

in the seventh month of the Tibetan calendar. On that day the monks, as in all Gelugba monasteries, put a huge picture of Buddha, a Tangga, measuring 50 meters square and embroidered on silk, in the sun. I was shown the place where it is spread out. On the right side of the valley, facing west, opposite the temple, a huge pavement of stone slabs, corresponding in size to the picture, stands up against the steep slope. While the picture is being spread out a tscham, a so-called mystery play shown in Plate LXIII is danced.

I left the monastery amid driving snow and followed the little river of La Chu that flows past Lab gomba. We proceeded west from the place where the Tendo path comes in. It was a longitudinal valley and the lateral ravines led narrowly into it, for they had to saw through the steep declivities of the strata of sandstone in order to combine with the La Valley. The snow-covered valley walls stood like prison walls on either side. The La Chu Valley is very sparsely settled, one very seldom sees anyone. There is never a village to be found along the road, on the well-worn natural path that relentlessly makes for its goal. Only now and then I discovered a group of flat-roofed loam huts pressed close together up near the entrance to a ravine. Old ruins of houses looked down on us from steep cliffs, looking like fortresses, and the valley floor consisted of fields of stone fragments. The thing that impressed me most in the La Chu Valley was the loess which I found here. To be sure, there were not masses of it such as one is accustomed to seeing in China. It is only found on the southern slopes in larger piles - up to 6 meters. In China it is useful for agriculture. Here, too, the peasants' best fields are found on the loess.

In the afternoon I came to the town of Lamda (Lambda, Lamdo) where the La Chu flows into the great Dre Chu, and for the second time I gazed at the Tibetan Yangtze Kiang, the Tung tien Ho of the Hsining people, the Dre Chu of the Tibetans. Emerald green waves and on top of them blocks of ice gleaming like diamonds floated past me, gurgling and murmuring. Again I was under the spell of this river, again it seemed as though the water were pulling and pushing me along. A chorus of sirens sang to me: "Hurry, hurry, /132/ like we do! Hurry to see the wonderland of Tibet, into which we have just entered from the dead waste land of the Tschang tang. Here begin the mysteries whose solution is worth a stake. Even we who are mighty streams spare no effort, no exertion to push our way into the magnificent country that shelters such untold mysteries."

Gigantic bends, sharp as a knife and abysmally deep, mark the course of the river into the mountains, so that at brief intervals one's

T 143 826 hooked noses of some tall Ngolok and the isolated cases of very vigorous growths of brownish-red beards in East Tibet. However, for the people of Lamda our conversation had a much more practical significance. No man wanted to marry the blond, blue-eyed girl, and no respectable girl the blue-eyed man, and when the girl went on a pilgrimage to the West she was constantly stopped and taken for a European.

T 485 778 Less than an hour's journey from Lamda there is a little village that /134/ hangs on the steep rib of rock like a bird-house, and here the floating ice of the Dre Chu piles up and forms an ice bridge connecting the two shores. While I was still in the Lab gomba territory I was told that this bridge had already given way and was washed away. But it was firm as a rock when I rode over it on February 23. The inhabitants of the village belong to a different Hoschunat from Lamda and put no obstacles in my way. They exact a small toll from everyone who uses their natural bridge and for this they point out the safest ice blocks. They had also marked the crossing with large round pebbles that were laid out like the links of a chain. Every pebble was painted red and had a letter scratched out on this background, so that the pebbles together formed words and the whole chain, devout prayers, uniting the two shores and making the bridge safe for the pious inhabitants. There were two of these prayer chains leading across the entire river. The shore was bordered with mounds of stone slabs all of which were covered with reliefs of prayers and Buddhas, tschorten, bunches of faggots flapping with scraps of sheep wool, and other symbols. In Tibetan eyes it is a very sacred spot because the local spirits each year cause the bridge to be formed. Our leaders as well as ourselves sang out the invocation to the gods and all the saints as long as we were on the ice!

C • 133 [137] The ford was 3,650 meters above sea level and the ice of the river was 150 meters wide. There were scrub forests high up on the steep sides of the valley. Groups of spruce and ancient rhododendron furnished a faded green in between dark precipices. At each valley entrance the eye was met with new delights and wonders, glimpsed new snow-capped peaks that looked down on the clear greenish-blue Yangtze. Down in the valley the snow seldom lasts. Unless it has fallen in sheltered pockets, the rays of the sun soon lick everything clean (Plate XXI).

000 Eleven kilometers below the place where we forded the river we again left the Yangtze Valley and turned off at a sharp angle to the southwest. Toward the end the valley had grown ever narrower, the

could no longer win over the lower current from the east, so that we ran into a thick sea of fog in which we could only with difficulty find our way. This occurred before we reached the first of the two passes that lead over to Dscherku. Added to that, there was almost a foot of snow which covered all the naka and nadung holes and pools of the mountains and which once more exhausted us. The pack animals fell constantly, had to be pulled up /138/ and repacked. One of the mules developed a heart weakness, staggered at first as though it were drunk or afflicted with the mountain sickness, and fell again and again after I had long since removed its load. It was the first victim of this winter journey. Its hour struck just before the caravan reached its first stopping place. It had formerly been such a playful creature who, of all the long-ears, could best kick with its hind legs. Now we had to leave it all by itself in order to rescue the others and ourselves from this hostile world. The poor animal stood upright, as though rooted to the spot and seemingly turned to stone, on that slope. We left it an old felt cover - when may a Tibetan passer-by have removed it from the animal? With great effort we turned the stiff animal so that the wind struck it from behind, then heartless humans that we were, we drove the others on into the driving storm and the fog. (1)

1. Two days later when I sent someone out to look for the animal, the felt blanket had been removed and the animal was dead. As proof, its long gray ears were laid before me.

The broad, gentle, rounded form of the mountain that we met high up made it even more difficult to orientate ourselves in the midst of clouds and whirling snow. If it had not been for the deep snow we might have thought that we had been transported back to the Tschang tang, so gentle were the slopes, so basin-shaped the valleys, so slight the ridges which were notched by passes, so seldom was primary rock visible in the masses of loose detritus. On a later visit to these mountains I noticed a few isolated slabs of rock that showed scratches and looked as though they had been transported for a more or less great distance through last year's snow or ice. The last moraines seem to have gone somewhat below 4,000 meters. Now, however, there is no spot far and wide where the snow lasts over a period of years, although some points reach over 5,000 meters.

After we had crossed a small longitudinal valley up there, which followed the direction of the stratification toward the southeast, we

C 487 had to cross a second pass, not much lower than the first. Shortly before that we passed through a small zone of limestone forming a chain of small cliffs, as they were so often to be found on the upper Hwang Ho and the Schoga Gol.

C 133 Whereas the Yangtze Valley and its nearest lateral ravines had pointed V-formations and typical aspects showing that they could only have been cut out by flowing water, this mountain again had only flat slopes and the valleys and ravines ended in wide hollows. Small moors and moraines lay in bulging masses on the slabs of sandstone and slate that were still steep, in fact almost vertical and made up the central mass of the mountain range.

At last the storm tore asunder the blanket of cloud around us. The tangled chaos of rocks which I had gazed at and marveled at even north of the Yangtze Kiang, stretched farther and farther to the south and southwest. There were peaks upon peaks and chains upon chains, but nowhere was there a human habitation to be seen. From the pass the way led down to the south between bare rubble slopes, along a little brook. Where the ground had thawed in the sun and there was no snow we were hemmed in by deep swamps. However, we finally again reached the thick plant covering; soon thereafter we found two black tents and grazing yaks. Two large valleys coming from the south and the west, converged in front of us. We turn a sharp corner and are suddenly in the midst of the houses of Dscherku ndo.

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CHAPTER XIV

Northern K'am

T 609 My reception in Dscherku ndo was more friendly than anywhere else in Tibet. All the inhabitants of the village, countless women, girls and children crowded around us, around my interpreter Tschang and around the big Tschang, and a joyous "Odyi, odyi!" came from a hundred lips. And those who did not cry "welcome" stuck out their tongues as far as they could, grinning in between. A strange man with a friendly face took the bridle of my horse and led me in front of a house that was prepared for us when news was received of our coming. Everybody laughed and greeted the people from Hsining. Hundreds of hands busily helped unload the packs and carry them into the house, so that there was nothing for my Chinese to do. They

6: Tafel--246 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJI Tibet

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Plate XXX.

/160B/

• 133

Mountains south of the Yangtze Kiang. (At the bottom of the large ravine flows the Yangtze Kiang, at the sides of the valley the tall timbers reach beyond 4,000 meters.)

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Tschorten in the land of Ling-gose.

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The valley of the Yangtze Kiang in upper Dergi.

6: Tafel--248 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

Plate XXXII. N.W. China AF13

/160D/

• 133

Ascent to the Chima tang. (In the foreground an old moraine, snow-covered naka holes and erratic blocks.)

T 123

road to Ka ts'a as the Tibetans wished, everything was in order again. The Hui hui sang and danced. The Chinese merchants came to me and congratulated me, Tsawu be hu sent me another khádar, and all the inhabitants made friendly faces and brought me all kinds of little presents. My departure became a minor folk festival. My landlord himself led my horse by the bridle, and as on the first day hundreds of voices shouted: "Odyi!" - "madyi!" - "odyi!" - "madyi!" Tears streamed down the face of many a maiden, a proof of what a firm footing my companions had gained here. Shortly before we broke up my men made a huge fire of juniper and thoroughly smoked themselves and their clothes because they had come in contact with Tibetan women. After that they felt they were again pure and immaculate.

When we left I had to speak seriously to Da Tschang and Ma "Thirty-six." Although Da Tschang had married a Chinese woman shortly before we left Hsining, he now wanted to take along a girl from Dscherku ndo. And "Thirty-six," too, although he was a father many times over and had, besideshis first wife, taken his sister-in-law as his wife after the death of an elder brother, /163/ felt so drawn to a Tibetan woman that he thought he would not be able to leave her. But because I had flatly forbidden them to take along their mistresses, I unfortunately had, from now on, two of the most unruly servants imaginable in my company. Both of them were full of praise for Tibetan women, nomads as well as farm women. They said they were so friendly and handy and willing to help. Not a few Chinese give up their old home and move out to the cold steppes among the wildest kind of tribes, for the sake of the loving care of Tibetan women. Among Tibetans I often observed a beautiful family life, while in China living together has often deteriorated to the level of cold convention in which only egoism flourishes.

C 133

On the first day of the journey my own animals traveled without any burdens. Ula oxen and ula mules transported my belongings, and my companions rode on ula horses which the Nan tsien be hu furnished. At first we went south up the valley and after two hours passed the picturesque Tschanggu gomba and came to a wide area of limestone rock (1) which forms wild peaks and numerous eroded grottos of rock,

1. The strike was in the usual N 65° to 70° W, and carbon, judging from the rather abundant fossils.

washed out by the brook which flows toward Dacherku ndo. Since ancient times the imagination of the inhabitants has animated the

C 133 strange shapes of the limestone with all kinds of gods and spirits and discovered caves of "virtue" and other playthings of the good spirits and titans. South of this limestone region there is a high valley several kilometers wide, the Ba tang, which leads gradually upward toward the southeast and has rich pasturage. Beyond it and enclosing it on the south there rises a new and very high chain of peaks consisting of slate and granite. Some of the peaks reach an absolute height of 6,000 meters. Thick walls of gravel and moraine from these mountains push into the broad longitudinal valley, indicating glaciers, although at present the last remnants of the ice age have disappeared from this whole region. There was still not a blade of green grass to be seen, but on the many pools one could hear the clucking of pairs of yellow ducks.

The Ba tang is the country of the two tribes Lada and Puchün. Here at 4,000 meters altitude, the bulk of the inhabitants are again tent nomads. Only a few monasteries and the princely seats are permanent structures. A few kilometers to the south of Dscherku ndo there were no more fields.

T 792 On the first day I reached the monastery of Betschin gomba, 25 kilometers from Dscherku ndo. A small house had been made ready for me for the night, but I preferred to sleep in my tent. A traveler whose attention has not been called to the monastery by his guides, can easily ride past Betschin gomba, it is so hidden among white limestone rocks. It is supposed to have 300 monks and two incarnations and belongs to the Nima sect. The main temple has a beautiful roof of gold; in the vicinity there are several hermitages.

T 485 On the next day the well-worn road led me past the houses of the Puchün be hu, thence across a pass a little less than 4,200 meters, and then down a moderately steep slope into a wooded valley (Plate XXIX) until we /164/ we came to the fields and stone houses of the village of Ka ts'a at 3,700 meters. On this trip I was already free of my escort, the Nan tsien be hu, and with it also of the Tibetan ula which had been promised me for a period of a month. The chiefs of Lada and Puchün sent only two khadar and the message that they did not know that ula had ever before been given strangers. Quite logically they refused to establish a precedent. However, they offered me the rental of an animal for each 50 kilograms of weight, as far as Ka ts'a, for which they charged one rupie per animal.

We all looked forward anxiously to my reception in the village of Ka ts'a which is already in the kingdom of Dergi. But it was a good reception because it was highly indifferent on the part of the Tibetans.

133 March 27. We followed the deep ravine of Ka ts'a farther down. On the edge of the brook there was only a narrow strip of winter ice. Palm catkins were in bloom and the buds of the trees that covered the steep slopes had begun to swell. Early spring had begun here. At night the minimum temperature was still -5°, but during the day the thermometers went up to as much above zero. Married couples were plowing on the narrow strips of fields farther down in the valley; two yak oxen were unwillingly pulling the clumsy hook-shaped plow under the vigorous beating of the powerful young women.

After we had passed a few villages and a small monastery we were again at the banks of the Yangtze Kiang. The valley was now still deeper than I had seen it up in Lamda and Tombu mda. It had here become a deep impassable gash in the rock through which a greenish-blue ribbon was winding its way between naked brown ribs of rock. The clear waves were entirely free of ice, only here and there deep in the valley the eye caught sight of a little white flake where the water dashed against cliffs or fell over boulders. From our great height the stream which at this point is over 700 kilometers from its source, looked quite insignificant. (Plate XXXI). One felt as though one could look into its heart. High above its present water-mark was the line of its summer rise. It then has four times as much water as it has now in early spring. There is of course water from the melting winter snow but this amounts to so little that it has no effect on the water level. At the end of March the west winds have diminished in force but they still prevailed and the southeast monsoon had not yet set in.

485 March 28. We spent the night in our tents which we had set up beside a village. The inhabitants were used to passing travelers and did not look at us very closely so that they had nothing to criticize. They demanded a quarter rupee from us for using the campsite, for dry argol and a huge pile of straw which my animals cleaned up during the night. Although in Dergi as well as in Nan tsien only coined money is accepted, there is no small change, and thus for payments of amounts less than a rupee, a piece of silver is cut up, and one pays literally a fourth, a third or half a rupee.

491 The night was cloudy and in the morning thick, wet snow covered us. When it cleared at eight o'clock we quickly packed up and, after an exhausting ride at full speed up hill and down dale, it was two o'clock when we reached the ferry across the Yangtze Kiang which is supposed to be called Tschomdo and where the big road crosses over to the left bank. There are two huts of loam standing

6: Tafel--258 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W.China AF13

Plate XXXIII

/168A/

133

Remnants of a moraine south of the Murl La. (4,100 meters above sea level.)

6: Tafel--261 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13

Plate XXXVI.

• 133

/168D/

Peaks and glaciers near Rung wa tsun.

Even the imperial telegraph line led over the N.W. China AF 13 bleak saddle of the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had 206

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133 ● ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137 reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000 southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

6: Tafel--463 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet A31
N.W. China AF13

/facing p. 288/ Plate LXVI (Section 1)

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The great bend in the Me Chu (Hwang Ho) in Dsorgi (East Tibet). /from left to right--Translator/: South where the Ga Chu, the White River flows in. SW 250°. West. Tschiaoko country.

T
361
644

Residence of the Khoshot King at the foot of the rocks

Labrang gomba in the Valley of the Sang Chu in Amdo, district of Hsin hoa ting. (View from the east.)

6: Tafel--464 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1

Plate LXVI (Section 2) /facing p. 288/ N.W. China AF13

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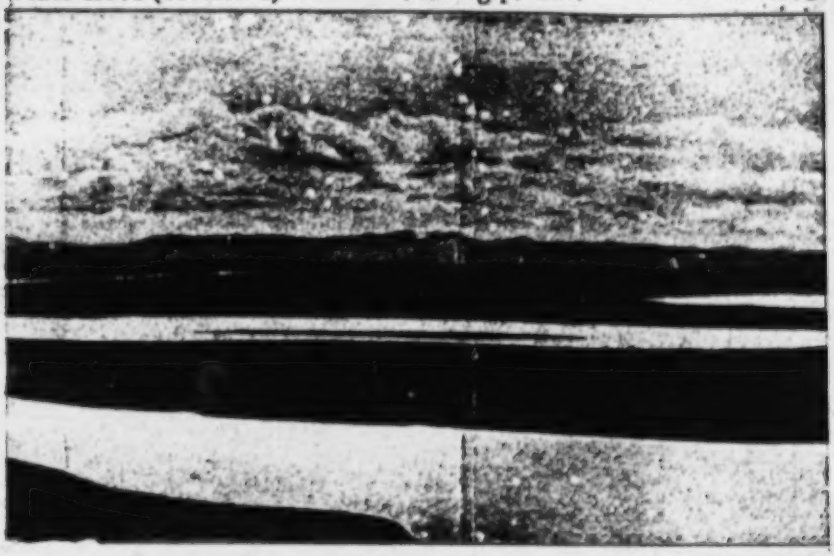
133



(Captions on section 1)

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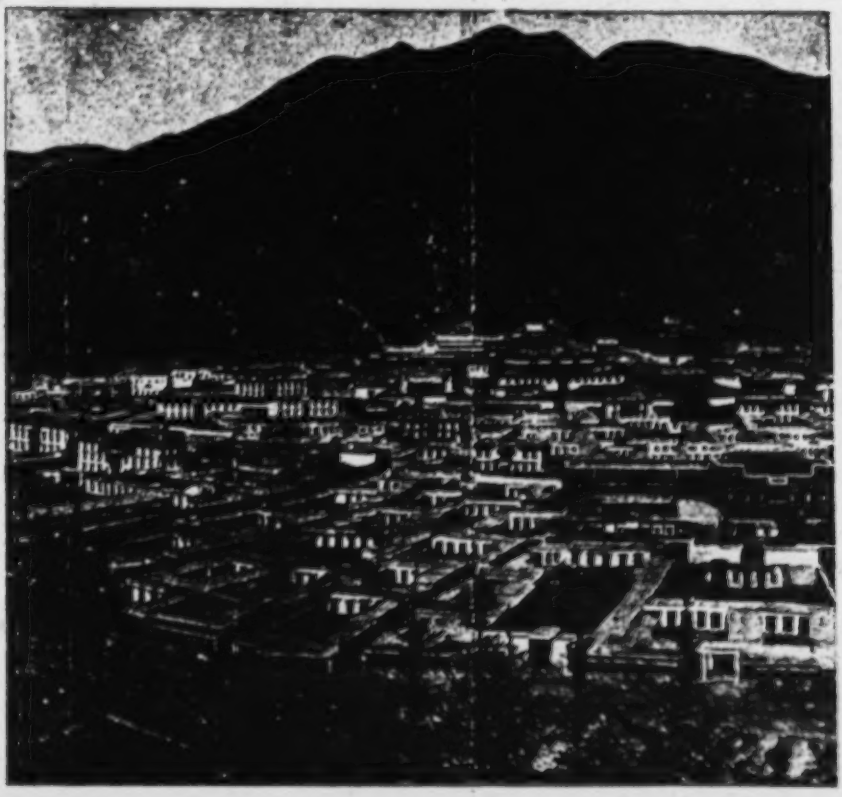

6: Tafel--465 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1 N.W. China AF13

C 133

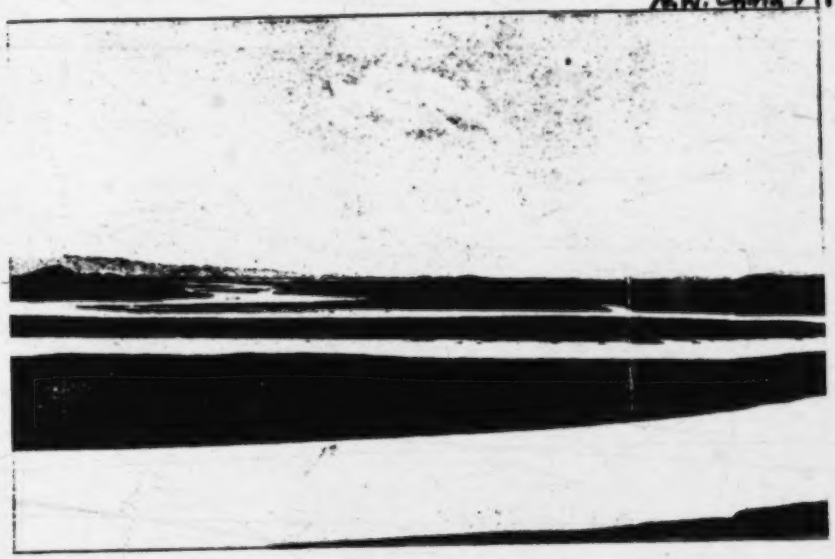

Plate LXVI (Section 3) /facing p. 288/
(Captions on section 1)

T 361

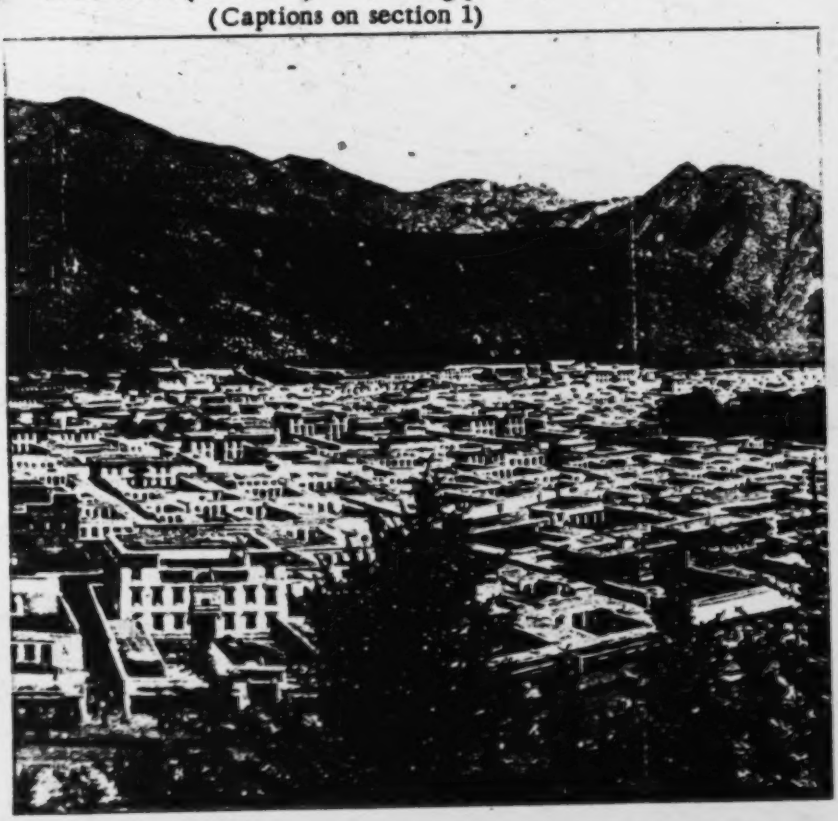

Plate LXVI.
(Section 4)

/facing p. 288/

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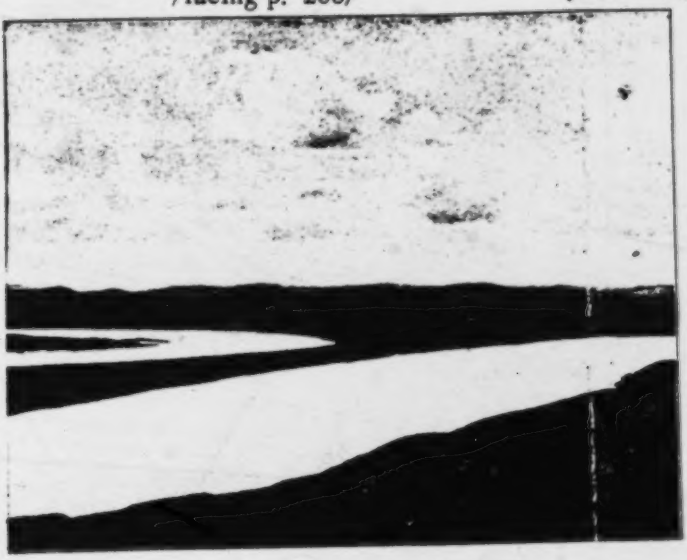

(Captions on section 1)

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Market place of the monestary

T 392 old roamed around the houses and tents in which, besides the monks,
361 there were also a few old and sick people living. South of the
monastery is the rgensa, the winter abode of the Läwa nomads. How-
T 342 ever, in summer the winter houses of this tribe are not recognizable
as houses. All the wood that is needed for the roof or the walls in
building, is buried in the earth in spring, so that strangers cannot
use it as firewood. Here wood for building is already considered
precious for it must be dragged a three days' journey into this re-
gion which is poor in wood, and besides that it must be bought from
the neighboring tribe. (1)

1. I once also saw the winter houses in the territory of the Tschirchama tribe. There, too, all the wooden parts were buried in the ground during the summer. But the houses had stone socles one-half to one meter high, which almost looked like the walls of an ancient city that had been destroyed. W. Filchner erroneously called them a fortress. It was only a rgensa, the Shdyaru rgensa. He was also somewhat mistaken about the forms as they are pictured on p. 390 of the book: Rätsel des Ma Chu. Regular forms never occur.

T 501 Rao gomba, not very famous as a sanctuary, is important because
of its ferry across the Me Chu. A few steps from the scattered
houses of the monks lies a well-built ferry boat constructed in the
well-known box shape of North China and the Hwang Ho boatmen.
We made use of this on September 2, after I had stored all dispensi-
ble objects, all my chests, in the house of a priest. Under the
C guidance of an old Läwa Tibetan who looked as emanciated as a
487 mummy, I went south with only the tsung ye, one of the Tschang La
133 guides, Brdyal and Tschemotscho (Plate LXIX). Our horses pulled
the box boat across the Me Chu, and were obliged to swim the en-
tire width of the river. The water is almost stagnant. On the other
side we quickly saddled our horses and without much ado or many
detours our guide led us across a swamp two kilometers wide, on the
northern shore of which live the Gedu nomads and on the southern,
the Chamä. Later we went for 7 kilometers straight as a die through
hilly country to the south; a little farther to the west lay the original
monastery of the Chamä. The only tall growth consisted of rhubarb
bushes with blossom stalks three meters high. They belong to a
species that looks like the rheum tanguticum. The bulbs are seldom

dug out here because there is no possibility of drying them without having the sun reach them. Isolated high rows of dunes overgrown with grass stood close beside bottomless swamps. They testify to the winter condition of the region when one dust column after another whirls across the ice-covered surfaces. In the afternoon the old man led us through the Botsong Chu, a swamp lake three kilometers wide and to me unknown, but in any case of very great length. Large patches of it consisted of completely open water and in between were reeds, sedge grasses and floating water plants. The air was +9.5°, but in spite of this the temperature of the water was /Plate LXVII, (sections 1, 2, 3, and 4) appears between pp. 289 and 290 in the original text. / /290/ +14.5°, as a result of the strong radiation on the flat basin. Thus, it did not seem at all uncomfortable that before we entered the lake we had, at the advice of our guide, tied all our important belongings, instruments, fire implements, etc., into our trousers and wound the latter around our heads and then, with the exception of this head covering, entered the water as God made us, pulling our horses along or, in very deep places, letting ourselves be drawn by the horses' tails. Evening saw us happy, albeit with some teeth-chattering, near the tents of the Chamä kadya where we lay down to sleep. Here the black tents always stood in groups of about a dozen forming a large circle into which at night the many sheep and the less numerous yaks were driven (Plate LXV).

C 487 133

The night temperature had been +3° and a ride south of only 20 kilometers (aerial distance) brought us the next morning to So tsong gomba, the monastery of the Tangsker Tibetans. Close beside the scattered houses of the monastery flowed the Hwang Ho.

T 361 792

It was the first radiantly beautiful day. In the morning for some time thick veils of fog had covered the hills. But when we rounded the last corner the mysterious stream lay open before us. I trembled with joy and excitement over the mighty panorama, which to see had cost me so many new efforts, but which I could now enjoy and absorb to the fullest extent.

C 133

In gigantic curves the muddy and here already yellowish-gray waves of the "Yellow River," sunk in alluvions, came toward us from some distant mountain range far to the southwest (at 250° according to the magnetic needle), only to take on quite suddenly now the direction followed by a broad tributary coming from the south-southeast and, together with the clear waters of this stream, to turn toward the northwest.

Just at the crown of the turn lies the monastery So tsong gomba

C 133

which maintains a ferry across the Hwang Ho and its large tributary, the Ga Chu (White River). Nowhere in the vicinity of this important turning point in which the surface of the river is 3,430 meters above sea level, are there higher mountains and never before had I had such a broad and magnificent view over the Ma Chu. For me it was the most memorable point on the 4,470 kilometer-long giant river of which, in the course of the years, I had seen 2,300 kilometers with my own eyes and put a great deal of it on paper. (1) In the east,

1. The bend, according to my observations, lies 102° 15' 36" east of Greenwich and at 33° 33', 30" north latitude.

on the outer side of the crown, the river runs against a terrace on which the monastery is situated at a height of 3,440 meters and from which I took my pictures (Plate LXVI); behind it moderately high grass hills rise up. The Hwang Ho plain is 5 kilometers wide in the middle, but at the confluence and the turning point it is 10 kilometers wide. The river is on an average 360 meters wide, 4 meters deep and has 1.3 meters speed on the surface. Only far off at the horizon to the south and west-southwest was I able to distinguish a few peaks which were snow-covered and which loomed up far above the general height of the mountains which were 4,000 or 4,200 meters. The plain was uninhabited at the time of my visit. However, in winter /291/ the Tangsker live south of the confluence of the Ma Chu and the Ga Chu. I could see the traces of their buried winter houses not far from the shore. From So tsong gomba up to the boundary of the Tschirchama territory (600-700 families) one figures a good day's ride on horseback (50 kilometers), while to the Ngaba country it takes three days, which equal six to eight yak days. Thus in 1904 during our flight we were not too far from this crown in the river, without, however, having any idea of the course of the river and its actual turning point. (1) On the left bank of the Ma Chu, that is,

T 131 619

C 133

1. In W. Filchner's sheet maps 1:75,000 of our joint Tibetan journey in 1904, published in Berlin in 1913, the big bend in the Hwang Ho according to the d'Ollone map sketches and my reports, drawn in, but I think that the upper part of the river is pushed too far north. I cannot agree to the fact that the point at 33° 52' 36" northern latitude, which our countryman Professor

Futterer (Futterer, Durch Asien, Vol. I, p. 383) measured, is not taken into consideration at all, or rather is simply moved 25' north on Filchner's route map. I rather incline toward the assumption that because of some oversight in the preparation of Filchner's maps the entire upper course of his river has been given a wrong direction and that thus his route opposite Futterer's spot happened to get too far north by at least 40 kilometers.

C 133

inside the crown, is the land of the Chiao-ko tribe which extends a few days' journey upward along the river. I could with the naked eye distinguish several groups of tents belonging to this tribe between the low hills which rise there out of the gravelly sand of the river plain. In this direction the mountains increase in height surprisingly little and only at 80-90 kilometers I saw three snowy peaks on the horizon. Farther west from Chiao-ko sits the Ngula Tharde (lha rde) tribe which is said to number 20,000 (but I think 10,000 is probably enough). It is under the rule of a high lama of the Labrang monastery. The lama administrator is newly appointed every three years by his superior monastery board. On the west the territory belonging to the tribe seems to border on that of the Ngolok-Ardschün which numbers 2,600 families and was at the time ruled by a female rgyalbo, that is, a queen. (2) Ngolok-Rensin-hsiang (600 families) lies farther

T B1 69

2. In Chinese Ngolok is pronounced Go lo k'o. The name stems from "ngo logpa" meaning "the face," to make one's glance free, that is, to rebel. In 1750 the Ardschun rgyalbo for the first time received a diploma from the Manchurian government. But even then it was vainly hoped that thereby the tribes would desist from their marauding. The family of the Ardschün kings was for a long time regarded as ruler of all Ngolok. But in recent times individual tribes have divided more and more and made themselves independent of each other.

upstream on the Hwang Ho and since 1905 more on the left bank than on the right. Still farther upstream on the Hwang Ho is the land of the Ngolok Hantsien Doba with 2,000 families. South of the Hantsien Doba and hostile to them for many years already lie the

T 782

and a few long: Lama ihaedia sum tschiu...! But when we were brewing tea the Läwa guide invoked the Amne Machin, the Schar Dong re and a few other mountain giants, which here, also, still play a more important role than the Buddhas.

C 136

The region around the big bend of the Hwang Ho is surprisingly poor in game. It was only seldom that I saw in the distance on a mountain slope a Dseren antelope with delicate limbs, but never on this entire trip did I see traces of a Kyang (Equus hemionus), and it seemed as though these animals had been extinct for a long time already on the right side of the Yellow River. Bears are said still to be represented by the Ursus Tibetanus. The only things that frequently crossed our path were hares and marmots as well as a few partridges /Wildhühner/ and pheasants. All during the summer months and the wet season of the year the Hwang Ho and its tributaries have filled every valley so completely with puddles and everywhere accumulated so much water underground that the heights stand out like islands in an endless swamp. However, the individual groups of islands are so thickly populated by nomads and their herds that there is little room left for larger wild game. Up here we find the strange giant yellow river, the Hwang Ho, flowing on the surface of broad plains into which, farther down near Rardscha gomba and, even more, near the Tala, near Hoka and Kabatalen, it has dug a deep channel. In its entire gigantic length the Yellow River is one of the most changeable and strange large rivers of the earth, and appears as one of the youngest as far as its position and character are concerned. My readers all know that it was only around 1852 that the river shifted its mouth from the southern part of the Shantung province to the Bay of Chih li in the north, and again and again the Hwang Ho has in historical /295/ times found another course through the lowland of China, again and again selected a new bed and filled with terror an endless number of people. Between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi the red horizontal clay strata of the late Pliocene Age which can be seen high above its present bed (see Vol. I, p. 127), show that even in a late geological period it did not flow through there at all, and that thus the entire section of the Yellow River between Ordos and the Wei Ho Valley, the entire Ordos loop, must have been formed so to speak under the eyes of man. The section of the river between its entrance into the kingdom of the 18 provinces near Kue de - Hsün hoa ting and its confluence with the Hsining rivers, is also youthful and full of storm and stress. There the Hwang Ho river-bed is still narrow, the

C 133

channel not very deep, although the rocks are not hard and offer little resistance. The configuration of the Hwang Ho in its upper part from its source to the bend and at the Tibetan bend itself gives the appearance as though, at the time of extensive glaciers in Tibet or during the period of large accumulations of erratic boulders and the formation of gravel, the waters had not flowed north, but south, toward Szechwan. The uppermost part of the Ma Chu-Hwang Ho looks like a part of the Yangtze Kiang. But one wonders what the drainage was like on this part of the earth's surface before the gravel and clay masses were stratified and embedded in the valleys. The old Hwang Ho probably drained only the Koko Nor territory and then flowed rather directly into the channel of the Wei Ho and into the region of Hsining fu which was already in existence before that. The upper part of the present-day Ma Chu-Hwang Ho, from its source up to the present-day Tibetan bend, may even at that time have been a tributary of the Yangtze Kiang. The deposit of masses of gravel on the eastern edge of Tibet is, to be sure, so tremendous that this assertion can be made only with the greatest caution, for our knowledge of these regions suffices for only an inadequate summary of present-day geographical conditions. C 133

I rested another whole day near Rao gomba in order to care for my horses. There were still five of them very lame as a result of the many swamp holes and ditches, and all of them needed rest very badly. Wang Tsung ye stamped his foot like a child when in the morning I gave the order not to saddle the animals but to drive them to pasture. But my good angel did not cause me to change my mind in spite of the young man's curses; it was probably also he who caused the many lame horses in the first place. But we were not aware of its guardianship until the next day. 000

The road from Rao gomba to Tao tschou led due north for an entire day's ride as far as Lhamo se and from there three full days in a northeasterly direction. At first one crosses a swampy valley country 15 kilometers wide, the plain of the Me Chu which, however, soon turns its large curves in a westerly direction. Then one follows the nDam Chu, a tributary of the Me Chu upstream. After one has crossed it at the rDo ro ford - the little river was there 18 meters wide and 1.3 meters deep and the ford is stony, as its name implies - one reaches the plain of Nima long or Nima rung. This region belongs to the 12-Bu tribe of Radang with not quite 200 families. It is excellent pasture land, very seldom do low waves of hills rise out of its swampy surface. /296/ The Obo-kopje is like a landmark behind us C 487 T [B19] C 133

C
.133

and on its southern slope the priests of Rao gomba have their shabby huts of loam. The northern part of the Nima long is bordered by a long fold of chalk which, characterized by countless steep, white rocks, can be recognized hundreds of kilometers in a N 55° W direction and borders the horizon in the northern part of Tschang La. A great many unusual mountain formations has stirred the imagination of the inhabitants, has caused legends to arise and erected thrones to the gods. In the Radang country the Ani lhakang (pronounced: el hagu) is conspicuous. It lies on the border of Radang and Sare and roughly has an altitude of 4,500 meters. North of it is the beginning of the territory of the notorious Täwo kiang ts'a and the feudal state of the Dshoni tu se.

C
T
726

We had just crossed the rDo ro ford and were busy putting on our boots and trousers when three horsemen, mounted on dashing steeds, came toward us, a gentleman, a priest, and a servant. The servant led a pack horse by its bridle, which carried a few blankets, as well as a tea pot, cooking pot and flour bag. The gentleman had pulled a good-looking hat made of lynx skin down over his ears and wore a blue pulo cloak with small white crosses on it and with a 20 centimeter wide border of Yün nan leopard skins; his left ear-lobe was pulled down with a heavy gold ring to such an extant that he had to have a small leather strap over the outer part of the ear to carry the weight. Tschemotscho recognized the gentleman and called to him after he had already ridden past, silently and with a sinister look. It was the bon of Chamä, and he was coming from the military encampment of Täwo Kiang ts'a. All the rulers of the 12-Bu had been summoned by the Sung pan officer to help end the war. Two days ago the men from Täwo kiang ts'a had given in and the bon was now on his way home. However, those from Radang had, after settlement of the Täwo affair, demanded 400 taels from the Lanchow hsie tai. This colonel had permitted his soldiers to tear the wood for their fires from the walls and roofs of the Radang winter houses, instead of looking for it in the woods. The hsie tai had laughed at the demand of the men from Radang and so the 280 warriors of the little tribe had set out yesterday, had attacked the 3,000 Kansu and Szechwan soldiers and had driven them behind the massive stone walls of their camp with stone slings, whips and matchlocks. After this bold attack they had taken the horses away from the cavalry. With 89 horses as booty they returned home to their tents which lay on the Nima long, east of the little lake of Mou Ts'o. However, we did not learn all these details immediately from the Bon. All we heard as we rode

6: Tafel--486 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
N.W.China AF13

above, from the open, treeless steppe and not by the direct route into the ravines of Tāwo. But since, at the initial advance, 15 horsemen of the front detachment had fallen into ambush and were partly cut down and partly captured, the action during the rest of the summer months consisted only of threats until finally, with the help of the neighboring chieftains, and only because of the presence of troops, it was sche tsing schuo h'au leao, i.e., it was settled with talk. The Tāwo agreed to a partial disarmament and gave up 100 swords, 50 fork guns and 50 lances, but were permitted to keep the goods amounting to 12,000 ounces of silver which they had stolen from the Chinese merchants and on account of which the summons had come from Lanchow; there was not one single decisive action during the long summer on the part of an expedition that was almost as large as that of the English who marched into Lhasa in 1904. My escort had counted on getting new food supplies among their comrades. Behind my back they had traded in my supplies at Rao gomba so that only two rations were left. But the camp was itself short of rations because of the Radang incident. For everybody /300/ had thought the war was over and they would soon go home. No one had sent supplementary supplies. Thus my heroes nowhere found a merciful hand that would replace the rice and tsamba they had sold. However, because of the scant supplies I, too, unfortunately, suffered and was forced to cover the final distance at top speed. Within two hours we were again mounted and after three days in the saddle from morning till night we reached Tao tschou.

E 726

Our first day's ride lasted until far into the night and took us over a plateau, through valley pockets and across flat passes where the waters that run eastward through the Tāwo Kiang ts'a territory, separate from those that flow north to the Tao Ho. Broad areas of steeply bent gray-green sandstone and slate with an east-west strike continued to interchange with wedged-in patches of crumbled white calcium carbonate; above this in many places there was a horizontal layer of hard, red Nagelfluh. The highest point we reached shortly before twilight at a pass of 3,765 meters. The mountain ridges here have an average height of somewhat over 4,000 meters. It was all good pasture land. For the time being there was no more forest from Kosaniba and the Chinese encampment on.

C 133 ● 487

On the second day we had to go up and down steep inclines across the source waters of the Tao Ho tributaries and again climb a watershed of 3,800 meters. But by noon we reached a narrow wood ravine and entered the valley of the Wong Chu which breaks through the

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●133 mountain masses with many bends but in a east-northeast direction
487 and for a long time flows almost parallel to the upper Tao ho. We had to ride through the rocky stream-bed 18 times and each time the underside of the packs dragged in the water.

On the first day we had still seen a few dozen nomad tents, on the second day we did not see any inhabitants anywhere and met only a supply- and munitions-train of the Kansu troops. When the escort spied us from afar they greeted us with a senseless and, fortunately, poorly-aimed gun salvo. It was only on the third day after we had traveled a few hours that we came to the upper-most Tibetan settlement, the little village of Dotsa, which lies at an altitude of 2,900
T meters and belongs to the community of rDiadung. Here wild oats
241 and some barley was planted in the valley bottom beside low, one-story houses. The fields in the 200-meter-wide valley floor are still extremely poor and stony. Every other year they must lie fallow. An hour farther down - the forest valley meanwhile widened to 400-500 meters - the fields became better and to the right and left of the broad Wong Chu, barley and turnips were being harvested, and women and men were busy loading their barley and even a little wheat on yak and transporting it to the scattered farms and into the large village of Merema where the sheaves are stacked on high, airy
T trestles next to their houses to dry, just as in Kin tschuan. Already
231 at the first houses there were again grunting pigs, representatives of the small race of domestic pigs with light hair and pointed ears which
T all the farmers of southeastern Tibet also raise. Here, too, the men
301 went out to the fields with their swords hanging on their belts and the
302 women wore back-pendants that hung down to below their waist, similar to those of nomad women. At the temples they wear their hair braided, and into the braids on either side is tied a shell that has been filed down to make a firm ring, /301/ or a bronze ring set with red corals, and the two rings are joined with a piece of cloth which among the wealthy is studded with brass shells and corals (see Fig. 15). The hair at the crown of the head is braided into a thick mesh and is wound on a piece of leather 10 centimeters wide, which runs down the middle of the back and at the bottom is decorated with many small brass buttons.

T At noon the large Gelugba monastery of Gaser gomba appeared
792 on the left side of the Wong Chu; the Chinese also call it simply Gawo se or Gomba se. (Plate LXVIII). It is the chief monastery of the region and is supposed to have two huo fo ye, both of whom were, however, "in the process of exchange" at the time, and, as I was

told, had just a year and a half before "died and had not yet been found again." The buildings of the monastery as well as a great many lay estates were already conspicuous from a distance because of their neatness and their fresh colors. Many lay houses were in the process of being built as a result of a war which had raged here two years before during which the monastery and village had been burned. But the difficult war times had already been forgotten. The loam houses, mostly one-storied, had been rapidly restored and the farmers on their fallow fields sang gay tunes behind their plows in front of which puffed vigorous yak bastards with Chinese neck yokes. On a meadow in front of the monastery the akka youth were playing with a large leather ball which they kicked with their feet and caught with their heads. Many wore full beards but there were also many with goiters and their faces looked broader than those of other Tibetans. However, the inhabitants claim to be genuine Tibetans; Chinese and Mohammedans are tolerated only as traders. On the road near the monastery I met a walled encampment in which 100 horsemen were preparing to travel up the valley. It was a halting place, the riders belonged to the hsie tai near Kosaniba and were obliged to cover his path of advance and retreat. Below the monastery the road left the comfortable valley course; we again crossed the forest-covered mountains by way of a 3,360 meter high pass. Thereupon we entered a narrow wooded valley which did not end until late afternoon when a large river with clear green waves flowed directly across our path. Before me the Tao Ho, the Tibetan Lö Chu, wound through the mountains between precipitous walls. Meanwhile I had come down to 2,700 meters. In the autumn the river is here 90 and 100 meters wide, with a middle depth of 2.10 meters and a velocity of 1.7 meters. Judging by the shore marks, I should say that there is twice as much water in summer. But here in Kansu there had been dry weather for weeks already. This river, also, like the Han Kiang in the Tsinling mountain range and like the Dre Chu in K'am, follows the course of the narrow reef of vertical layers of slate; it has dug such a narrow circuitous bed into this, that up and down it is visible for only a few hundred meters; as though like a child wanting to play hide-and-seek, it immediately slips behind tall theater wings which give absolutely no indication as to the direction in which the valley continues.

T 792
T [526]
T [64]
C 487
C 133

One crosses the Tao Ho at Putanga, a Tibetan bit of land with few Chinese families. There a box-shaped vessel is tied to a rope which is stretched across the river. On the opposite, the left bank of

C 133
T [50]

•133 the river, a great deal of loess mixed with broken stones can immediately be seen, and for the first time since I left Hsining fu I again saw a cart. /302/ (1) The higher up I climbed on the other

[493]

1. The boundary marking the distribution of the North Chinese two-wheel horse cart extends from here along the mountainous country I had just traversed eastward and keeps to the north of the Tsing ling pass in the North Chinese loess country. It is unknown in all of Szechwan and Kweichow, Hunan and in large parts of Hupeh.

361 side, the purer became the loess masses. At Lao tschai nî, a Chinese town, 3,015 meters high, I had already reached a typical loess village and caves in the loess. Four kilometers farther and only 250 meters lower lies the commercial city of Tao tschou, the Tibetan Batse.

It was nine o'clock and had grown dark when, with great effort and exertion, I reached the city, and ör gen, the second night watch was long past before the tormented tsung ye who in the darkness had lost the path, finally discovered me. Long before that, the friendly members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Americans Mr. and Mrs. Ruhl and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, had found me and invited me to supper in their new home in which the former couple did Tibetan missionary work and the latter, Chinese. My stay in the border city lasted from September 9 to 23 and was made pleasant by the hospitality of the missionaries who did not rest until, on the third day, I moved out of my grimy hotel and into their home outside the city. Meanwhile I discharged the caravan, paid off the servants and escort and presented the tormented tsung ye and his men with a mule and three horses, besides money and food supplies. I had never before on any of my journeys had such apt companions who were so willing to serve me. When the tsung ye said farewell his whole face lighted up and I, too, felt his relief over the fact that, in spite of my vagaries, he was able to deliver me safely at the appointed place. I sold two more mules here and only Brdyal and six animals remained. A team /hang/ of mules brought the large pieces of baggage to my depository in Lanchow fu, and my time was occupied arranging my diaries and developing my photographic plates. Only a few more than 400 plates turned out successfully on the last journey, one and one-half boxes (420 plates) were destroyed by water, while 280, all of those taken with the polyscope camera, were spoiled because they

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difficulty, inasmuch as the wall exists only on the main road and in the valley and not on the flat heights where it was years ago probably already "gesqueezt."

T 712

Five kilometers inside the Gambo t'a ngan men gate lie the remains of Niu tu tsch'eng, an allegedly Mongolian city (Tu ku hun?) which, in spite of its triangular form, looked to me like a concentration camp behind the walls. Due west of this and south of our gate lies the village and gate of Gu ör tschan, Professor Futterer's Gudä with the road which follows the Tao Ho Valley upwards. In 1899 Chief Bailiff Holderer and Professor Futterer passed through there on their memorable journey, after they had been attacked and robbed a few days before by the Laringo Tibetans near the Hsin se monastery. Through the same gate not many years before, the two South-Germans set out on their boldest journey through Tibet; there in 1892 Miss Annie Taylor escaped with a Lhasa servant woman and her husband and several /309/ other Mohammedan helpers from the protective strength of the Chinese and, dressed as an Ani, heedless of all dangers, with her Bible in her hand, rode straight across the Ngolok country toward Lhasa, until the company were recognized and held up in the Nag tschü ka land 12 days before reaching their goal. However, Miss Annie Taylor has to this day failed to reach her goal which was to preach the gospel in Lhasa. At that time she was somewhat ungently pushed off via Ta tsien lu by the Tibetans, and after that waited on the Indian side for the opening of the forbidden land. Even though most of us cannot understand this vehement missionary zeal, everyone who knows the conditions must have great respect for this ride undertaken by a woman. Without looking to the right or the left, the protestant Ani rode across the endless steppes of the fanatical lamas.

T 361

T 797

In early times there were Chinese settlements hours distant from the boundaries of the walls. Today, however, these are often preserved in name only. Thus, for example, as I rode on I met a Diakar gomba, that is, a "monastery belonging to the Chinese city" where today for miles around no Chinese dares to settle and at best may travel about as a small trader.

T 563

The mountains forming the watershed between the upper Tao Ho Valley and the Ho tschou River are nowhere very impressively high. The passes reach an average of 3,000-3,300 meters. Only the chain of the Tai tse Shan which I first saw in December 1905 from Ho tschou, and its southeastern continuation, the chain of Hoa Shan which

C 133

C 133 the Tao Ho cuts through from south to north on its course beyond Min tschou, reach a magnificent height.

T 241 Tibetan agriculture in Amdo is also divided into established cultivation of fields and nomadic animal husbandry, but the former predominates. Whereas the pastureland of the nomads is communally T [423] owned by the tribe, the farmers, the villagers, own their fields or are at least gonyog, half-farmers, tenants on monastery lands. One sees irrigation ditches in the countless valleys, large and small. There are few forests. Long ago man burned them down and confined himself to the small parcels that today remain, in order to gain land for pastures. However, today there are large stretches of land in Amdo which are put to poor use because here, too, preparation of hay is unknown and the established farmers have only few cattle and only work horses which they drive to pasture and tend near the settlements. T [233] On the higher passes and mountains I saw a few miserable groups of tents. Their inhabitants wandered with their herds of sheep. These shepherds were the servants of the important personages and monasteries and traveled to certain places at certain times of the year. They possess weapons and always keep together so that they can at any time stand up against smaller robber bands. At times agriculture must have reached much higher up in Amdo than it does today, for up to 3,200 meters I came across grassy field terraces in some valleys, which were still so distinct that they must have been cultivated T within the last 200-300 years. The Amdo Tibetans are great pig 231 breeders. Here, too, the Tibetan species is raised as in Hor and Dergi. In contrast with the large, black, long-eared pig of the Chinese, the Tibetan species is small and largely /310/ brownish or white, but it, too, is long-haired. Its snout is pointed and its ears short and upright. The meat is not nearly as fat and therefore not as good, according to the Chinese taste. Yak bastards are preferably used for field work. The Amdo keep red-haired cows to breed them, and cover them with yak bulls.

T On the evening of September 25 Mr. Ruhl and I reached the town 361 of Hei tso. During the afternoon we had come across Dohar gomba 792 and then Dialu gomba, small yellow monasteries which are under the jurisdiction of the monastery ruler of Labrang. Between them small villages lay strewn about, none with more than 15-20 tiny houses. J [342] The individual family seats stand close together and consist of small loam houses with flat roofs and walled courtyards. They are one-storied and on the roofs was stored the harvest which had been gathered a few weeks before, and stacked in round piles like domes or giant

6: Tafel--508 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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/312 C/

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Shapes taken on by disintegrated red Pliocene clay in the lower Tao Ho Valley.

Tao Ho and oasis of Tang wan tschwan.

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the river of Sang Chu begins, and it is transported on rafts made of tubes. Since 1900 trade in North Tibetan wool has taken on very significant aspects and the prices for raw wool have thus soared all at once in all of Kansu. The Yang hang, the agencies of foreign export firms, have thereby not become popular with the people, however; on the contrary, since all food supplies have risen concomittantly, the export firms are blamed for it, and rightly so.

C
487

takes us into the loess country of Kansu and a white, dry hood of dust lies over the landscape. There are no more rocks to be seen. Only thick loess and beneath it red loam are the materials out of which the hills on either side of the valley are formed. There is one village after another. Soon the road is seething with people. They are hurrying to the market of Hanchow, in carts or mounted on donkeys, or mules, and covered with dust. For a little while the Tai tse Shan which my Sang River must break through on the way from Labrang sends me a farewell greeting from Tibet. A defiant warrior, a true Tibetan watchman, stiff and rigid with steep battlements, it gazes down upon China and upon the pale and barren loess. Too soon, however, it is lost to view; the loess haze lies too dense and thick over the valley. It had been only four days since it had rained and already the eye could not penetrate the fine dust for a great distance.

Two years before on my way from Di dao tschou I had become acquainted with the clay basin of the Ho tschou region where it extends from east to west. This time /323/ I traveled through it in a straight line to the chief city of the province, Lanchow fu. I had now reached the Chinese highways and the region of the hostleries in which I could get nourishing food for the animals; therefore I traveled from morning till night and in spite of my slow pack animals, the many mountains and poor roads, covered 100-140 li a day (50-70 kilometers).

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Very near the city of Ho tschou - exactly east of it - a mule track climbs up to a narrow, winding loess ridge which holds up the traveler for a day and a half and takes him through a labyrinth of deep ravines up to the banks of the Tao Ho (Plate LXII). At a depth of 20-30 meters loess covers the 300-400-meter mighty red clays and sands which in the main are deposited horizontally and in narrow ravines have been washed away by the flowing water, down to a substrata of granite. In the places where there is loess, civilization is possible. However, in the vicinity of the Tao Ho River it became

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scarcer and there the population became more scant. Whereas I saw a small granery just outside of Ho tschou and counted hundreds of villages, the country around the Tao River became a sterile desert. The blood-red sand mountains in the shape of perpendicular pillars rose up out of dray valley fissures and there was nothing green to be seen anywhere (Plate LXXIII). In the narrow irrigated strip beside the Tao River the Mohammedan town of Tang wan tschwuan with its pretty mosques is an oasis in this wilderness. Giant water wheels lift the necessary water out of the river. Here we are already in the district of Lanchow. On the opposite bank the aridity is still worse. There the last fateful religious wars destroyed whatever was left that nature might still have tolerated. This wilderness lasts for a distance of six hours, as far as the 2,725-meter pass and an obo of the Hou dien Shan (rear sheltering mountain), until one has reached the crest of the Kwan Shan- and Hsin lu Shan range with its altitudes of 2,800-3,100 meters. After that loess appears again in great abundance and with it populated regions. /Fig. 15 appears on p. 323./ 133 361

/324/ The tops of these sandstone chains are adorned with green forests of shrubs. In the ravines the Chinese dig for coal. From the heights the eye looks down on the vast loess country of Kansu. It is a yellow, chaotic tangle of peaks, this loess with its millions of grooves, which stretches endlessly to the north and only in one place a narrow, crooked band of silver like a Turkish scimitar lies glittering before me, - a sunbeam discloses the presence of the Hwang Ho. And now, as we ride on, a narrow green strip with trees, with poplars and jujubes, becomes visible, a tiny border along the shore, hardly worth speaking of. It runs along with the band of light until both come to an end at a projecting strip of mountain. On the projection two clumsy towers of loam of the same lifeless color as everything else around us are discovered and indicate to me the position of the chief city of Lanchow fu. On the same day on which I had left the Tao River I rode through the city gates and the narrow streets of the city. It was already getting dark and at the second gate inside we were the last ones which the guard permitted to enter on that day. But our haste was rewarded. Not an hour later I sat down to a meal that made me forget the tasteless tsamba and the eternal daily goa mien. At the postoffice where I went that same evening I not only received letters from home - the first for a year - but was also warmly greeted by Mr. Shields who had come some months before from down south in order to establish the postal system in the province of Kansu. Anyone who has the good fortune to know this gracious and 000

000 entertaining Scotsman knows that on this evening I could not have fallen into better hands, and that in the short hours before midnight my diaphragm had to withstand almost inhuman salvos of laughter. I hoped to meet other old acquaintances in Lanchow fu, but this time I was disappointed. My friend Van Dyk was with his bishop in the mission of Liang tschou fu for the annual retreat of the fathers. So, much to my regret, I could not even shake his hand in gratitude for his active participation in my efforts in safeguarding in his home the booty of my individual expeditions.

491 I stayed in the chief city until I had found a freight transport with which I could make a contract to have my baggage brought to Hsingan fu as soon as possible where I could pick it up again. Inasmuch as Mr. Shields helped me in this matter, I was able to leave the city in a few days. I rode on the large military highway between Lanchow fu and Hsingan fu, the road which also follows the telegraph line and which in the '70s the re-conqueror of Turkistan, the great Tso ts'ung tang, had had bordered with poplars for a distance of hundreds of kilometers. At one time, in order to protect this avenue, he put a death sentence on every wanton destruction of a tree. The trees still stand for stretches covering many days' journeys, but the track often cannot follow the old avenue for long stretches. Loess makes the ground too loose. Rains have often lengthened and deepened the valley fissures by hundreds of meters and thus the rows of trees border ravines which today no man can cross; meanwhile traffic often had to take an entirely different direction.

361 At the stopping place of Ngan (An) ting hsien the camel- and
487 /325/ mule-drivers who take care of a large part of the freight traf-
• 133 fic between Kansu and Shensi, take a somewhat more southerly route than do the carts. I continued to follow this mule track and decided to combine it with a stop-over at Ts'inchow, the richest city of Kansu. In the vicinity of Ngan ting hsien the country is still rather thinly populated. Only after 100 li did I get to Niu yin, a town of 100 families, and 20 li beyond came Ma yin which has 400-500 families and a larger market. Close by, the brook breaks through a granite range, the first solid rock that I saw since the Hwang Ho ditch near Lanchow fu, and behind Ma yin the loess became thinner and only a few decameters thick. The density of population increased visibly and the Mohammedan element which is very numerous along the road near Huining hsien and Lung te hsien, Ping liang fu, fell into
133 the background. I had now come into a definitely mountainous

area; the Hu lao Ho River must here wind its way largely through narrow ravines of granite and gneiss. However, even here most of the mountains consisted of red loam of amazingly large proportions. 133

The farther south I came, the richer became the soil. A day's journey north of Tsinchow, kao liang, rice, and cotton appeared and these fields interchanged with endless stretches of persimmon trees the sweet fruit of which hung fiery red on the bare, leafless branches, and presented a picture which we so often see on the colored prints of Japanese painters and which seem so unreal to us. Unfortunately, I was obliged to carry out my long endurance rides in the south during almost steady rains. 241

I found the city of Tsinchow (1,130 meters above sea level) very different from the rest of the Kansu cities; I saw practically no house in ruins. Most of the buildings are made of brick and stand in the midst of gardens and thousands of fruit trees. The city has a little more than 50,000 inhabitants, among them 4,000 Mohammedans. Here, too, however, the merchants complained of the inconsiderateness of the administration which was constantly creating unfair taxes and new difficulties for trade, so that a great many hangs which arranged transports to Han tschung fu and Szechwan, had to close up in the last few years. But even so the city is slowly growing. The houses are squeezed into five separate walls and even outside the walls there are living quarters and this makes a picture that is entirely absent in northern Kansu. In ancient times the city was called Tscheng schi hsien and the first emperor of the Tang dynasty was said to come from here. Not far to the north on a mountain lie the loess ruins of almost completely disintegrated remains of walls from the Han period like the walls of ancient Teutonic times, in which Duke Wei hsiao gun was said to have lived for a time as an independent ruler (25-58 A.D.). Today the plow leads over the site. The bad Fan li hoa is also supposed to have been born not much farther from the city in the present-day Fan kia tsch'eng, and the inhabitants maintained in all seriousness that within the district, in the market town of Be yang Chu, the descendants of the family of Ming emperors live under the assumed name of Tschang, formerly Tsche. 361

The city owes a large part of its fresh appearance to the fact that it happened to escape the Mohammedan disorders as well as the incendiaries of the Tai /326/ ping era. At that time the battles reached as far as Tsing ngan hsien and the latter as well as Tsing schui hsien in the north and Hui hsien in the south, all three of which

361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
[597] the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly
133 welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
423 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
(184) rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry

311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting

133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
(243) (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored
134 chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess
plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high
plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of
the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under
recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture
Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ning-
hsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi pro-
duce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because
the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi
along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce
good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and mil-
let. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where
there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained
by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible
in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small per-
centage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey
of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of
the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of
irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land
and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction
of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise
again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic
plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short
grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is charac-
terized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the
vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills
and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert
area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along
the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in
this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and
a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed
under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of
organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for
plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertil-
izer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant
residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

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241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 311 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying HsU, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

our roof, after which she was restored to her own family, and, to the lasting credit of the Suchow Chamber of Commerce be it said, their pressure compelled the unwilling official to endow the child with a sum of money, in compensation for the loss of her foot.

So far so good; but that Governor of the Suchow gaol also secretly vowed vengeance on the Christian community and on its leader, against whom he proceeded to work persistently and undeviatingly, until Dr. Kao himself was a prisoner in his hands!

CHAPTER XXI

BEYOND THE GREAT WALL

BEFORE the end of May we revisited Kanchow, this time taking the lower road which, though still boggy, was passable, but before we reached Kaotai we had crossed many swamps and flooded fields. We also met with salt-encrusted friable earth, where at each step the outer crust broke, and our feet sank into the soft soil beneath. Here no single blade of grass can live, not even the desert lizard darts across the track, and the sunshine reflected from the ash-grey ground diffuses a dead and bluish light. Two miles outside the gate of Kanchow city a crowd of Christian men, women and children stood to welcome us. During the past year this community had been subject to serious persecution, which was even now heading up to a crisis, yet the services were crowded, there were many desiring baptism, and before the summer was over ninety-eight men and women confessed Christ publicly. The whole of June was spent instructing these catechumens, but during the month of July we made an expedition to a

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135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu
N during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells
[315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil
[489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation
[499] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

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315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce
N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent
316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent
N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology
315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are
[654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new
S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal
N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in
316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.

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[31]
[61] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones

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of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from

[439] America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the YÜ-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

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315 oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June,
654 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum
N production are discovered.
315 Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing structures have been increasingly revealed.

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[654] Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they
N have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin.
[654] Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

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b. Coal

135 Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if
S claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted).
[135] With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

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135 region, even excluding Shansi, ranks high and accounts for about half the coal deposits of all China. The known coal
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[135] reserve of Shensi amounts to over 72,950 million tons and that of Sinkiang is over 35,000 million, about half that of Shensi. Most of the coal deposits of the Northwest are of good quality and have been exploited very little. Thus they provide sufficient fuel for industrial development for a considerable length of time.

Some New Coal Discoveries:

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316 Some new discoveries of coal deposits have been reported. In addition to the previously mentioned, newly discovered big coal field in west Kansu, which is estimated to have a reserve four times that of A-kan-chen colliery, one of the major coal mines in Kansu, new coal deposits are found in the vicinity of Ching-tai in north Kansu in 1954. Large scale and detailed prospecting is now under way. Also, many prospecting teams are searching for mineral deposits in the Chiu-chuan (Su-chou) district of northwest Kansu and in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai province. (FBIS, Daily Report, No. 102, 1955). Mining machinery and other equipment are now being sent from Sian, the capital of Shensi, to the site of the deposits. Drilling teams arrived and have been working since early May, 1955; it is said when put into operation, the new coal field will supply Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, and Kan su-Sinkiang Railway and the Paotow-Lanchow Railway lines, both of which are now under rapid construction. (NCNA April 24, 1955). Deposits of good quality coal have also been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin, Chinghai, where oil is being prospected. The coal deposits consist of seven seams totalling some twenty-five meters in thickness. They are suitable for open-cut working (NCNA, June 19, 1955).

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135 In Sinkiang, coal deposits are widely distributed. They are found in the vicinity of Aksu, Kucha, Kurin, Turfan, Urumchi, along both shores of the Ili river, and in the north of Chuguchak. In addition to the above-mentioned places, high quality coal deposits are located along the northern slope of the Tien-shan mountains in Wu-su district. The Sinkiang coal belongs to Jurassic formation. The deposits are of exceptional good quality with thick seams. Most are bituminous and some may be good for coking industrial uses.

Sinkiang's coal deposits were estimated at over 35,000 million metric tons in 1955 (32,000 million in 1950), fourteen percent of China's total. The richest coal beds in the province are those of the Ili valley and near Urumchi. There are good anthracite beds in both places. Similar beds are also found
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316 near Aksu, Kucha, Yenchi and Hissar. Geological teams were sent in early 1955 to investigate the two large coal fields in

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

377 and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of
653 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land
[311] in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under
[503] irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

• 135 Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lileh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The total annual production is less than 2,000 tons.
N 316 [433]

In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.
N [433]

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.
S 316 S 327 [398] [392]

With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found useful. (See Tables V and VI.)
N S 135

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-Run, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku-Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter 1. [See p. 131--Analyst]

N S
135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold, platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively
S 316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of
[508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet
S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining
[491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B. cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S N a. Copper:

135 Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality. It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the
S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near
N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent
316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.) 1/A

S b. Gold and Platinum:

135 Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread, stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains
S too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan,
316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1/A [See p. 132-- Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined. Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River, S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot- [433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik: ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000 miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942 S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sinkiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden N 316 away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province. (See Table IX.)

S 135 c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content S in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very [316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih, Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yü-tien (Keriya) and some other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in Sinkiang.

N 4. Non-metallic Minerals:

135 The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

N 135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in S [135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

b. Borax:

N 317 Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'ō-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang, S [317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine S [433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

c. Jade and other precious Stones.

S 135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern S [439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

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Sinkiang AI1

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve

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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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N
A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu

131 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang

161 Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest: Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman: Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, II, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AI1

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang A11

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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII. Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

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TABLE X. Distribution of Salt and its Production in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in 1942 and 1943 (Production in metric tons) Source: Stephens, Harre E.: N. W. salt, American Embassy, Lanchow, Kansu, China, Jan. 29, 1945)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 Production	Total	1943 Prod.	Total
Ninghsia	Tsa-han-chih (Lake)	38.20x104.42	39,040		30,244	
	Ho-twen-chih "	39.24x104.40	9,400		12,381	
	Ya-pu-lai "		10,500		5,600	
	Chi-lan-tai "	39.40x105.43	16,200		2,089	
	Hui-on-pu (Earth)	37.28x106.41	175		750	
	Tung-hu-chih (Lake)	37.40x104.55	700		460	
	Ba-in-chih (Earth)(?)	38.18x104.15	35		254	
	Hung-yen-chih "	38.02x104.58	155		16	
				77,105		51,978
Kansu	Hsi-feng-chen(Lake)	35.45x107.28	2,700		5,004	
	Tsao-shan-chen "	35.20x107.59	1,500		2,712	
	Kao-tai (earth)	39.21x99.58	2,800		2,055	
	Chang-hsien "	34.38x104.40	1,400		1,076	
	Su-mu-shan "	38.30x103.20	500		815	
	Tang-chia-hai "(?)		330		453	
	Kan-yen-chih "		200		417	
	Yen-kuan "	34.18x105.19	420		393	
	Pai-tun-tzu "	37.30x104.05	750		367	
	Hsiao-hung-kou "	36.43x105.26	160		351	
	Ma-lien-ch'uan "	41.10 x94.47	425		347	
	Ma-chia-T'sun	36.18x103.30	430		233	
	Lin-hsia	35.34x103.14	135		215	
	Hsia-ho (Lake)	35.12x102.30	20		174	
	La-pai (Earth)		290		112	

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old. 36 [634]

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea, 438 241 135

[p.29]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
241 fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
135 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
563 friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
133 munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

2: Teichman 5-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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[p. 67]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

135 316 just outside the South Gate of the little city of Yench'ang Hsien, two marches east of Yenan, and about 1906 two wells were sunk on the spot with the assistance of Japanese engineers and Japanese machinery.

Some seven years later the Standard Oil Company of New York conceived the idea of exploiting the supposed oil deposits of North China and negotiated a co-operative agreement with the Chinese Government, which was signed in February 1914, to the following effect.

316 471 The Standard Oil Company was to send experts to examine the supposed oil fields in Northern Shensi and Northern Chihli, the expenses of the survey being borne jointly by the Company and the Chinese Government. If the reports of these experts proved favourable, a Sino-American Company was to be formed, which should begin operations within six months of the completion of the survey. Capitalisation of the Company to be 55 per cent. Standard Oil, and 37½ per cent. Chinese Government (the latter being presented with their shares by the Company in exchange for the concession); and 7½ per cent. optional for the Chinese Government to purchase at par. Any increase in capital to be on the same terms, and the management to be Sino-American in the same proportion. The Chinese Government undertook that the exploitation of the oil fields named should be given exclusively to the Standard Oil Company, and that no concession whatsoever for oil-bearing properties in China should be given to any other foreigner until the results of the Company's operations should be apparent to the Chinese Government and the Standard Oil Company, which period should not exceed one year from the date of signing the contract. The agreement to last for sixty years, during which time the Chinese Government would not allow any other foreigners to produce oil in the districts named. In the event of the districts in question (apparently Yenan and Yench'ang in Shensi and Jehol in Chihli) proving worthless, any other districts in Shensi and Chihli to be substituted therefore. Concessions to be granted for the necessary railways and pipe-lines. The Chinese Government to arrange matters with the landowners. The acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the Standard Oil Company to be entirely dependent on the result of the examination by experts.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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The above is taken from the newspapers published at the time and may or may not be correct. The remaining facts regarding the history of the enterprise are given from conversations with local Chinese on the subject, and also may or may not accurately represent what occurred.

Anyone acquainted with the vastness of the trade in petroleum, imported from the East Indies by a British Company and from the United States by an American Company, which has come into existence of recent years in China, and the remarkable manner in which this oil penetrates to all but the most distant portions of the country in spite of transport difficulties and likin exactions, will realise what a magnificent proposition this agreement would have been for the Standard Oil Company had the enterprise succeeded; but it is also obvious that it would have been equally of enormous advantage and profit to the Chinese Government, since without foreign assistance the Chinese are at present as incapable of developing such a proposition as they are of building a railway to the moon.

An inspection of the Jehol oilfields in Northern Chihli proved them worthless, but the report of the two geologists sent to Shensi appears to have been favourable, and a careful survey was then made of the whole of the supposed oilfield. A large staff of geologists, engineers, and drillers was subsequently imported, together with quantities of bulky drilling machinery. The transport of the latter from railhead in Honan through the wilds of Northern Shensi to Yenan and Yench'ang entailed difficulties which seemed insuperable, but was nevertheless successfully accomplished by means of American energy, ability, and driving power. When we passed through Central Shensi on our way to Kansu two years previously, the transport of this machinery, which was just then being undertaken, and the adventures which befell it *en route*, seemed the sole topic of conversation and the only subject of interest in the province. We now saw portions of the same huge pieces of machinery lying apparently useless and abandoned in these wild and inaccessible regions.

[135]

During 1915 wells were sunk near Yenan and Yench'ang, and also apparently in Ansai, Yichün and Chungpu districts in accordance with the hopes held out by the survey; but

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

lying ranges of the Ch'inling Shan here meet the mountains which separate the Han valley from Szechuan and bring the plain abruptly to an end. There is some gold in the sands of the Han, as in almost all the rivers of Western China; but whereas the sources of many of the latter, and therefore the hills from which the gold comes, lie far off on the Tibetan plateau, those of the Han lie close at hand in these mountains, which ought, therefore, to be worth prospecting; they are said to be rich in other minerals as well. 133 487 [135]

The next regular stage on this road is one of 90 li to the village of Tai-an Yi. The trail runs west up the Han River, which here flows in a perfectly straight gorge, for 45 li to the village of Hsinwan P'u, which is of interest as the head of navigation for small boats; the Han is thus navigable for practically its entire course. The porterage west to the Chialing Chiang, which is also navigable, is only two or three marches over a low divide to the village of Yangp'ing Kuan, and the road is naturally a busy one, and carries much traffic between Shensi, Szechuan, and Kansu. At Hsinwan P'u the path leaves the Han for a time, passing through broken hills cultivated with maize and rice and dotted with the useful wood-oil tree, eventually returning to the river and following up its valley to reach Tai-an Yi, an old posting stage. The Han is remarkable for the suddenness with which it springs into existence as a navigable river. At Mien Hsien in the summer it is already a large stream; while one march further west, at Tai-an, it is a mere streamlet, and one is within a few hours of its source. At the other extreme are the two other chief rivers of Shensi, the Wei and the Lo, which, rising one in Central Kansu and the other on the Ordos border, are only navigable for short distances above their confluences with the Yellow River near T'ungkuan. The contrast is typical of China north and south of the Ch'inling Shan. [484]

Above Tai-an the path turns south up the head-waters of the Han, now only a few inches deep. Beyond the hamlet of K'uanch'uan P'u, 30 li out, the valley narrows to a ravine, which leads an hour's march further on to a pass, the Wuting Kuan (about 4000 feet); whence the trail descends through a ravine in the jungle-clad mountains, past the hamlet of Tishih P'u, till it debouches into a larger

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484
neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the
name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487
hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the
nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in
getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every
available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of
flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the
animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line [133]
for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted
on coming, and which we now followed the whole way.
The aspect of these hills was different every hour,
seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-
grey, according to the course of the sun. They were
bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable
watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping,
barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485]
marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by
two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The
last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135]
stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-
light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484
the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply
being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough
left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours'
time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us
through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly,
after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to
the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want
of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

Between all this the salt lake Dábassu Nor stood out like a small, turquoise blue eye. According to my calculations this lake must cover about 120 square kilometers, but in the huge valley where there was not a tree, a wood, or a house for the eye to cling to, it dwindled to the size of a clear, pretty little pool. On Lake Dábassu the Tala Valley is already 40 kilometers wide. However, one could not have any conception of the true size of this valley in the sparkling clarity of the winter atmosphere and the total lack of objects of comparison. Lake Dabassu is the chief salt spring of the entire Hsining border territory. Its shores are bordered by a wide band of cooking salt, and snow-white masses of it float in the wind-whipped center of the lake. On the north shore an old Mongolian fortress stands next to a spring. Today two communities of Duchu-Tibetans, Duchu goma and Duchu chima, occupy the east shore. There are 140 families living in tents. Still farther east they border on the Tschebt'sa.

As darkness approached we rode into a yurt village where a pack of dogs almost unhorsed us. We had reached the small community of the Hartschiu (Kharatschut) dsassak, where the two interpreters had to change their ula and their guides. Since I was traveling with the two Tung sche, I was, without a word, received as a guest into the yurt of a Mongol. For a small fee my horses were driven to the community pasture by the women. They also sold me meat and flour. If one disregarded the construction of the tents, one felt one was among Tibetans. Their clothing, the structure of their faces, their customs and weapons were those of the Fan tse.

Today the Hartschiu are only a small tribe. There are cordial relations between the family of the Hartschiu dsassak and that of the Wang ka. Several generations ago the Hartschiu (they are also descendants of Guschri Khan) helped out the Wang ka with a son and heir, when the Wang ka were only able to fill the Mina-fo seats in the temple with their first-born sons /78/ but did not have enough for an heir to the throne. At the present time the oldest son of the ruling Wang ye was presented to the family of the Hartschiu dsassak, because he had no male heir.

On that evening I saw no more of the two Tung sche, but I heard them working very hard. Blows were dealt because the Mongols did not bring them a sheep quickly enough; more blows, because the sheep, when it finally came, was not fat; still more blows because the Mongols wanted to furnish ula to a tribe in the north of the Koko Nor and not to one in the south. My ideas of the authority of the Chinese were completely refuted. I would never have believed that

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T. H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	5	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought years 1928-1931. [136] [731]

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J. L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

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vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc., of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

The Han River is of course the main artery of communication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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for about 15 li to reach the pass in the big range. The ascent is comparatively easy except for the last few hundred feet, the valley being flat and open and apparently of glacier origin in contrast to the deep narrow gorges usual in the Ch'inling Shan. A little snow and ice were still lying in the stream bed in the middle of May. From the summit of the pass (9000 feet) there is a fine view to the north towards T'aipai Shan (12,000 feet), which appears as a rocky ridge sprinkled with snow, with a lower range in the immediate foreground over which the path leads to Fop'ing. All around are forest-clad ranges, uninhabited, and abounding in big game, deer, bear, pig, leopard, goral, and takin; but owing to the nature of the country their pursuit would involve great difficulties and hardships. This is near the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, a wild unexplored region, whence the ranges and streams ramify east and south-east on one side, and west and south-west on the other. The pass is called the Hsinglung Ling, and is crowned with an old ruined temple and gateway. There are additional signs that this trail, now unused except by a few isolated coolies carrying salt into the Han valley, smugglers, and others with good reasons for avoiding the main road, was once a much more important route. It is of course the most direct road from Hsian to Hanchung.

From the pass there is an easy descent through another flat open valley, where we saw some silver pheasants (or perhaps they should be referred to as blood pheasants, a species of *Ithagenes*), into the valley of a stream flowing west, where there is some cultivation, as usual mostly potatoes, and some huts, called Huangts'ao P'ing; these valleys are less thickly wooded than those on the southern side of the pass. Here the trail leaves the stream at once and strikes up the opposite slope to the north to reach another pass after an hour's easy climb. This range is the last to be crossed before reaching Fop'ing and is a few hundred feet lower than the Hsinglung Ling. From the pass there is a steep descent by a very rough track through a narrow gorge until one debouches after about 25 li into the broad cultivated valley of the Fop'ing River, up which the road runs eastwards through corn fields swarming with pheasants for ten li to Fop'ing T'ing.

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361 Fop'ing, formerly a T'ing and now a third class Hsien, is a tiny place, a mere walled hamlet, containing only twenty or thirty families, and is probably about the smallest and most miserable of all the Hsien cities in China Proper. It lies in a cultivated valley, on the headwaters of a stream which apparently flows west and then south to join the Han near Ch'engku. This valley, over 6000 feet above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by [241] lofty mountains; it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop [262] in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanchung plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including T'aipai Shan in the N.W. corner. The post of magistrate is naturally not sought after. The Chinese consider Fop'ing a "dreadfully bitter" place (*k'u ti hen*), since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies; but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday.

•136 We stayed a couple of days at Fop'ing, during which it rained in the valley and snowed on T'aipai and the higher ranges. The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains

of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them[1] partly because of the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range immediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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487 From Fenghsiang to Yao Chou by this route is a distance of about 510 li, and thence to Yenan another 530 li.
133

Leaving Fenghsiang Fu by the East Gate the trail soon turns off the main road to the N.E. and runs across the plain for 20 li to the foot of the hills. Crossing a spur a few hundred feet high the path then descends into the ravine of a stream which is followed up for two hours' march to the hamlet of K'angchia Ho. The surrounding mountains are all of loess terraced for the cultivation of wheat and maize, [243] with the scattered inhabitants living mostly in caves. In this neighbourhood we came across some chikor of exception-136 ally large size (the handsome red-legged partridge of North China), the only occasion on which I have seen them in the loess. These birds are called *Shih Chi* (stone fowl) in the mountains of Northern Chihli, where they are common, frequenting bare stony slopes. They are found in large coveys, which seldom fail to make their presence known by their characteristic call; but they are most difficult to shoot, as they are inveterate runners, always up hill, and, being very strong, carry a great deal of shot; the only way to get them is to descend on them from above. They are excellent eating, but not so good as the little brown partridge with a black patch on the breast, also fairly common in the mountains of the North. Throughout our journeys in Shensi and Kansu, however, we saw very few partridges compared to pheasants.

487 From K'angchia Ho the trail runs up a branch of the stream to the N.E. for a few li and then strikes up the hill
133 side, and following a ridge between two ravines ascends gradually to reach a pass (4300 feet), the boundary between Fenghsiang and Linyu districts. There is much uncultivated land on these mountains, the grass-grown terraces gradually becoming obliterated; this is a common sight throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, and together with the many ruined villages points to a decrease in population, supposed to be due to the ravages of the great Mahomedan rebellion of fifty years ago, but perhaps also due to a gradual desiccation of this region. All around are loess ridges and ravines in bewildering confusion; but there appears to be a sort of watershed trending S.E., a range which is known further east as the Ch'i Shan. From the pass there is no immediate

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about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district. 487 133 [36]

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them. [311] 136

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely 579 628

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[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
487 from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so
133 formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in
Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the
big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged
from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the
[136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are
not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and
which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn,
became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li.
down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here
winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The
[491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third
class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence
of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai
Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys
in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all
directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge
between the two rivers and continues along the summit in
a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the
village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge
leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending
and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps,
and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a
series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy
li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a
stream flowing north, up which it continues for another
hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under
steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large
[361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate
under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley
for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge
which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path
is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds
of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at
intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

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487 and the background of bare snow-sprinkled mountains, made
133 up a wild and desolate landscape, the scene of uncounted contests between Chinese, Tartars, and Mahomedans in the past.

The trail continues up the valley, which is here a mile or two wide and slopes gently up to grassy downs on either side, for four to five hours' march to an old military post [49] called Chench'iang Yi. Here the river is crossed by a ford, which must be difficult in rainy weather, and the road, leaving the P'ingfan valley, runs due north over easy grassy slopes for 15 li to gain the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet), the divide between the waters which flow east to join the Yellow River and those which flow north into the desert and fail to reach the sea. Immediately to the west some rocky peaks patched with snow rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. [136] From the pass the road descends, at first over grassy downs alive with marmots, and then by a steep stony track, to the ruined village of Anyuan P'u in the narrow valley of the Kulang River. The Wushao Ling will prove the principal engineering obstacle to the railway which is projected as an extension of the Lung Hai line along the main road towards Central Asia, and will presumably necessitate a considerable tunnel. Otherwise the construction of this extension will be easy compared to the section from Hsian to Lanchou. Fifteen li down the valley brings one to the village of Lungk'ou P'u. This is a long day's march called 90 li (which means 30 miles in Western Kansu) and the track beyond the pass is bad and rocky.

On the following day a short march of 45 li by a rough road down the valley brought us to the district city of Kulang, a small town three-parts in ruins situated at the point where the stream debouches from the mountains on to the plain. Here we were given a typical instance of Chinese administrative methods. One of our mules having fallen lame, we asked the magistrate to be good enough to procure us another animal, which he said could easily be done. We were accommodated in a small yamen and our mules in an inn, and that evening the head muleteer came round in a great state and said that one of our mules had been seized by the underlings from the magistrate's yamen. Explanations were of course immediately forthcoming and the misunderstanding cleared up. The magistrate had instructed his

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634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[135] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Ôbaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots.
316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol
563 tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents
563 of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally
634 occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

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without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

[316] 502 136

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

133 [232]

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

[312]

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

stretches.

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000 stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent
502 three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test
136 of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited
312 and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

312 Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours
133 to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated
361 strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of
236 mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade. It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

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796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[361] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and
438 Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng
133 Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'ienchʼeng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

491 shied in terror at something none of us could see, but
133 which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel.
For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation,
and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered
244 land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do
312 not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep
ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream
of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the
[133] watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of
136 five magnificent black vultures caught our attention.
They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 24
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132]
night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136]
which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the
574 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert"
411 opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently espoused His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

264 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty
351 wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

which today still belongs to the Koko Nor, and seeks to divert the 133
water.

Shortly after twelve o'clock of this first day of the journey we set 000
up camp in the middle of the large longitudinal valley (Plate LX). In other words, we did not get very far. Yaks are, after all, oxen and proceed slowly. If one could let the animals graze at night in East Tibet, it would be possible to extend the day's march; but since this is not possible because it is unsafe, one can only spend half the day in traveling. But during the short afternoon hours of our first day the animals sought in vain to get enough to eat. The herds of the nomads had left only the woody stalks of the dry winter grass which covered the earth like a thin yellow veil. (1)

1. This Ara Gol Plain is today inhabited by Tibetans and specifically by the Tschamri tribe. Until 80 years ago it was the land of the first banner of the Tschoros-Mongols with eleven squadrons, along the western part of which, on the lake, bordered the one Khalkha banner.

Our first night on the Tibetan plateau passed very quietly. After it had begun to grow dark the animals were driven into the center of the camp between the tents. We lay down to sleep at five different places around them and a guard carrying a loaded gun began to walk around the camp. Slowly the fires died down and the wind, too, gradually went to sleep. There was not an unfamiliar sound to be heard; nothing but the soft gurgling of the many ruminating cattle and now and then the shrill laughing call of the watchman broke the silence.

On the morning of April 24 the thermometer stood at -80°. We 133
left the broad longitudinal valley and crossed a low branch of the eastern continuation of the South Koko Nor Mountains, that is to say, the ranges that extend south from the Koko Nor in a west-northwest to east-southeast direction for several hundred kilometers (Plate LXI). Although we marched ahead without any path whatever, we got across without any difficulty. Early in the afternoon we encamped on the edge of the nent yung, a broad valley, that runs parallel to the one of the day before. On our way we had met many antilopes and round [136]
about our tent lived marmots who emerged from their holes out of curiosity and sat up on their hind legs, anxiously whistling when anyone approached. Our new camp had no water but there was still 000

this, they said, and yesterday we were surely as close as we were today. The men sat dejected around the campfire and prayed unceasingly. The death of the crane had to be dragged in again. In order to appease the spirit, Tsch'eng, the shoemaker and cupbearer, who was at the same time the high priest of my Buddhists, reached into the kettle twice and filled the tea ladle, hurling its contents high above our heads as he invoked Amne Bayan. Only after this abundant libation did he pour each one's small portion into the cups that were held out to him. 000

During the night the sky was overcast and thus the thermometer sank only to -1° Celsius. The usual interludes occurred: at eleven o'clock I found Sung and at two o'clock, Tschang sleeping at their posts. The dogs became very restless several times and dashed madly out into the steppe. But we could never find out what was the matter. We decided from now on /302/ always to extinguish the fires at dusk in order not to betray our camp site.

Before sunrise the caravan got under way. It was necessary for us under all circumstances, even if it meant taking along only the most vigorous animals, to reach water. In spite of the cool temperature, all the animals were suffering from thirst and had lost all desire to chew off the dry winter grass; they stood apathetically, hanging their heads sadly, unless we drove them on. When it grew light we saw a long, dark line actually galloping straight toward us. There seemed to be about 50 or 60 horsemen. "Fan tse, robbers!" yelled a voice in desperation. Everyone reached automatically for his weapon and made sure it was loaded. When the troop came nearer it seemed as though we had a riding school in front of us, the members of which were scrupulously trying to keep a certain distance apart. They galloped brilliantly and were making frightfully rapid progress. Meanwhile the first group of my yaks had halted; the second was coming up and the drivers, disquieted, hastened toward each other and threw the packs from the horses in order to be able to mount them. I, too, had now joined the others and saw with the help of my field glasses that they were - as the Chinese say - ye ma, wild horses (Equus hemionus). Shortly thereafter the animals turned sharply to the left and stood still. They now looked at us with as much astonishment and fright as we had at them shortly before. Equus hemionus is a species of large wild ass. However, it does not look much like the usual ass, but can be mistaken for the Chinese mule. The Tibetans call these animals tschiang (usually written kyang). The color of the animal is predominantly 136

136 reddish-brown, its short, upright mane and tail are black. The belly and the legs are a lighter color, often a dirty white and there are dark stripes running across the knees and the hocks. At the withers the stallions are 1.30 to 1.40 meters high; thus, they are as large as the common riding horses of the highlands. Especially when they were going fast, the animals were often to deceive us into thinking they were mounted. Soon after, we also saw tschiang herds coming from the left at a gallop, usually 15 to 20 of them and, in between, many delicately-built Dseren antelopes enlivened the yellow steppe which on the preceding day had been so completely dead.

133 Countless deep, well-worn paths made by the tschiang ran criss-cross over our route. We could not be too far away from water now. The valley continued to descend a little and later we came through a flat valley. In it we found remains of nomad encampments, meter-high wind-breaks made of dried cow dung and more than a dozen cooking places built of stones and loam, so-called takoa (Central Tibet: tab means "hearth") which not more than a month ago must have stood in the center of a black tent and been in use. But we searched in vain for water in the vicinity. The valley floor was completely dry, and not even a dry bed of pebbles was to be seen; nothing indicated that a stream had flowed through here even temporarily. The nomads seem to have camped here in late winter and early spring, at a time, therefore, when they could undoubtedly count on snowfall. But we did not let ourselves be diverted from the direction we had taken and rode straight on toward a small, isolated patch of snow that could be seen on the bordering mountains. /303/ We discovered on this day that the first row of mountains did not rise up very far above the plain filled with stone fragments which was the tala. That is what had deceived us on the evening before. In other words, we were still in the waterless desert.

000 Toward noon I rode on ahead of the caravan; only two female dogs accompanied me. For a long time now, some of the animals had been unable to keep up, and even the rest crawled along uncertainly and at a dragging pace. Half the animals had no packs. We had piled up a large heap of supplies in a particular spot along the way. We simply had to have water otherwise there would be a catastrophe which might ruin all my plans. I estimated we were still 12 kilometers distant from the first patch of snow; this, for the poor, tired bullocks was an almost endless stretch. Suddenly I saw my dogs pounce on a hole, and a few seconds later my good little horse was also greedily drinking. My clever Tschimo, the ugly old bitch with

the broken teeth, which had been "given" me in January at the Koko Nor, had found the water. 000

On this day I lost two yaks that came from the Ts'aner. All the other animals reached the water hole, although some of them not until late that night. The two yak bullocks that were lost had had to be favored for a week already. They had taken turns carrying a skull of a Tibetan which I found between the dunes at the Si ni Ts'o. It was the lightest weight imaginable, but my men swore that it was this skull or rather the gui, the spirit of this dead man, that had exhausted the two animals and finally killed them. It weighed so heavily on their necks that they would have broken down even if they had been the strongest bulls, so my Mohammedans as well as my Buddhists solemnly declared.

In order to refresh my caravan to a certain extent I was forced to put in two more rest days at the water hole. One of those days was lost fetching the packs that had been left behind. I spent this time hunting in order to have some fresh meat. But there were not many living creatures to be found except the tschiang packs. I caught only a few hares and some prairie hens. The tschiang were extremely [136] cautious. They are very inquisitive animals, they always had to know what the mules and ponies were up to, but they never let me as a human being come closer than 400 meters. The flat terrain and the almost complete absence of vegetation made their vigilance easy.

On the afternoon of the second day our water hole dried up and we could not find another far and wide. The snow field, too, on the mountain beyond, which we aimed at from the distance, had now melted. We had obviously been lucky in crossing, and I did not fail to point out my good fortune to these superstitious people in the proper manner, in order to dispel any doubts that might still be left about the crane shot.

At the foot of the southern border range and parallel with it runs 487
a large yak road. This is a natural road running along for hours, straight as a die, and varying in width from six to ten meters, like a sheaf of little paths, /304/ sometimes close together, sometimes farther apart. This is a route used by wild game from time immemorial. Today it is the road of the Schar ba (the people from the east), that is, the merchants from Sung pan ting in Szechwan. Every year these people lead hundreds of bullocks carrying tea and all kinds of goods and trifles along this road in month-long journeys, and trade these things for wool, skins, furs, rhubarb and musk. We discovered this road on our next day's march and followed it in a southeasterly

[text continues on p.513]

increases. But we learn to wake up rapidly only when the barking sounds really serious. Then if wolves were creeping around in the pale moonlight, we quickly turned over and went calmly to sleep again. In the Tibetan steppes only man is a danger to man. 600

At Camp 15[1] too, a small pack of wolves appeared when it had grown dark and the camp had retired for the night. The moonlight was so bright that one could recognize the animals even at 300 meters. This time there were eight of them that circled around us. Dolefully whimpering, they sniffed with their noses in the air. We could see them at their full height against the bare ground. As soon as they looked as though they were coming toward the camp, my dogs dashed out with mad barking and the two opponents then stood looking at one another, baring their teeth. Neither the dogs nor the wolves were great heroes. The dogs showed courage only when they were accompanied by a man, but even then they were loathe to go farther than 100 meters from the camp. The wolves, on their part, tried to approach like thieves; when they caught sight of one of us human beings they dispersed timidly and ran off. I could not get a shot at them. 136

That night the temperature went down to -6°. As usual, the coldest period was just before sunrise. At six in the morning the caravan was packed and ready to go. We quickly crossed the rest of the longitudinal valley and climbed, at first without a trail, following a ravine, up the principal chain of the Semenov Mountains. But on account of the pack animals I was soon obliged to encamp again. Thus, our day's work did not amount to much. We had gone only 10 kilometers, but had climbed 600 meters in doing so. Our camp was 3,880 meters above sea level. There was an abundance of grass and the animals fared much better than at Schara khoto where, even during the winter, the last dry blade had been pulled off, but even here there was nothing but dry, dead grass from the year before. 133

The Semenov Mountains have not been clearly defined. The name was introduced by Obrutschew. He was looking from the South Koko Nor Mountains much farther to the northwest, /307/ at the Dábassu Nor, and saw to the south of him a new parallel range which, since a native name was lacking, he called after the head of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Semenov Tianschanski. (1) The

1. Peter Petrowitsch Semenov Tianschanski, born 1827, traveled through Tien Shan in 1857-1858. He died in March 1914 as the Nestor of Asiatic research.

[1] [In a valley emerging from the Semenov Mts. -Analyst]

000 The large highland valley into which we had come is called Sarong by the nomads. On May 16 we set up Camp 21 there and on May 17, Camp Number 22. Both of them were over 4,100 meters high. We made little progress because the trek over the naka fields with their holes exhausted the animals very quickly. As soon as the caravan came into camp, the animals sank exhausted to the ground and only toward evening they tried to eat their fill. Several of the horses throve on the meager diet, others, obviously Chinese horses which had been fed peas for a long time before, became noticeably thinner. On May 16 another of the yak bullocks which we had bought from the Ts'aner was worn out when we had gone only half-way. The men killed it on the spot according to the Mohammedan rites and ate it up within two days. But the meat was not very tasty.

In the Sarong Valley there is an icy, sepulchral stillness, as though we were on the moon and no longer on this earth. My men were very depressed and not one of them hummed a tune to himself.

Sung says he feels better. He still does not want to take any European medicine /314/ and maintains that the exorcism of the instigator of his illness by the nun helped him. He said the bad spirit of his illness has been driven out and all he needs now is to get back his strength. He still runs a temperature, and a considerable enlargement of the heart is indicated. He is beginning to look frighteningly emaciated. The former roly-poly chap has become hollow-eyed and his skin is ashen, in sharp contrast to the bronze complexion of the healthy men. During the last few marches he had to be tied to his horse because he could not keep himself in the saddle at the slow, crawling pace set by the caravan.

156 At Ga fo ying pan there were dozens of marmots playing on the rock terrace all around the camp. Now I never heard their merry "wit! wit!" Here everything was still in its winter sleep. There was no life to be seen anywhere. Only once a pair of yellow ducks flew through the valley, clucking. They were travelers, like us. On May 16 shortly before twilight set in I saw a bear on the farther slope, about one kilometer distant. It was the first one on this journey. He was pushing heavy clods of earth, he turned over stones and with his iron claws dug for mice which were still in hibernation. The Tibetan highland bear also does not scorn the sweet, starchy potentilla roots.

000 On the evening of May 17, I saw four Tibetans on foot at some distance from our tents. With my glasses I could see them pushing their guns in front of them and crawling towards us on their stomachs. By the time it was quite dark they were still opposite us as though

5: Tafel--542 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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brought along. Then they began tooting up there. One of the men lifted a large sea shell to his lips and wheedled tones out of it which resembled the braying of an ox. At the same time a second and third man called the names of mountain spirits, turning in all directions as he did so, and letting scraps of wool and bits of printed paper (Tibetan: slong rschda, written: rlungrta, see Figure 18) flutter off in the breeze. It was the service which traveling akkas from the little monastery near Dankar were celebrating in honor of the day of the full moon, for it just happened to be the fifteenth of the month according to the Tibetan calendar. They were on a journey to the Wanschdäch' tseidia Tibetans from whom they were supposed to collect gifts for their monastery during the course of the summer. The Wanschdäch' tseidia had been grazing their flocks here during the winter. All the monasteries of Amdo send such emissaries as pastors to the nomads. The Gum bum monastery alone sends out many hundreds annually. The gifts which these monks bring back serve to cover the cost of running the monastery. T 792 782

As we rode on we found down in the valley the luggage of the priests who had worshipped on top of the mountain; it consisted of a small yak caravan carrying food supplies and merchandise for trade. C 133 136

Our 30th camp was 3,900 meters high, but still belonged to the /323/ basin of the Tschürnong Chu. The valley formations had become broad and rounded. One could again speak of valley plains. Along with this widening of the valley, the flora and fauna changed. The ground was covered by only 5 centimeters of top soil, and there were no longer any cuckoos after the last meter-high brush. On the other hand, herds of kyang which had not been visible down in the ravines galloped across the open country, and traces of wild yaks, of Ovis poli and similar large ruminants lay bleaching along the wayside. Around numerous pools there were pompous-looking cranes and waddling ducks and geese.

On June 8 it began snowing at four in the morning and the storm lasted all day so that we did not move from the spot. The clouds hung far down into the valley. The temperature stayed around $\pm 0^{\circ}$. It was an extremely uncomfortable camp. But everyone was in good spirits because we had fresh meat. I had shot my first kyang.

June 9. We decamped very early in the morning with the sky overcast. Around noon we slowly approached a pass. The very last stretch was somewhat more steep and caused us a lot of work. But the difficulties of the pass did not consist of the altitude - I measured 4,370 meters at the top - nor in the angle of elevation, but in the C 133

On June 10 we reached the shore of the Merduch' Ts'o without further difficulty. The lake lay like a mirror before us. Half of it was still frozen. Blocks of bluish ice stood out against the dark green of the water, and around the shore were bizarre-shaped ice boulders that told of violent storms. Ice floes a foot thick had been hurled onto land at a distance of many meters, and there they formed a high wall. This must have been done by the winter storms, the summer storms do not have the power to move such tremendous masses, not even severe thunderstorms, of which we were having two a day as a rule. C 133

I followed the shore all day long. I wanted to survey the entire west shore and travel over it, because here low hills had created varied shore formations, deep bays and peninsulas. We were finally stopped by a tiny brook on the extreme western edge of the lake, where we could not find any footing. There we encamped, close by the lake on a narrow headland which ended in a rocky hill. We had just rounded up the animals and rid them of their packs when a magnificent specimen of a Tibetan stag dashed down the rocky hill and ran straight through the midst of the herd. This was the only time throughout my whole journey that I saw such an animal. C [136]

The Merduch' Ts'o is 4,100 meters high and is about 23 square kilometers in size. To judge from the marks on the shore, its water level varies a great deal. And no wonder! There was no outlet to be seen anywhere. Nevertheless, it has perfectly fresh water, just like the Si ni Ts'o, the Gungga Nor and the Bayan Nor which also have no outflow. The nomads never seek out its shores, because the pastures are no longer good enough. On the other hand, Tibetan hunters often come here. We found quite a number of tado (tabrdo) cooking places consisting of three stones, such as travelers and hunters erect in order to make a tripod for their cooking pots. T [224]

June 11. Today I was pushed off far to the west of the course I hoped to follow. The caravan was obliged to march many hours until it could venture to cross the bottomless morass of the brook. Even so, it took us much more than an hour to go a little more than five meters.

The mountain slopes showed an incline of no more than 5°. But the rocks had dissolved to form a fine, brown, clayey earth that retained all the water. At a 2° and 3° gradient it was too wet for grasses, and finally even for cushions of moss; the naked earth, or rather bare mud covered the entire plain. I finally pitched Camp 33 on a low saddle, the first dry spot I could find. It was 4,315 meters high (Plate LXX). Beside it there was a thicket of mountain willow C 133 137

C 133 137 /325/ almost one meter high. The pussy willows had just begun to show. Blue and yellow iris on short stems peeped out of the ground. We stayed in that camp two days, two gloomy, gray, rainy days. The clouds dispersed only to make room for darker ones that discharged hail, snow and rain - often amid thunder and lightning. Only for brief moments the magnificent panorama was revealed and we saw toward the south the glistening white peak of sacred Amne Machin, and, towering 1,000 meters above thousands of snow-caps, the ice-bound surface of Tossun Nor (Mongolian), the Butter Lake, gleamed far to the west. Then it became so clear that with my Zeiss glasses I could distinctly follow a wild yak herd, about sixty head, at a distance of 11 1/2 kilometers.

T 579 On our next march, Da Tschang told of one of his worst experiences in Tibet. Four years before he was traveling from Hsining fu to K'am with his Tibetan wife and three K'am Tibetans. They had passed Merduch' Ts'o and had come to the town of Sum ndu. We saw this spot, 13 kilometers southwest of our route, where three valleys open up into the large Tossun Nor Plain. The travelers had only a half dozen pack horses besides their riding horses, and so they covered about 50 kilometers a day. In Sum ndu suddenly a bullet whizzed past them. They quickly retired behind a sand dune and slipped into a hole from whence they hoped to defend themselves. Da Tschang's pack horse was carrying his entire fortune, but the defense looked hopeless. They were surrounded by 120 Sakuch' Fan tse who now closed in on them in their retreat.

T 628 If possible, Tibetans avoid killing people. They are held back by fear of tribal revenge, as well as by fear of the spirit of the person killed, which seeks its former possessions. Thus, the rascals were persuaded to parley, in spite of their much greater numbers. Finally, Da Tschang and his friends were permitted to take themselves off on five, skinny old Rosinantes. The robbers kept their horses, their packs and all their good clothes. They were given only enough flour to last until they reached the Horkurma Fan tse who at that time were domiciled three travel-days south on the Hwang Ho. There they were obliged to shepherd flocks for many weeks until a caravan took them along.

C 133 136 My caravan was now in the territory of Lake Tossun Nor, which the Tibetans call Dung re Ts'o ner. Herds of antilope and kyang disported themselves on the edge of the great plain that extended from my camp 2[illegible] kilometers to the Tossun Nor.

unable to keep step with the caravan. On the next two days I saw 133
individual groups of riders through my field glasses. But none of them ventured to come close to us.

Our march now continued due north where there was a large white spot on the map on which "mighty mountain massif with perpetual snow" stood out in bold letters. Camp 36 (Plate LXVIII), 37 and 38 nestled at the foot of precipitous limestone mountains on which I collected carbon- (Culm) fossils (Phillipsia and Productus). To the west of us lay a high valley, many kilometers wide, filled with mud. Up on the peak of the limestone mountains, at an altitude of 4,500 meters, I found brooding, yellow Kasarka geese. It is difficult to imagine a 136
more uncomfortable place for this business of hatching. There was seldom a tiny plant to be seen in a rock crevice. Wherever there was a sheltered spot, a hollow, it was filled with snow. Why do only these birds come out of the mild Chinese lowlands summer after summer to breed and molt in these storm-tossed unfriendly heights? On the plain there are also many small birds living in hollows in the ground. I saw three or four different kinds. During the day they twitter and half sing and even at night I could often hear them peep. They live on seeds and insects. One of the most common birds was the Tibetan lark (Melanocorypha maxima). Besides these we also observed kites, eagles and vultures. All the other birds that we still saw on the Tschümorg: cuckoos, gray doves, magpies, were left behind. As soon as the sun appears a few butterflies flit over the low grass, but always the same species. (1) There is an abundance of lesser fauna

1. Among others, the following were collected here: Papilio machaon-ladakensis Moore; Pap. tamerlanus Oberthür; Armandia thaidina Blanch; Aporia hippia-tibetana Gr.; Mesapia peloria Hew.; Melitaea didymaturanica Stgr.

but not a great variety of species. Spiders seem to be the most frequently-occurring insects, especially Laufspinnen. There are also a few species of flies and above all many wood-lice. Among beetles there are Kuraben 12 millimeters long.

During this time the weather was very changeable. At Camp 36 132
a cloudless, starry sky spread over us so that it cooled off to minus eight degrees and thick hoar frost, a rarity in /329/ in these altitudes, covered the ground. At Camp 37 we once again had to put in a day of rest because we were enveloped in clouds all day and wet snow swirled about us. At noon a shaggy, strange dog appeared at the door

[text continues on p. 551]

eternal rainy-day rest stops. The wet snow fell unceasingly against the cloth of the tent, above me. And like a torrent was the sound of the chatter from the nearby tent where on such days of idleness, my men chew the rag endlessly. They gave themselves the shivers by relating tales of brigandage and murder, and then again made each others' mouths water by describing succulent dishes, and grapes and melons that they had eaten in beautiful China. 000

If only the region were not so desolate! As far as the eye can see there are flat, muddy undulations. Wherever there is a little spot bare of the wet snow, the earth shows only isolated bunches of grass scarcely three to four centimeters long.

June 21. This year June is much wetter than it was two years ago. We are always wading through mud. Toward noon we crossed a small saddle from which we at last saw a few mountain peaks in the north. Individual, shining white peaks rose out of the undulant plain, against the deep-blue horizon like great white sails on the sea's horizon. Is this Przchewalski's "mighty mountain massif with perpetual snow"?

Today was a first-class hunting day. During our march I shot an antelope and a kyang. At 250 meters I shot the stallion of a kyang pack of about 100 heads, through the entrails. Wounded, he trotted on for some kilometers until my dogs trapped him in a lively brook. He was followed by four mares who did not seem disinclined to belabour the dogs with their hooves. They fled with displeased snorts and grunts only after we human beings appeared. The stallion was an old champion, his skin showed countless scars where he had been bitten. Han had not yet killed him according to the Mohammedan rites, when a mighty band crossed the plain in front of us. It consisted of 80 - 100 wild yak. Obviously my shot had alarmed them. Shortly thereafter we pitched the tents and Tsch'eng and I pursued the herd. However, we did not reach them, but instead encountered a carrion-eating female lynx which we downed. Not far from that I saw a bear busily digging for mice. While my man was skinning the lynx I took a shot at the bear. We came back to camp, dead tired from our expedition on foot in the rarefied atmosphere. I had great good luck today: Da Tschang who always shouldered my triple-barrelled gun had - as I learned later - fallen head over heels into a swamp with his horse, and mud had got into the muzzle of the bore. My first shot at the lynx caused the bore to explode at the muzzle and a piece of it whizzed by close to my head. The triple-barrelled gun now looks badly worn. Its butt-end has been tied together with a piece of wire because it has a crack, and the bore is smashed and is shorter by 10 centimeters. 136 ● 000

this chain. The Tibetans called them the mountains of Wahong La. 000

brook ran in a longitudinal furrow parallel to the chain. Bulging moraine walls extending down from the peaks narrowed the valley to such an extent that finally we saw only embankments of moraine gravel and no longer any peaks.

The battle between sun and snow squalls continued. But when the cloud veils lifted once again I discovered from my new camp site a few black dots high up on a moraine. It was a herd of wild yaks. I could see them only with my field glasses, but soon an eager hunting party had gathered. I chose the three Mohammedans as companions, admonished the ones who stayed behind to be cautious, and rode up along the moraines for an hour and a half. Numerous kyang again circled about us but no one paid any attention to them. The horses breathed heavily going up the steep slope. We had to pause frequently on their account. Finally, when we had climbed even beyond the last pass, about 4,400 meters up, we once more discovered /332/ the animals we had seen from our camp down below. They were 2 kilometers distant, huddled together in a black mass on a snow-field. Then we tied the horses together and proceeded on foot. In spite of our slow gait our pulses were throbbing. At times we waded in mud and mire, then again we climbed over the round granite boulders of the old moraine which projected out from a huge circus of rocks farther to the east. In the eagerness of the hunt, we often thought we were quite near, but too often we mistook dark granite boulders for wild yak. At last a pitch-black covering of hair appeared between the stones. From here we proceeded on our stomachs. The strain of crawling was intensified by a howling storm from the north, that lashed our faces with sharp kernels of hail and snow, robbed us of our meager breath and brought tears to our eyes. We had now come to within 500 meters. From here on there was no more cover. A bull got our scent long before we were ready to shoot. With lightning speed the heavy mass began to move and with a tremendous dull-rumbling roar the herd - close to 400 head - tore down the slope. Their hooves loosened a Mure, boulders and mud began sliding down the valley. The front part of the herd came to a standstill, whereas the ones in the rear pushed on. The struggling mass offered an easy mark. "Tscho pä i ts'ien mi da!" (sight 1,000) I called to my companions. "Hang!" (shoot). I myself fired three shots with this sight and after each shot one animal remained behind the rolling mass. It was indeed lucky 136 000

000 hard Tsaidam grass, Cobresia Thibetica, began to predominate
(Plate LXXII). For the present there were also no traces whatever of
T 619 former settlements. It was four days before we came upon abandoned
361 pastures and shortly thereafter upon nomad tents. We had chanced
to get into the territory of the Moch'tschün tribe, Tibetans who belonged to the large nation of the Wanschdäch'. The Moch'tschün are only thirty families strong and, although they own a large area of land which they settle in scattered, small groups of four to six families, they are nevertheless obliged to change their camp-sites every fortnight because the pasture land is too poor. There was every indication that we had left the area of the summer monsoons and that we were on the edge of arid Central Asia. Rain showers fell less frequently and less abundantly. The bottoms of the small lateral ravines were dry /335/ and showed loess deposits. Only few and insignificant water courses joined the Tsaghan usse.

C 136 Among the Moch'tschün we were very much bothered by mosquitoes. But on our subsequent marches they became more and more unbearable. They were the harbingers of Tsaidam. We were now quite close to the large salt swamp of Central Asia, the breeding place of millions upon millions of mosquitoes. During June and July swarms of them, as thick as clouds, travel up to 3,500 meters, that is, 700 meters above the Tsaidam Plain. In the Tsaghan Usse Valley we were so badly treated by the pests that we did not dare descend to the plain itself with our caravan. We turned off toward
T 233 the west and southwest, keeping to about 3,500 meters. We crossed
619 a number of flat passes. There were herds of sheep and cattle grazing along the road and we saw many tents. We had reached the land of the Réngan Tibetans. (1) These are allegedly only fifty

1. Probably Rockhill's Rerin Tibetans.

T 609 tents strong. At first they were unfriendly toward us and demanded a shamelessly high transit toll from us. My big passport from the amban yamen in Hsining fu, which I had always felt was very important - my men, however, did not share this opinion - made no impression on them. They owned that it was authentic, but that it did not concern them because they had never before seen such a letter of safe conduct. All they knew about was the so-called ma piao, the letter ordering them to furnish ula, such as the interpreters from the Hsining yamen carry on their official journeys. But they changed their attitude when they saw the many kwei po (breech

Plate LXXVII. N.W. China AF13

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Mouth of the Wulaxsu. (The bordering mountains of Tsaidam in the Barun territory are completely bare. There are a few plants only along the edges of the brooks.)

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Woulded kyang on the southern edge of Tsaidam. (In the background the border range of Burkhan Buda, in front of it Piedmont gravel.)

/336B/

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

rented four camels for the crossing. On their high stilt legs they brought the bags of flour dry to the opposite shore, whereas the water ran over the backs of the bullocks. C 133

We camped on the left side of the river at an altitude of 3,170 meters, in other words, not much higher than the large Tsaidam Plain. Because of this, we were almost eaten up by millions of mosquitoes. To the north of us the Yohg'ore Valley soon passed over into the Tsaidam Plain. In the distance we saw the groups of houses comprising Schang rdi kura. On account of the mosquito-pest which was very painful for the animals - we were unable to let the horses graze freely even for a minute because they would immediately attempt to gallop off - I left the Yogh'ore Valley without visiting the houses of the Schang rdi with my caravan. On the following days I traveled over foothills and over several passes of 3,700-4,000 meters into the Barun territory (Plate LXXVIII). I was constantly running into individual Mongol settlements, yurts and flocks. Through some valleys I traveled as fast as I could. I suddenly learned that I had chanced on regions where there was a cattle epidemic. Now, some of my animals had allegedly had the disease, and I had bought them in regions where the pest had just raged very severely; yaks who have survived the disease are called tarma in Tibetan. Nevertheless, I was very much concerned for my herd. C 136 C 563 232

On July 12 we crossed the Ara Usse gol. Da Tschang and I were far ahead of the caravan and we reached this valley early. I was very hospitably received and entertained there by a Tibetan mamba, by a colleague of the science of medicine. The mamba with his wrinkled spouse, a Mongol woman, lived in a Tibetan black yak-hair tent which, inside, was furnished in Mongolian style. It had a two-winged entrance door and instead of the takoa, the walled and well-burning hearth of the Tibetans which always divides their tents in half, it had, Mongolian fashion, a cooking pot on a round, iron tripod about a foot high in the middle of the tent. In the rear of the tent there were a few chests on which stood a few dozen brass bowls containing holy water. The gentleman had evidently carefully packed away his gods before he invited us to step inside. From the ceiling hung countless small cloth pouches, blackened with soot, in which he kept his medicines, roots and seeds. He pulled down a little bag from the driest corner and showed me its contents. It revealed nitrate of potash which was supposed to come from the Lop region, and which he used to prepare gun powder. We talked about the weather and about cattle epidemics. The Ngolok and K'am T 756 342

the Alang Nor, (Alak Nor), (Plate I). There were lush meadows 133
along the lake shore. Otherwise there were alternate swampy places, spots with grass that grew 10-15 centimeters high, and sections of gravelly rubble. Sand dunes had formed around a small hillock of rock in the middle of the valley, and their thin covering of grass gave off a faint green shimmer. However, not the smallest shrub was to 136
be seen. The steppe seemed dead. But how quickly it came to life not far away with antilopes, kyang, wild yak, wolves, foxes, marmots and bears when I took up my Zeiss field glasses! Several times one of my men came galloping excitedly up to me and pointed to a moving dot in the distance. Fortunately, however, the supposed Tibetan turned out to be a harmless bear or kyang. There were also huge herds of wild yaks on the plains, and they could be seen many kilometers off in their black pelts. They were proof enough that for some time there had been no one in the valley. Incidentally, these wild yaks are by no means altogether harmless. Although I took every precaution in our new camp and always kept two men on guard, nevertheless that afternoon a yak bull suddenly stood in the midst of my grazing cattle. The black giant seemed to be larger than life next to my tame animals, and he glared haughtily and rather surprised at the inferior creatures. I hesitated a moment, undecided whether to reach for my camera or for my rifle. My watchmen had fled when the monster had come racing up grunting and shaking his huge and bushy black tail. However, before I stepped out of my tent with my camera and gun a tragedy had happened. In a blind rage the bull had rammed his pointed horns into one of my animals, through the pillion, and tossed it into the air. The monster trudged off when he heard the shouts of distress coming from my men, and was pursued by the bullets of my watchmen who had recovered their courage. However, one of the best yak oxen lay dead on the ground.

After I lost the greater part of my equipment and with it my Euro- 821
pean tent in the attack on the Koko Nor I had had to make shift with a thin Chinese tent. This always caused great difficulty when I had to change my photographic plates. Even with the thinnest crescent of the moon in the sky it was not dark even under my blanket. On the night of August 5 there was a full moon and therefore no prospect of sufficient darkness throughout the night. I was therefore not a little happy when a bank of clouds in the east brought absolute darkness into the interior of my tent. I quickly decided to change plates, but while I was in the midst of doing this I was interrupted by a strange occurrence. My companions outside suddenly made a most frightful racket. Their

shots and yells sounded as though robbers were outside the camp; 821
they beat on lids and cooking pots like mad, in fact, on anything that makes a noise. The sharp whistling of shots pierced the shouting. At any moment I expected bullets to fly through my tent, as they did that time at Amne Maschin. As quickly as possible I /11/ packed away my plates and dashed out of the tent, cocked a Mauser pistol in each hand. The noise did not cease. Those of my men who were not shooting were swinging their swords which gleamed in the magic light of the camp fire. Threateningly one of them brandished his long lance. H'an and Tsch'eng dash up to me: "The monster, the voracious frog of heaven (1) has appeared in the sky!" ---

1. Called arha by the Tsaidam Mongols; it is the Ra hu of Indian mythology. The monster is also often addressed as wolf.

It was an eclipse of the moon. The cloud bank had disappeared and the full moon stood in a clear sky, but only a fast-disappearing part of its orb was bright, the greater part of it lay in the shadow of the earth. That was why it was so nice and dark in my tent! When the occultation grew less an altar was erected, incense was burned and they all fell on their knees and made a kowtow to the beloved and happily rescued celestial body.

In the southern part of the Alang Nor plain (2) there was a steep 133

2. It is also often pronounced Alak Nor.

ascent. It was necessary for us to reach a plateau that rose up in terrace formations. Many erratic granite and lime blocks a cubic meter in size towered out of the red disintegrated sand masses. They not only enabled me to make deductions concerning the history of the terrace, but also made me fear a renewed, difficult struggle with bottomless moraine mire.

We were still at the bottom of the slope when I inadvertantly came 136
upon a huge herd of wild yak. I counted 1,200 animals. They were outlined against the autumnal green of the meager pasture in the shape of a black, roundish mass. As usual the animals had drawn close together during the night. Huge amounts of droppings that covered a whole hillside and were recognizable at a distance of one kilometer betrayed their resting place for the night. At seven in the morning they were scattered over a wide area grazing, and a space of several

square kilometers looked as though it had been spattered with large /136 black ink-blots. However, because of the almost total absence of grass, I sought in vain to capture with my camera this magnificent picture of primeval ages, showing not man but wild cattle to be masters of the land. When they caught sight of me the nearest young bulls came toward me and threatened me, lowering and shaking their mighty heads as though they wanted to demonstrate: see! we'll lower our horns and then toss you merrily into the air.

The highland at the Alang Nor is, to be sure, uninhabited, but the yaks are so often disturbed by hunters that many of them recognize the dangers threatening them at the hands of humans. When some of the more experienced animals became aware of me as I crept up, the mass of them drew closer together, appearing blacker all the time. The old lead bull had also got wind of me and set out at a gallop leading the others. Like a huge, woolly, coal-black army worm, he seemed to be wending his way slowly up the slope. Soon, however, only the sound of a peculiar roaring and of falling stones caused by thousands of stamping hoofs came down to me from the distance. I only got the rear of the train on my plate; and with it an old jealous /12/ bull (Plate II). For a long time this old gentleman kept wagging his huge black tail at me in a challenging way. The tail was big enough to have made a handsome parade plume for three Prussian officers of the guard. However, finally even he did not quite trust the situation, and in a waddling trot he followed the herd of his more fortunate competitor, keeping a respectful distance of several hundred meters. The sandy mire caused the heavy animals much delay. Before they reached the height they had fallen into step again. In the melee many of the cows had lost track of their calves, and the latter followed behind in droves. My Tibetan servant Tschaschi killed one with his matchlock; for my utilitarian apostles informed me that killing the calves of wild yak is no sin.

When I myself reached the top of the "Sang-plateau" the yak went slowly off in three groups, each led by an old bull, toward the pastures on the northern foot of the next rocky mountain where we were able to observe them for another whole day.

Following the wild yak I had crossed the water shed between the Hwang Ho and the waters that hurry on toward the Tsaidam basin. /33 This was in the area of shifting masses. A few bare peaks that look like new steps rise up all around this peculiar plateau whose name Dyoba said was "Sang." (1) To the eye these rocky peaks look like

1. Probably meaning Tschang tang, the northern plain of the

great barren steppes of northern Tibet.

hills, and yet they reach a height of over 5,000 meters. Between the mountains there are undulating plains many kilometers wide. Countless small round pools without visible outlets are found all over. (Plate IV)

Nevertheless, although the terrain looked simple, our march to the south proved very time-consuming. It was impossible to take the heavily-burdened yak directly across the plain. The middle of the plain was a bottomless mire and I could only take detours along the foot of the mountains, and they required many additional hours. If occasionally we had to cross a valley, hours were spent looking for a half-way passable spot and in unpacking and re-loading the animals which had sunk deep into the soft ground. After even a short stretch of this, man and beast lie exhausted on the ground, struggling for breath.

On this wide plateau I saw Orongo-antilopes (2) for the first time. 136

2. Pantholops Hodgsoni Abel. My companions called these animals by the Tibetan name of tso (gtsod) and the Chinese name ling yang. The Mongols call it orongo. I found these animals only on undulating plains 4,000 meters high. The swampy plateaus near the Sing su h'ai are the eastern boundaries of their territory and from there it reaches far to the west over the entire northern part of Tibet. Wherever I found orongo-antilopes in northern Tibet, there were always great numbers of them. Their sharp eastern boundary seems all the more surprising, but this fact is also known to the Tibetans. As true inhabitants of Tschang tang /plateau/, the orongo-antilopes are not very timid; one can easily approach them at 100-150 meters. If the animals feel disturbed they cautiously retire to the middle of the plain. In sharp contrast to the small, very timid dsere-antilopes (gazella picticaudate Hodgson) who in flight /13/ first leap into the air, pulling in all fours and then dash off over cliffs and rocks into the mountains, the movement of the orongo may almost be called clumsy, to which their somewhat heavy body and thick neck contribute. When the orongo travels fast it amounts to a quick trot which, however, is not so easily imitated by any other animal.

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Its rutting time is in November and it drops its young in June and July. I saw the hornless does together with their calves traveling alone until the end of September. (Very conspicuous are the narrow pockets of skin about 10 centimeters deep, in the axillae of the four legs.)

/13/ Soon after I saw the first pack hurrying timidly across the swamps, I discovered skeletons of this animal, particularly skulls with their long, pointed horns somewhat curved inward. There were dozens of them lying about on the steppes. Formerly, after we had set up camp, the afternoon siesta of the men was interrupted only by the hunt for wild onions or dried yak dung, or perhaps by the repair of a saddle or a pair of trousers, but now there was a new industry. The thin horns were easily bent at the fire and manipulated with knives, and so everybody wanted to take along souvenirs in the form of carved whip handles, buttons, gun forks. These primitive people had discovered a raw material which was previously unknown to them and utilized it in their naïve and yet useful way.

Bottomless mountain-sides, neck-breaking naka (high fens), impassable swampy plains, stretches where each step required the exertion of every bit of energy of the whole caravan - all these things caused me to make very little progress, and for two days we were snowed in at camp number 65.

Every few minutes a cloud showered us with hail-like snow and this rounded out the picture of wet wintry weather. With great care a dry spot was picked out for the tents, on the edge of a large naka field. It offered at least some food under the snow for the animals. However, even this small spot was soon under water. There was a squashing and splashing wherever one stepped and wherever one tried to sit down in the tent. Each foot-print turned into a lake, every object felt damp, everything dripped with moisture, and individual drops were soon coming through the roof of the tent. I became annoyed at the poor work I was doing on the damp paper, and stepped outside into the thick, cold fog. I could not even see the tent of my men, not a sound indicated the presence of my caravan which numbered more than 100 heads. Only from a near-by hillside do I hear the sounds of a noise that had been going on for more than 24 hours, and was occasioned by the fight between my dogs and two hungry wolves over a kyang cadaver. Our last fuel supply, dried yak dung, had long been consumed. There was scarcely a single small root that has turned into wood to be found anywhere, to serve as a substitute. My people

000 fever kept up their morale all night long. Never before had I seen my Chinese working so industriously: one of them held up a light, the other washed, and thus they stood for hours in the icy stream bed. In the morning they could hardly be persuaded to leave. Each of them had washed gold worth - one mark.

The prospect of coming back to that place later and thoroughly exploiting it made them forget their old animosities for the present, which was fortunate for me, and I could continue for the next few days to travel peaceably, even without pronouncing judgment. The experienced gold washers among my companions figured out that with good tools five of them could daily wash five fen of gold apiece, which equals 1.5 tael silver or about 4.5 marks. This they felt was an extremely good yield. It seems that often Tibetans are found along the Sing su h'ai washing gold. We had found abandoned camps and traces of activity in several ravines.

I now continued my journey in a southwesterly direction without a trace of a road, through the low sandstone hills, across many a
•136 source of the Hwang Ho. Even the so frequently encountered wardo or tado (tab rdo) which are stones set up in the shape of a tripod and indicated former tea-kettle fellowship, were now no longer seen. The region was inhabited by burrowing rats (1) and therefore abounded in

1. Ochontona melanostomus Büchner; Ochontona nipalensis Blyth; Ochontona hyperboreus Tafeli Hilzheimer.

bears. On the seventeenth I had gone scarcely two kilometers from the previous camp-site when I succeeded in stalking and killing an old she-bear, /19/ just as she had dug out a family of rats and had her
000 snout deep in the hole. An hour later, just as I was enjoying the beautiful sight of thousands of Orongo-antilopes as they cautiously but rapidly trotted toward the middle of a valley steppe which lay a day's journey westward, I met another bear. I let it get within a hundred paces of me. He must have been aware of me for a long time, but he neither took me in nor went out of his way. Not until he started trotting off did I shoot him with my carbine and hit him on the shoulder behind his broad band of white. He rolled about and bit angrily into his own flesh. A second dum-dum bullet hit him and only then did he become aware of me. The critical moment had come. What will the mighty animal do? The stretch lying between us is as smooth as

his previous experience and before I was ready to shoot, his shot had driven away both of them. 000

I had come to the region about which the Tsaidam Mongols had so often told me, the highland in which there lived people who did not raise cattle or sheep and did not farm, but who dressed in thick furs and nourished themselves on mice and rats. They were supposed to have their homes hard by the Soloma source water (1) and the

1. Mongolian name for the upper Hwang Ho.

Muru Usse (2).

2. Mongolian name for Yangtze Kiang.

The Tibetan bears (Ursus lagomyarius, Ursus pruinosus Blyth) vary a great deal as to color. The white neck-band also differs greatly in width. Sometimes it is only a white spot at the throat, about the size of that of a Malay bear, and sometimes it is a broad white band that runs all around the neck. In fact, often the bear's shoulder is completely white over a 20 centimeter wide area. The color of the body is a light, dirty grayish yellow. The hind legs have different-sized areas of greenish black. In winter, especially, their color is very dark. No wonder the Mongols in Tsaidam tell each other that up in the mountains there are black, white, and yellow bears, and bears as red as cattle. 136

August 18. Only a short distance from the camp-site I had come to a low saddle between two peaks where only isolated white rocks containing petrified carbon-coral fragments stood out among otherwise rounded mountain formations, when I had a view of the extreme western, true headwaters of the Hwang Ho. They lie in a trough many kilometers wide and are covered with a dense, low growth of hard rushes, interspersed with innumerable drainless pools. From the largest basin that looked like a lake flowed a brook that was one meter deep but so narrow that it could be crossed with one step. This we can probably call the true source of the Hwang Ho (3) (Plate VI). 133

3. Chinese accounts about the upper course of the Hwang Ho are very scant up to the beginning of the Yüan dynasty. According to De Mailla, Histoire de la Chine, Vol. 9, p. 404, 1779, Kublai Khan sent the Chinese mathematician Tu schi to look for the head waters in the year 1280.

133 According to his account, the water gathers from a hundred different directions in a large swampy plain (called sing su h'ai) and from there enters the two lakes Ala Nor from which flows the Tschi ping ho which farther down is called the Hwang Ho. However, Tu schi is supposed to have come only as far as Kue de! (This accounts for the confusion between the Alang Nor and the Ts'aring and Oring Nor.) In the year 1704 the Emperor Kang hsi demanded a new report on the source of the Hwang Ho. After the Hwang Ho flooded the great plain in the year 1780, Emperor Kien lung finally sent out an expedition in the year 1782 to explore the river thoroughly and to make a sacrifice to the river god at the source. With the help of the Koko Nor-Mongols, Amita, son of Akuli, went from Hsining fu up to the source. He reported that he followed the river Altan Gol upwards from Odontala (Sea of Stars) and thus discovered the golden rock of the north star (Altan gashun tscholo) which is an isolated, golden-yellow rock about 100 feet high in the pool that forms the source. (See further: Mémoires concern. les Chin., Vol. 10, and Plath: Mandschurei, Vol. 2, Timkowski, Vol. 2.) In recognition of the support which the Mongolian standard-bearers lent the Manchurian explorer, most of them were at that time appointed hereditary princes and taidschi.

136 A pair of the yellow Chinese kasarka-geese ruffled the blue surface of the lake, and two others in their thin moulting feathers laboriously /21/ flew off making a clucking noise just as we approached the shore. A lark rose up from the heath which was clad in its autumn colors, and the bird proclaimed in its shrill tones the peace of this world which was untouched by humans. A few wild yaks made a coal-black silhouette against the brilliant yellow-green and the blue of the sky. But peace and happiness were a mere delusion. On the motionless mirror of the lake floated the swollen carcasses of two yaks and along the shore there were many yak skulls and bones, more than two hundred from animals that had only recently been killed. Several days before this we were struck by the number of sick yaks that we came across. They were standing there indifferently, spittle running from their mouths, and mutely noted our passing. Only if we got too close did they wearily turn aside. Here at the lake seemed to be the

cemetery of the diseased animals. As a last resort, in the heat of 136
their fever they hurled themselves into the cooling waters. I had often been told this by Tibetans.

The reader will realize with what fear and anxiety a yak owner will pass through such a region with his herd. I knew that many of my animals had survived the pest and were therefore immune, but were those that we had exchanged on the way, those from Barun, also sound? And the animals are so stupid! One so often sees them greedily licking a bone lying about! No, there was no peace here, death ruled here! On rocks along the edge sat countless vultures, hardly able to lift themselves a few meters from the ground. This was no place to stop. Horrified, my drivers whistled doubly shrill through their teeth. Their cries of auro! huhuu! today did not permit the oxen to wrap their black tongues artfully around an inviting-looking bunch of grass and enjoy it. Forward, nothing but forward! so that none shall catch his death from an infected blade of grass or drop of water!

From this plain shaped like a basin which toward the extreme east 000
connects with the Sing su h'ai by means of a narrow valley, one needs to climb only a few meters in order to see down below, buried by steep slopes of rubble, a little river that has cut a bed northward to the Schogha Gol. It was here that I had set up camp and had sent Tschang out in the afternoon to reconnoitre for the next day's route. Shortly thereafter he reappeared with two companions, two bän-r - not to deny my readers this lovely Chinese word. He said that yonder in the brook lay the corpse of the bear that had been shot at on the previous day. Three of the men set out with rifles, and carrying their long knives with which they were going to skin the bear. I had barely seen them disappear behind the nearest hill when they reappeared without their weapons but with all indications of terror, running back to camp as fast as their legs could carry them. Way in the lead was Tschang who was still cautious enough to be sitting on his mare which he was beating for all he was worth. They had cheerfully approached the animal that lay motionless in one of the cold brooks on the banks of which a kyang carcass was to be seen. The three bän-r were only a few steps away from the bear and were already arguing loudly over which one of yesterday's bears it was when - a dreadful groan was heard, the animal got up, somewhat drunk with sleep, and still tired, /22/ fortunately. But then suddenly it wheeled around and pounced with angry grunts on my heroes who, in their dismay, dropped all their knives and firearms and ran for all they were worth. The Tibetan bears are usually good-natured animals. This one had probably only

6: Tafel--42 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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Plate VII /24 (C)/

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Sandstone slabs with prayers and prayer formulas in the Serkoh' Chu Valley.

136

Young wild yak steer on the banks of the Serkoh' Chu.

at the twelfth hour, and rain and hail stung our faces for an hour or more. Toward evening (it was always astonishing how quickly and easily it all happened) the cloud masses broke up. The wind died down, and by the time night fell the enchantingly beautiful starry sky of Tibet appeared, offering an invitation to my men to spend hours telling their legends of the river of heaven (the milky way), of the king's son and his beloved who were permitted to live together only after they had become stars.

136 After I had come down lower and thus reached better grass pasturage, larger herds of kyang began to appear; unusually often there was other wild game: yak (Plate VII), hares, foxes and marmots, so that we did not have to kill a sheep for long periods. On the other hand, there were no orongo-antilopes in the valley. These animals evidently like the extremely high, inhospitable regions where, on wide slightly undulating plateaus there is just enough food for their modest needs. On the other hand, I here added a beautiful example of ovis poli to my collection. This is a gigantic wild sheep which the Chinese call da t'ou wan yang, and the Mongols, argali. It seems to be rather rare in East Tibet, and to occur only in the northern part, in rocky /28/ regions above the timber line. I never saw more than three or four at one time. They are extremely timid, even though they have little to fear from the Tibetan matchlocks. The buck was almost as big as a young wild yak. My men shook their heads doubtfully at this new, crazy idea of their master who was bent on taking along what seemed to them a useless mass of bones and powerful horns. It required infinite patience and cunning to persuade the men to carry out my order, and only the promise of a larger tip finally induced one of them to add it to his burden.

"It must be especially powerful medicine," I heard Tschang saying outside at the campfire, "that the lao ai ye is willing to give so much for it. Why, apart from the tea money it will surely cost him two yaks, because the burden will be too much for them if the gui of the animal ever mounts it."

133 The way down the valley was endlessly long. Over a period of days we looked in vain for a large body of water. The walls of rock and rubble slopes seemed to rise up ever higher and wilder. On the morning of August 28 nothing in the steep, narrow mountain region indicated the proximity of a large stream, when suddenly we came round a bend and heard the sound of the mighty Yangtze Kiang quite close to us. Again part of the task that I had set myself was carried out. We had reached the "Blue River," the Da Kiang, the Kin scha

valley plains, which in the rarefied atmosphere saps the last strength of all living creatures and makes the heart pump as though it would burst when one works one's way through.

Crossing the Tsassora pass (4,550 meters) on January 31 was child's play, although that was the place where in 1904 our caravan was well-nigh destroyed. In the afternoon we had the first snowstorm. During it a pack of yak came within a few paces of our camp. They were the first we saw since I had left the Tschang tang in the fall. Although we had seen no more tents after Tschebts'a, we also did not find indications of the temporary presence of animals in the lower regions. I believe that in East Tibet the wild yak do not go below 4,000 meters, and in places where humans settle at certain times, the animals no longer occur. Its range is only there where man himself passes through like a fugitive animal. (1)

1. The boundary of the wild yak habitat is almost identical with the line which on my survey map separates human habitation from the uninhabitable territory of High Tibet.

Every day beyond Tschabtscha we came across the campsites of the Horkurma Tsung wa. Every day their traces grew fresher. We were coming closer and closer to them. But another large caravan was in front of us. Sometimes it occupied the same campsites as the Horkurma. The second caravan was even larger and stronger. According to the number of cooking places, we estimated that there were about seventy horsemen and far more than half a thousand pack oxen. There was no doubt in our minds that this large caravan consisted of homeward-bound K'am people who annually came over from the Yangtze Valley and - as we had learned - had left Dankar again at Christmas time. On the second of February we came across a small young ox that the caravan had lost and that grazed by itself by the side of the road at a large campsite. It seemed to have recovered completely and was very lively, although it showed signs of having fought a hard battle with wolves. There were deep scars of bites on its heels and blood stuck to one of its horns, and a large bunch of yellowish wolf hair. Without a word the yak was bound by the Mohammedans and slaughtered according to their rites. We were all ravenously hungry for meat; the few hares and hens that I killed were never enough. Even though the meat did not look sick, it had a disastrous effect on us. Three of us had to be lifted up on our horses the next day and tied on; we had a high fever and /105/ /Plates XVII,

6: Tafel--479 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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and a few long: Lama ihasdia sum tschiu...! But when we were brewing tea the Läwa guide invoked the Amne Machin, the Schar Dong re and a few other mountain giants, which here, also, still play a more important role than the Buddhas.

C 136

The region around the big bend of the Hwang Ho is surprisingly poor in game. It was only seldom that I saw in the distance on a mountain slope a Dseren antelope with delicate limbs, but never on this entire trip did I see traces of a Kyang (Equus hemionus), and it seemed as though these animals had been extinct for a long time already on the right side of the Yellow River. Bears are said still to be represented by the Ursus Tibetanus. The only things that frequently crossed our path were hares and marmots as well as a few partridges /Wildhühner/ and pheasants. All during the summer months and the wet season of the year the Hwang Ho and its tributaries have filled every valley so completely with puddles and everywhere accumulated so much water underground that the heights stand out like islands in an endless swamp. However, the individual groups of islands are so thickly populated by nomads and their herds that there is little room left for larger wild game. Up here we find the strange giant yellow river, the Hwang Ho, flowing on the surface of broad plains into which, farther down near Rardscha gomba and, even more, near the Tala, near Hoka and Kabatalen, it has dug a deep channel. In its entire gigantic length the Yellow River is one of the most changeable and strange large rivers of the earth, and appears as one of the youngest as far as its position and character are concerned. My readers all know that it was only around 1852 that the river shifted its mouth from the southern part of the Shantung province to the Bay of Chih li in the north, and again and again the Hwang Ho has in historical /295/ times found another course through the lowland of China, again and again selected a new bed and filled with terror an endless number of people. Between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi the red horizontal clay strata of the late Pliocene Age which can be seen high above its present bed (see Vol. I, p. 127), show that even in a late geological period it did not flow through there at all, and that thus the entire section of the Yellow River between Ordos and the Wei Ho Valley, the entire Ordos loop, must have been formed so to speak under the eyes of man. The section of the river between its entrance into the kingdom of the 18 provinces near Kue de - Hsün hoa ting and its confluence with the Hsining rivers, is also youthful and full of storm and stress. There the Hwang Ho river-bed is still narrow, the

C 133

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored
134 chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying HsU, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

513 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky 133 gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [112] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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the work of man, but the Crescent Lake is the work of the gods,' we were told. It was only three miles from the city, but proved to be so curiously located that one might easily be only fifty yards from it and yet remain unconscious of its existence. We were warned that the road was heavy, so we left in good time, having harnessed our three best beasts to the small cart. An hour's drive brought us to the foot of the sandhills lying to the south, and then we looked right and left, knowing that so far we had not missed our way, yet being quite unable to determine in which direction we should continue.

Finally we turned to the right, when almost immediately our shaft-mule had a bad accident. Failing to disentangle her feet from the soft ground she was pulled over by the two others, falling on her head with nose and mouth completely buried in the loose sand. A yell from the driver brought our second man to the rescue, and they were fortunately able to lift the poor creature up before she was completely smothered. Meanwhile Elder Liu, who had been made responsible for the enterprise, went on ahead, climbing a sand-dune about three hundred feet high. A signal from him, and we proceeded to follow, undertaking one of the most difficult of ascents, as at every step we sank well above the ankles, and finally were obliged to take off our shoes and climb in stockinged feet. When we reached the upper ridge, still we saw nothing beyond the vast expanse of sandhills, but one step more and below, in the narrow space dividing us from the next hill, lay a most exquisite miniature landscape—a small, crescent-shaped lake, in colour a sapphire-blue, while owing to a strange optical effect, the sand slopes around took on a wonderfully soft, mother-of-pearl iridescence. Behind the lake and opposite to us stood a small temple and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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133 rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole
137 picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

133 There is another curious phenomenon,[1] the facts of
823 which we were able to test. We were told to slide down
778 the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sand-hills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

[1] [At the Lake of the Crescent Moon -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AL1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's [824]
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [137]
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

Plate LXIII

Limestone cliffs near Tschegi Gyung.

[illegible] in the Tschegi Idyibusen Range, 3,700 meters high.

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133 The town which I had come across was called Kabatalen and the river was the Tschabtscha Chu.

Now, inasmuch as on all our maps and even on those in the Stieler atlas a river by the name of Huyuyung Chu is shown as arising in the Dábassu Nor and flowing through the region in which I found myself, I was not a little baffled by the fact that my Tschabtscha Chu and the Huyuyung Chu were not supposed to be one and the same river. In order to clarify this point and make certain of it I did not travel due south from Kabatalen but turned around again and went in search of the Huyuyung Chu.

137 The days in Kabatalen and before that in the dry valley were very bad for the animals. There were many stones and there was little grass. The valley slopes were bare; they consisted of rubble, of many coarse granite and quartz fragments, and the poor beasts walked themselves foot-sore without finding anything. But on the valley floor and on the edge of the brook the winter grass was completely consumed except for a few stubbles and dried up, hard /295/ shrubs. In the lowest and most protected places also the new grass was not more than 2 centimeters high, and even these insignificant traces of it were to be found only on the edge of springs which are remarkably abundant in Kabatalen because it is almost on a level with the Hwang Ho. In spring the animals are exceedingly thin because the yaks are dependent solely on open pastures, since the nomads do not make hay and do not feed them during the long winter months. A few days of fasting and slight exertions and they are completely exhausted. Thus, from the beginning I was forced to count on losing at least a half dozen oxen when I crossed the tala. But after a day of rest in Kabatalen the prospects became much worse, and on April 30 when I left the Tschabtscha Chu Valley there were already more than a half dozen stragglers. In the evening three yaks were missing; they had remained lying in the sand along the way. The first longer trek was already too much for them.

133 At Kabatalen we had already left the valley of the Tschabtscha
132 Chu and climbed up the plateau of the tala. During the first few hours of the morning we went over a hard and completely level surface like a huge threshing floor on which only now and then a miserable little plant grew. The soil consisted of pebbles that were solidly cemented together. A few dunes lay in our path, yellow piles 20-30 meters high, that looked as though giant hands had here worked with a winnowing shovel and separated chaff from wheat. Besides them the plain had been swept clean of the last grain of sand. The dunes

built up of extremely steep and, for long distances, of absolutely 133
vertical layers of Permian sandstone and argillaceous slate slabs. A labyrinth of quartz veins gleamed out of the dark green and blue rock. This white quartz is the parent rock of the gold that the Chinese wash out of the valley gravel. We began our ascent just beyond our camp. To the left and right of our route countless peaks showed a snow-cap. In accordance with the vertical layers present, the mountains showed a complex structure, but there were no sharp outlines anywhere. The rock was too soft to admit of large rock formations.

On the second day after we left the tents of the Schüch'tsong Tibetans we already crossed the easy pass of Tscheger tscheibtsen (rdyibtsen) la whose /313/ altitude I determined with a boiling /Siede/ thermometer to be 4,255 meters. However, the peaks are 1,000 meters higher. A barren highland valley now lay spread out before us; it ran straight as an arrow to the northwest. But immediately beyond it new peaks arose, and a new high and unfathomable wall of mountains stood in our path. The barren valley was shaped like a kneading trough, and the secondary ravines terminated in the mountains round about in the shape of broad, round depressions. All the peaks that were not covered with snow were thickly strewn with angular fragments of boulders.

The vegetation was frighteningly sparse. In the bottom of the 137
large valley as well as in a few valley pockets there were highland moors that showed denser coverings of grass. But these were interspersed with thousands, nay, millions of small water holes so that the plant covering looked as though it were moth-eaten or like a sieve (see Figure 17). The plants were all only 10 centimeters high. Added to that, it was mid-winter. The temperature rose to above freezing only minutes at a time. The individual tufts of grass were frozen solid and the poor animals slipped off the round plant cushions at almost every step into the half-meter- and often meter-deep puddle holes which now in winter were almost dry and filled with pointed, sharp needles of ice. In the turf of these highland moors - the Tibetans call them naka - the Carex genus predominates and the animals reluctantly ate the hard stalks of these. (1)

1. In many of these naka holes there are countless iron bacteria whose metabolic products, ferrous oxide precipitation, is deposited at the bottom of the puddles in thick red crusts.

000 commit suicide, only to make things uncomfortable for me. Chinese, as well as Tibetans believe that it is easy for a dead person to take revenge on a living one and that this type of revenge is exceedingly sweet. If I had not had Mohammedans with me, I would have lost this fight over the opium with the personnel of my caravan. With their help alone I effected my purpose of becoming the opium supervisor of my men and cutting down on their daily rations somewhat each day. In this way I controlled the opium threat within three weeks. But on May 22 and 23 Lao Tschang, a man of 45 and a cousin of Da Tschang, howled like a dog all day long because he got less than his quantity of opium.

● 137 Not far from the tents of the Sidia I had more ill luck. The most valuable of my riding horses, a five-year-old, dark bluish-gray pacer suddenly fell sick. It trembled all over and could walk only totteringly. We soon pitched camp, but the animal nevertheless collapsed. It had eaten du ts'a, a poisonous grass, that not infrequently occurs in Tibet. Many horses die of it. The most unpleasant thing about this type of poisoning is that horses never learn not to eat this grass. I was told that horses sometimes become sick three or four times in succession. But in most cases the poison is soon fatal.

796 May 23. According to the Chinese calendar this is the first of the leap-year month. Last night the men built a large altar of earth and stones. At sunrise they performed their sacrifices on it. Tsch'eng blows into a shell, sprinkles water, and everyone prostrates himself before the rising sun. Cedar twigs which have been brought from the Ga fo ying pan are burned as well as a few grains of rice and /319/ pieces of tsamba dough. This service is held on the first and the fifteenth of each month. Seen from my tent, this cult always looks very biblical.

133 We had been traveling in the Tschürnong Chu Valley for a long time now. In the Sidia Fan tse territory this valley is many kilometers wide and is almost a plain with low roundish rows of hills for a distance of more than 50 kilometers, up to the other side of the Hwang Ho. The Tschürnong Tschü River itself, however, we saw for the first time on May 24. We were amazed when we stood before a crevice over 200 meters deep, in which, far below the river rushed along with dashing waves (Plate LXVI). Such contrasts are not to be found anywhere in our Alps. Here there was an unfathomable rock terrace covered with low grass and clearly recognizable as the floor of an ancient glacier, while in the very center of it was a deep, precipitous gorge, full of rock fragments, cataracts and eddies, on whose walls

On June 10 we reached the shore of the Merduch' Ts'o without further difficulty. The lake lay like a mirror before us. Half of it was still frozen. Blocks of bluish ice stood out against the dark green of the water, and around the shore were bizarre-shaped ice boulders that told of violent storms. Ice floes a foot thick had been hurled onto land at a distance of many meters, and there they formed a high wall. This must have been done by the winter storms, the summer storms do not have the power to move such tremendous masses, not even severe thunderstorms, of which we were having two a day as a rule. c 133

I followed the shore all day long. I wanted to survey the entire west shore and travel over it, because here low hills had created varied shore formations, deep bays and peninsulas. We were finally stopped by a tiny brook on the extreme western edge of the lake, where we could not find any footing. There we encamped, close by the lake on a narrow headland which ended in a rocky hill. We had just rounded up the animals and rid them of their packs when a magnificent specimen of a Tibetan stag dashed down the rocky hill and ran straight through the midst of the herd. This was the only time throughout my whole journey that I saw such an animal. c [136]

The Merduch' Ts'o is 4,100 meters high and is about 23 square kilometers in size. To judge from the marks on the shore, its water level varies a great deal. And no wonder! There was no outlet to be seen anywhere. Nevertheless, it has perfectly fresh water, just like the Si ni Ts'o, the Gungga Nor and the Bayan Nor which also have no outflow. The nomads never seek out its shores, because the pastures are no longer good enough. On the other hand, Tibetan hunters often come here. We found quite a number of tado (tabrdo) cooking places consisting of three stones, such as travelers and hunters erect in order to make a tripod for their cooking pots. T [224]

June 11. Today I was pushed off far to the west of the course I hoped to follow. The caravan was obliged to march many hours until it could venture to cross the bottomless morass of the brook. Even so, it took us much more than an hour to go a little more than five meters.

The mountain slopes showed an incline of no more than 5°. But the rocks had dissolved to form a fine, brown, clayey earth that retained all the water. At a 2° and 3° gradient it was too wet for grasses, and finally even for cushions of moss; the naked earth, or rather bare mud covered the entire plain. I finally pitched Camp 33 on a low saddle, the first dry spot I could find. It was 4,315 meters high (Plate LXX). Beside it there was a thicket of mountain willow c 133 137

C 133 137 /325/ almost one meter high. The pussy willows had just begun to show. Blue and yellow iris on short stems peeped out of the ground. We stayed in that camp two days, two gloomy, gray, rainy days. The clouds dispersed only to make room for darker ones that discharged hail, snow and rain - often amid thunder and lightning. Only for brief moments the magnificent panorama was revealed and we saw toward the south the glistening white peak of sacred Amne Machin, and, towering 1,000 meters above thousands of snow-caps, the ice-bound surface of Tossun Nor (Mongolian), the Butter Lake, gleamed far to the west. Then it became so clear that with my Zeiss glasses I could distinctly follow a wild yak herd, about sixty head, at a distance of 11 1/2 kilometers.

T 579 On our next march, Da Tschang told of one of his worst experiences in Tibet. Four years before he was traveling from Hsining fu to K'am with his Tibetan wife and three K'am Tibetans. They had passed Merduch' Ts'o and had come to the town of Sum ndu. We saw this spot, 13 kilometers southwest of our route, where three valleys open up into the large Tossun Nor Plain. The travelers had only a half dozen pack horses besides their riding horses, and so they covered about 50 kilometers a day. In Sum ndu suddenly a bullet whizzed past them. They quickly retired behind a sand dune and slipped into a hole from whence they hoped to defend themselves. Da Tschang's pack horse was carrying his entire fortune, but the defense looked hopeless. They were surrounded by 120 Sakuch' Fan tse who now closed in on them in their retreat.

T 628 If possible, Tibetans avoid killing people. They are held back by fear of tribal revenge, as well as by fear of the spirit of the person killed, which seeks its former possessions. Thus, the rascals were persuaded to parley, in spite of their much greater numbers. Finally, Da Tschang and his friends were permitted to take themselves off on five, skinny old Rosinantes. The robbers kept their horses, their packs and all their good clothes. They were given only enough flour to last until they reached the Horkurma Fan tse who at that time were domiciled three travel-days south on the Hwang Ho. There they were obliged to shepherd flocks for many weeks until a caravan took them along.

C 133 136 My caravan was now in the territory of Lake Tossun Nor, which the Tibetans call Dung re Ts'o ner. Herds of antilope and kyang disported themselves on the edge of the great plain that extended from my camp 2[illegible] kilometers to the Tossun Nor.

782 influences (in Chinese the ceremony is called: sung gui, in Tibetan:
789 dorma p'en). (1)

1. Rockhill has already described the end of this ceremony in his Land of the Lamas, pp. 113 and 114. From wealthy Tibetans the priests /341/ demand 50 and more pounds to make the tsamba figures. This offering is carried out once a year mostly at New Year, by each family. In Southeast Tibet a bullock's head of tsamba is also usually placed beside the gtorma (probably to represent Yama). There the bullock's head and gtorma are brought to the fire amid the shooting of guns; at the Chinese frontier "crackers" are shot off. In both places cries of "Pfui" are uttered during the procession.

●137 /341/ In the woods of Schang and among the Rengan Fan tse I met for the first time the green da hoang (Chinese), literally: the great yellowness, namely, rhubarb, the mother-plant of our well-known and trusty home remedy. The flower clusters were at this time, the beginning of July, more than 2 meters and in some cases 3 meters tall and covered with pinkish blossoms. The leaves which were deeply slit and tapered off into pointed lobes, had red-speckled stems. Old plants spread their thick foliage over several square meters of ground and from the tangle of leaves which was two-thirds of a meter high and often looked like a bush, arose individual slender, tall flower clusters. If one digs out these stalks one finds rhizomes up to the size of a bullock head, and in with the roots there are still clusters of young, smaller plants.

The plant grows between thickets and limestone rocks and prefers damp places of wooded areas. But I also found it in moist places of sandstone slopes covered only with grass. It is found up to 4,100 meters. The lowest border of its common habitat is 2,800 meters. (1)

1. A few days before my departure from Hsining I received a letter from Professor Tschirch from the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Bern. He called my attention to the fact that there is still uncertainty about the origin of the common medicinal plant, rhubarb, from a botanical as well as a geographical point of view. He asked me to send him bulbs and

seeds of rhubarb in case I found any. 137

In the 13th century, already, Marco Polo reports that rhubarb was gathered in the Koko Nor region and from there sent to the rest of the world. In our time Prschewalski brought back bulbs and seeds as well as dried plants from the Koko Nor on his Tibetan journey in the years 1870-1873, and after that the Koko Nor rhubarb was classified as Rheum palmatum L. var. tanguticum Maximowicz. But in the course of the years the specimens grown from Prschewalski's seeds in the botanical gardens of St. Petersburg, Bern, etc., changed so much and became so similar to our ordinary Rheum palmatum hortorum, moreover, such a large number of new species have been said to be the original plant of the medicinal remedy we use, that the question of its origin still seems unsolved.

Thus, I was very pleased to be able to send Professor Tschirch an envelope containing rhubarb seeds which I had myself gathered in the woods between the rocks near Dulan gomba (37° northern latitude, 98°, 40′ longitude east of Greenwich), and that from these seeds, in defiance of all primitive methods of transportation, young plants came up in the Bern Botanical Garden, a year later and long before I left Tibet, which helped solve the problem conclusively. In the Schweizerische Wochenschrift für Chemie und Pharmazie, 1910, number 19, Professor Tschirch reports that from the seeds I sent him Rheum palmatum L. var. β-tanguticum Maxim. developed, in fact, that this species is so different from Rheum palmatum, that he feels inclined to classify it as a different species, as Rheum tanguticum.

Rheum palmatum is confined to Northeast Tibet, to the highlands of the Nan Shan and Koko Nor, whereas the very different Rheum officinale occurs in the more moist south and southeast of the Tibetan mountains. Hand in hand with the variety of species and climate goes the /342/ method of treatment of the bulbs once they are dug out. In Szechwan and South Tibet the root must often be artificially dried in ovens because the summers are too wet. In the north, at Koko Nor, the people who gather rhubarb take the greatest care to dry the bulbs in 278 824

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Here the Akkas live and pray, and communicate with the rest of the world only in winter when the lake is frozen over. It is an island that rises up in rock formations with hills that are covered with grass pastures. In the clear winter air the island seemed very near and it seemed to me I could see everything that was on it from the road I was on. It is supposed to be eight li around. C 133

Nine kilometers from the south shore of the lake and 18 kilometers to the west of the large island of Ts'o ning there are still more cliffs rising up over the surface of the lake. They are white in color and are called Tsaghan khada by the Mongols. Among them is the rock which, according to the legend, one of the bad spirits, named Tscheger sämo, threw toward Ts'o ning in order to destroy the island or at least move it from the spot. K 713

It was, so the story goes, around the time when unsuccessful attempts were made to erect temples and monasteries in Lhasa. The buildings always collapsed and the Tibetan king therefore sent his vassals all over the world in order to discover the reason for this misfortune. One of the lamas that had been sent out met an old, blind holy man in the plain now covered by the Koko Nor. The old man, in senile loquacity, said that at the spot where the king was trying to erect his temples there was a large subterranean sea. The latter would flow from Lhasa over into this direction as soon as an emissary of the king would find out about it. Scarcely was the secret revealed when the two heard the surging of the water and the emissary of the king could barely escape on his horse, while the old man was swallowed up by the waves. The water would even have flooded all the mountains if some divinity had not had mercy and taken a huge rock and stopped up the hole out of which the water was flowing. This rock is the sacred island Ts'o ning. However, the bad Titan was angry /81/ that the water did not cause more destruction and he wanted to throw stones to move Ts'o ning and re-open the hole. Fortunately for all mankind he did not hit Ts'o ning. The stones which he threw toward Ts'o ning from the shore, all fell into the water half way to the island and there they can still be seen.

According to a Chinese version a woman once wanted to fetch water from a well where the island is today and forgot to put the lid on the well. So the water rose up and covered the entire plain. A god, Wo fo (Buddha), finally had mercy and threw a slab, the island, onto the magic spring. C 713

There were magnificent grass pastures covering the entire south shore of the lake from the water's edge up to the rounded peaks that C 137

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bordered it. These pastures are famous among all the nomads and many Tibetan songs sing about the Ts'o ngombo (1) yung, the Koko

1. The Chinese, as De Groot also writes (see Les fêtes annuellement célebrées à Emoui, I, 92, footnote 2) use the word tsing (tsching) for the blue of the sky as well as for the fresh green of the leaves. Thus also the North-Tibetans who use ngombo for "blue" and the fresh green of the prairie grass.

Nor Plain, as the land where there is an abundance of milk and butter. This region, although it still belongs to the part of Central Asia without drainage, nevertheless has enough rainfall in the summer months so that the grass can grow very well. In winter the country is favorable for nomad settlements because there is very little snow and the herd animals seldom have difficulty in finding their feed under the thin covering of snow.

In spite of the relatively low level of the lake- according to my measurements it is 3,200 meters (2) - there are strikingly few trees

2. Hedin 3,040 meters; Futterer 3,250 meters; Prschewalski 3,200 meters; Kozlow (1901) 3,210 meters. On November 6 and 7 the temperature of the water was +5°C.

to be found here. I was able to discover a few conifers in a few hollows, and hidden between rocks. Otherwise the wind, the storms from the west, which sweep over the plain in winter, make it difficult for trees to grow. However, perhaps it was also man who in early times destroyed the trees here. On the other hand, gnarled willow shrubs are often found here but this also - as everywhere in Tibet - only in places where they are protected from the drying effect of the sun, on northerly, northwesterly, and northeasterly slopes.

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There are a number of Tibetan tribes scattered along the south shore. When I passed through, however, they were all living on the warmer south side of the South Koko Nor mountain range, and we looked in vain for people from the Dabassu Nor Plain up to the east shore of the lake. Of living creatures we saw only a bear and he, to my great sorrow, took to his heels long before I could creep up on him. The shore lay lifeless. In vain the eye sought a sign of life on the surging blue sea which, toward the northwest, seemed to be

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T 143 826 hooked noses of some tall Ngolok and the isolated cases of very vigorous growths of brownish-red beards in East Tibet. However, for the people of Lamda our conversation had a much more practical significance. No man wanted to marry the blond, blue-eyed girl, and no respectable girl the blue-eyed man, and when the girl went on a pilgrimage to the West she was constantly stopped and taken for a European.

T 485 778 Less than an hour's journey from Lamda there is a little village that /134/ hangs on the steep rib of rock like a bird-house, and here the floating ice of the Dre Chu piles up and forms an ice bridge connecting the two shores. While I was still in the Lab gomba territory I was told that this bridge had already given way and was washed away. But it was firm as a rock when I rode over it on February 23. The inhabitants of the village belong to a different Hoschunat from Lamda and put no obstacles in my way. They exact a small toll from everyone who uses their natural bridge and for this they point out the safest ice blocks. They had also marked the crossing with large round pebbles that were laid out like the links of a chain. Every pebble was painted red and had a letter scratched out on this background, so that the pebbles together formed words and the whole chain, devout prayers, uniting the two shores and making the bridge safe for the pious inhabitants. There were two of these prayer chains leading across the entire river. The shore was bordered with mounds of stone slabs all of which were covered with reliefs of prayers and Buddhas, tschorten, bunches of faggots flapping with scraps of sheep wool, and other symbols. In Tibetan eyes it is a very sacred spot because the local spirits each year cause the bridge to be formed. Our leaders as well as ourselves sang out the invocation to the gods and all the saints as long as we were on the ice!

C 133 [137] The ford was 3,650 meters above sea level and the ice of the river was 150 meters wide. There were scrub forests high up on the steep sides of the valley. Groups of spruce and ancient rhododendron furnished a faded green in between dark precipices. At each valley entrance the eye was met with new delights and wonders, glimpsed new snow-capped peaks that looked down on the clear greenish-blue Yangtze. Down in the valley the snow seldom lasts. Unless it has fallen in sheltered pockets, the rays of the sun soon lick everything clean (Plate XXI).

000 Eleven kilometers below the place where we forded the river we again left the Yangtze Valley and turned off at a sharp angle to the southwest. Toward the end the valley had grown ever narrower, the

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Even the imperial telegraph line led over the M.W. Ching AF bleak saddle of the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had 206

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133
ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137
reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000
southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [199] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the *563 northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. 191 Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans 195 living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. *563 Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very 142 muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 C. Economic Activities

241 The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or 233 farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese [162] Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers [441] and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Suflem (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[199] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
[181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
• [142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[199] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling
342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsin-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 778 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

563 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

• 142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky 133 gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [772] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 -
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634 magisterial business. She held her office by inherited right, and was reported to us as a person of remarkable ability. This chance meeting subsequently led to some correspondence with this very interesting lady, to whom we sent a present of a well-bound copy of the New Testament, and from whom we received a cordial invitation to visit her at Lotus City, and to instruct her people, an invitation which so far we have not been • 142 able to accept. Père Huc, in writing of Pingfan over a hundred years ago, spoke of the ruddy complexion and brown or even red hair not infrequently seen, as well as of the religious habits of its people. We were immediately struck by the same characteristics. One afternoon we were visited by a group of fortune-tellers. An old woman, aged seventy, was escorted by two younger ones, whose hazel eyes, red cheeks and brown hair differentiated them entirely from the Chinese 010 around. The object of their quest was quite definite: 'We have heard,' said the old woman, 'that you are able to show us how to obtain remission of sins, and we have come to ask you to instruct us.' Two days later she was back again: 'All you told me is true,' she began; 'my son has been reading to me the book you sent, and I want some more of the same kind.'

All too quickly the month of our stay passed by, and the missionaries, whose house we were occupying, returned; we then moved on to Liangchow. On the day of our departure, we were deeply touched by the love and courtesy shown us by these townsfolk. Presents of food for the road were brought to us by several of our newly-made friends, and after dark a little boy arrived with a bag of extraordinarily good anthracite supplied by the mines of Chenfan, and suitable for burning in our foot-warmer braziers.

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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bought enough opium to kill herself, and kept it at hand for use when needs-be. A few nights later the Huei Huei appeared in her room, and informed her that she was his by right. Without a word she swallowed the opium, and then said: 'I shall soon be dead and you may do as you please with my body.' Meanwhile the neighbours, aware of what had happened, climbed on to the flat roof and shouted for Dr. Kao. He jumped out of bed, and seizing his medical bag, was soon over the roof. The woman was not yet unconscious, but when he wanted to give her treatment she said: 'Dr. Kao, it is useless for you to try and save me, for I shall cut my throat rather than consent to go with that man.' 'If you do as I tell you,' answered the Doctor, 'and trust me, I will protect you.' Then turning to the fierce, bearded bully he said: 'This woman is going to my wife this very night, and when you have anything to say to her you may come to me.' The Moslem slunk away and was seen no more, but the rage and hatred which Kao's uncompromising condemnation of evil stirred up in official and Moslem circles, burnt the fiercer, and vengeance on the Doctor was the more determined. The woman lived for months with Mrs. Kao, then having confessed her Christian faith, became one of the band of women who accompanied us to Suchow.

Besides the Chinese and Moslem populations of Kanchow, there are most interesting traces to be found of aboriginal races. It is not infrequent to meet men, women and children with fair, reddish hair of a finer texture and more curly than that of the Chinese, and light eyes, not blue but fawn-colour. They intermarry with the local people, have no distinctive customs, and are only recognisable by the constant reversion to type.

Soon after our arrival in Kanchow, it was reported

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
142 gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 50,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

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Kalmyk

563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
[302] and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[789] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

S N 131 635 161

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

S N 144 563 N 563

S N 563 771

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

S N 563 233 241

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 563 43 N 369 000

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
177 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[292] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[293] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
794 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
[798] caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[346] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
794 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
795 division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

V. The Chinese Moslems.

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Suflsm (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

N.w. China AF 13
Tu ren

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and chil-
dren's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and be-
cause the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN [668]

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

SN 563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 777 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [327] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

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181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [554] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is

S N 485 795 114 798 somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus

S N 795 554 485 114 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their [562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open dis- [157] content. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

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792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
794 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
872 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
873 home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnâ-pâramitâ, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yügür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[203] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[296] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

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[276] It is also well known, of course,
525 that relatively few Chinese are able to withstand certain temptations, that they can easily be persuaded to the excessive use of stimulants. Countless millions of Chinese succumbed to opium and every visitor to China, even those who have seen only a few coastal towns, is struck by the astonishing number of gambling games that exist. Everywhere there are countless professional gamblers and in most cities there are special places where these gamblers meet. In Wei yüan bu this place was a large open garden. This was sought out above all by countless Chinese from Hsining fu and by Mohammedans of the vicinity. There were almost always more than one hundred players to be seen there. They sat in a circle on the ground, squatting on their heels, kneeling or with legs tucked under. They played go pai, a cross between our cards and dominoes, in which betting is part of the game itself. Among other games there was also one money game often played which corresponded to our "heads and tails."

The amount of money that changed hands was enormous, especially if one takes into account the currency prevailing there. Many a peasant and day laborer who entered the fair grounds with his entire year's earning in his pockets, left it a beggar, after having gambled away even his holiday clothes. No wonder that heads grew hot and hands trembled with excitement.

525 On one of the first days when I visited the gambling place one
158 of the Mohammedans who the summer before had carried on the dangerous occupation of gold-washing, far in the interior of Tibet, had just lost his entire yield amounting to 40 taels. As soon as his money was gone he began ranting blasphemously. At first his words made sense, but soon he had /254/ talked himself into such a passion that he began hitting the by-standers senselessly. At the very first blows the Chinese cried: "He has gone mad!" and before he could do any serious harm he lay bound on the ground. The diagnosis which the Chinese had made so surprisingly quickly, proved to be correct. I sent to my pharmacy in order to give the man a sedative. But before it arrived - a half day after the attack - he died in the arms of the ahun and his father who, in despair, had scratched his own face bloody. Two similar cases occurred during the fair. They reminded me of the well-known cases of Malayans running amok. Mr. Ridley told me later on that such seizures are remarkably frequent in and around Hsining among Dungan as well as Chinese. He attributed the phenomenon to the high altitude.

S
159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
S
[643] 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.
S
159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist

• 159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

159 Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.
*668
631 Chang Chia-fu

Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung

See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist

A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader

[565] A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to cooperate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League

Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

•159 Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in
*668 Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one
631 of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Pang-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

[701] Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade in the 133rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected as alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army under P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In 1950 she became a member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, the People's Supervisory

• 159 Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.
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Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official

Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery.1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official

Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

159 Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer
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Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated from a surveying school; joined the army and became a commanding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng, Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A., joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949; delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

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159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

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159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
*668 Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
631 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

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159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
668 Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
631 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi, member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

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Feng Chung-ju: Communist

A man of Shensi Province. Served as commanding officer of supplies of the People's Liberation Army; 1949-53, mayor of the People's Government of Sian, and member of the People's Government Committee of Shensi Province. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and mayor of Sian. 1954, member of Shensi Provincial Government Council.

Han Chao-e: Third Party member, politician

Born in 1890's in Shensi Province; graduated from Peiping Normal University; a teacher for some years. 1936, served Yang Hu-cheng and was involved in the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian; magistrate of Ch'ang-an County in Shensi. 1937, personal representative of General Sun Wei-ju to Chungking; member of the Political Consultative Conference; member of the Democratic League. Fled to Hongkong in 1948. 1949, chairman in charge of party reorganization for the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party in Peking; delegate of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party to the People's Political Consultative Council in Peking, appointed member of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Central People's Government. In the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, in which he was a member, he served on the Political and Legal Commission and was vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission. Since 1951, he was also vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi and director of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Shensi People's Government, positions he retained even after the elections of 1954.

Although not a member of the CCP, Han has served the Communists well by his efforts in furthering Communist line and policies in the mass organizations. He is a reserve member in the executive committee of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party.

Han belongs to one of the many small third parties which took part in the Communist regime in Peking. Hence his prominence in the new regime is chiefly because he is a member of a third party. Since the Communist Government is a coalition government in theory, Han's role in such a government is emphasized. Another reason for Han's success in acquiring a high position in the People's Government was that the Communist policy planners emphasize the use of natives in the local government. Thus it is only logical for Han, native of Shensi, to become a vice-chairman of his provincial government.

Hou, Wai-lu

See China General Handbook

Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist

159 *668 631 Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Communist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged "soldier rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shansi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of the Constitution Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to be commander in chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer

159 *668 701 631 Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy commander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1941, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

159 Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Govern-
*668 ment of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the
701 lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abol-
[631] ished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

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*668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered
[992] one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.
159 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Cen-
*668 tral Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

159 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-
*668 jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to
792 editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of
554 Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

159 Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in
*668 bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a
554 tribute from Communist authorities.

159 Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer
*668 A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from
701 the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five
631 Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

159 Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother,
*668 Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te
[631] Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

159 Kan, Seu-ch'i: Army officer and government official
*668 Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political
701 commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao
631 K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

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159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
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631 Kao Chi-shun: Communist Party member
S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
*668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest; and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
[656] tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma
648 Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the
669 Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense
[631] of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

159 701 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the [648] government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 635 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.

159 [579] From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concurrently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, [701] [648] he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 669 668 When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

159 ¥668 631 munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 ¥668 Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

159 614 635 Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[70] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[206] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
64 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
701 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclama-
631 tion Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

159 Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley,
631 comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thou-
635 sand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this re-
[185] gion he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

159 His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally
669 ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

159 Ma T'eng-ai
631 Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the North-
635 west Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

159 Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member
*668 A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to
631 the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

159 The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United
*668 Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

S
159 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the gov-
648 ernment of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional
669 post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

N
• 159 A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian
N Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period. 1937-
[701] 1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

N When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he
159 served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council
631 of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

Pai Ju-ping: Communist

N
159 A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the per-
631 iod of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as
*668 the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

N
159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political-figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

S 159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

S [645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

N 159 631 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N 159 *668 631 Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia. Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N 159 631 [635] Sun, Tso-pin

In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S
159 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer
631 A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao
701 Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S
159 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began
701 when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist

S
159 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army,
669 T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinki-
668 ang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N Teng Pao-san: Army officer
• 159 A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy
* 668 commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Con-
701 struction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

• 159 position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member
*668 of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was
701 made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

159 Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

159 In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the North-
669 west, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

N 159 669 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand S [669] secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and N [554] southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu N 159 Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points: First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S [648] Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Russians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-S 669 648 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

N 159 S 669 648 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frustrated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 S 635 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike foresight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

S 159 Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned S 159 668 648 with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945, organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

S 159 668 648 in Europe, while his National Turkistanian Unity Committee, in which he is president, has, unofficially, the support of such countries as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. In each of these countries, with the exception of Iraq, the committee has a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish tribe of East and West Turkistan. Among his many activities, Vali Kajum-Khan has also the supervision of the political and ideological education of exiled Turkistanian youths. He publishes various Turkistanian newspapers and maintains important contacts with his native country.

N 159 *668 S 159 668 Wang Chen (1908-): Army officer, Communist Party member

Born in 1908 in Hunan in a poor farmer's family. Studied in grade school for three years. Railway worker. member of railway workers' union, 1924; joined Communist Party, 1927; member of the Executive Committee of Communist Youth, 1928; secretary of Communist Party at Liu-yang, Hunan; political commissioner, First Independent Division of Hunan and Kiangsi, 1932; political commissioner, Sixth Division, 1934; chief of staff to General Li Hsien-nien, 1937; since 1952, first secretary in the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Communist Party; in 1950-52, commander, First Field Army, Acting Commander, Sinkiang Military Area. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang Chen's outstanding status in the Party is due partly to his long membership in the Party and partly to his excellent record and achievement both as an army officer and as a worker. He participated in the Long March, 1935-36. He won fame in the army when he led a vanguard unit which marched from the Yellow River down to Kwangtung Province, hailed as another "long March." When he was stationed at Yenan, the capital of the Communists, he was given the task of utilizing the soldiers to do production jobs, and the result was that the army became a self-supported team which not only got no help from the government, but paid taxes to help support the government. When the military campaign of the Communists began, Wang Chen played a rather significant role by taking over the whole of the Northwest territory. First he received the surrender of Kansu on September 23, 1949; then on October 21, 1949, he flew to Sinkiang and took over that province.

In Sinkiang, Wang's first job was to crush the opposition, whom he denounced as counter-revolutionaries. His troops took part in destroying the forces of Osman Batur and in pursuing the fleeing Kazakhs to the border of India. In his capacity as first secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the CCP, a post he held for only a year, he helped further the so-called united front of the workers and farmers.

S
159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N
159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
*668 Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
[631] partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united front work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the Northwest. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the
*563 Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
159 Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
*668 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
631 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of
496

159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

[466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
*668
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159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the
*668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai.
[648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated
[554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League
*668 A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-
631 chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming
*668 to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

N Yang Shen-chih: Local leader
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
S Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Cir-
[693] cuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[975] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
S adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[563] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
[648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

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N
• 159 Yang Tsu-lien: Democratic League member, government
631 official

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950-1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and government official

S
159 Chinese name: Ching-fu
701
631 A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Ta Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

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161 POPULATION--enumerations and estimates (with dates); density (e.g., arithmetical, for arable land); population trends; etc. See also:

Population policy . . . . . 168 Census taking 680

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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

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I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Mónguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

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While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

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The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook

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[31] appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.
[161] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power.

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones

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of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-
[439] tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve

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339 estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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131 A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang

161 Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the arobaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civilisation.

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between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

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The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

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The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

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Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

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B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

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161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when
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this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land
131 occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area
161 of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5
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per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without
131 Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile,
161 for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution
161 between the eastern and western parts of the region, their
241 distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population
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is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-
161 chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a
133 confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

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361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[269] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia) especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
S is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the
[161] former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

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N 161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, N S [167] judged by some current information, the large increase of population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N 635 161 D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, Occupation, and Urban Centers

(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was S [161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N 635 162 Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

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Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608. That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5 mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated 110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that will be ten times larger than its present population.

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Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains. Another three million people (twice its present population) would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

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TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C.P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726 }		
Ninghsia	721,518 }	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

1 Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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S N 121 197 563 I. Introduc ...

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S N 635 161 The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162 A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

Hsining and To ba, stems from the military colonizations of the Han period. (2) The city is 2,680 meters above sea level. In the 361 563

2. A few lis below the present city of Dankar, at the upper mouth of the valley, there are huge loam walls that might go back to the Tang period.

vicinity barley, oats, and vetch are raised, but no longer much wheat. There are still real Chinese farmers as far up as this, although not very many. With their industry and their stable culture they have spread out wherever the earth promises a yield, especially in the axes of the larger valleys. But in Hsining fu today, i.e., in the district under the Hsining inspector, to which Dankar belongs, all the smaller lateral valleys are inhabited by remnants of non-Chinese peoples. The Mohammedans who have been more than decimated since 1895 are to be found in great numbers only in certain places. One has the impression as though they were once artificially pushed in between the Chinese and Tibetans and as though the Chinese were only now following after. All the Chinese in Hsining fu still maintain that they come from the lowlands, most of them saying that they came from the Nanking region. (3) It is 563 167

3. Kiangsu province; either as military colonists or as exiles.

considered too barbaric to say that one comes from the land itself, just as in the province of Szechwan where the Chinese still assure you that they come from such and such a province but never from Szechwan itself, even though it has 45, in fact some people say 68 million Chinese today. (4)

4. The official count (better, estimate) of the year 1902 reports 68,724,890 inhabitants for Szechwan. Hosie, probably the greatest specialist on that region, estimates the population at 45 million. According to the census of 1911, it probably has 55 million. According to earlier official estimates, Kansu was said to have 10 million inhabitants. According to the census of 1910/11 Kansu has between 3,800,000 and 4,500,000 inhabitants, or 711,000 independent and 195,639 dependent families or households. Thus, according to my calculation, it has 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. 161

N 563 771 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

N 181 [829] While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] [162] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 166 167 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desparately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chirese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed

N [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N [668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [131] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 635

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

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All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

000 N 175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tsarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N 175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 186 [563] The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

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Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5 per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile, for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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241 Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution between the eastern and western parts of the region, their distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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N 161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, N S judged by some current information, the large increase of [167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N 635 161 D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, Occupation, and Urban Centers:

(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was S [161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N 635 • 162 Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Üighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

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162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion they are Sunni Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

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162 the Ma Chan-shan and other leaders of resistance against the Japanese aggression in Manchuria (See Northeast, History).

The Indo-Europeans are essentially Russians who number about 15,000, and another 9,000 are Tajiks (Sari Kolis or Iranians). They are found mainly in the large towns of Kashgar, Yarkand, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Khotan, Keriya, and Qomul.

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2. Distribution by Occupation

162 In general, the Northwest is mainly agricultural, and pastoralism prevails in the higher and colder parts of the country. The Chinese and Dungans are essentially agriculturalists with some engaged in trade and industry, besides working as official administrators and soldiers. They live in villages and towns. Among the Turkic people, the Uighurs, (who are commonly called the "Ch'an-t'ou" or "Turan-heads" by the Chinese and to the Russians are the "Sarts" and the Taranchi), are oasis-dwellers, engaged largely in horticulture, animal husbandry and handicraft. The Uzbeks are city dwellers engaged in business and handicraft.

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162 In regard to the occupation of the people living in Southern Sinkiang, Pevtsov said: "Population of Kashgaria (Tarim Basin) is close to 2,000,000 people. The people are divided into three groups: the settled people , the shepherds and the nomads. The settled population amounts to 1,800,000 people; they inhabit the areas surrounding the desert or the oases. The nomads and the shepherds are not more than 200,000. They occupy the mountainous areas of the encircling mountains." (Pevtsov, M. V.: Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, p. 52).

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162 The Mongols are pastoralists, or semi-nomadic as are the Kazakhs and Kirghiz in Dzungaria and most of them live in the Tsaidam Basin of Chinghai and Hsi-t'ao or Alashan Desert or former Ninghsia province.

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[162] The Manchus of Sinkiang, like the Chinese, are city dwellers. They are found mainly in Dzungaria and the Ili Valley of north Sinkiang. They are largely merchants and traders - middlemen between the Russians and the Turkic people.

The Tibetans are engaged mainly in mixed farming, animal husbandry and some agriculture, raising some hardy crops for their own use, besides rearing yaks, cattle, some sheep and goats.

Both the old Russian residents and the newly arrived refugees are mainly technical laborers - small artisans, such as electricians, miners, road construction crews, car drivers, etc.

The Tajiks lead a semi-settled and pastoral life.

000 3. Distribution of the Urban Centers (See Table XV)

E. Population Problems
1. [See p. 137--Analyst]

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TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

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Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
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Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	10,500	everywhere within the province

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
2	Chinese Moham-medans	1,500	Mostly in the northern and western part of the province
3	Mongours	30	In the area which is enclosed by the Pingfan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River westward of Lanchou
4	Tibetans	40	scattered over the area which is enclosed by the Ping-fan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River
5	Sarigh-Uighur	5	on the northern slopes of the Nanshan, south of Su-chou
6	Mongols (Torguts and Ölöts)	?	The Torguts live in the area west and east of the Edsin gol and north of the line Ansi Su-chou. The Ölots live in the Alashan, north of Kan-chou and Liang-chou and the Chukhushan mountains, also north of the Lu ng-shan.

C. The Ethnic Groups of Chinghai

The main racial groups in the province of Chinghai are the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Chinese Moslems, the Salar Turks, the Mongols (Ölöts from Alashan) and the Mongours or Tu-jen.

No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	576	Mainly in the southeastern part of Chinghai, also along the Nan-shan mountain region, bordering Kansu and Sinkiang
2	Tibetans	417	In the Kuku-nor area, in the Dang-la mountain range and at the headw ters of the Yellow River

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
3	Chinese Moslems	138	In the capital Hsining (49,000) in the districts of Ta-tung, Huang-chung, Huang-yuan, Min-huo, Hua-lung, Hsun-hua, Meng-yuan, Also in the cities of Ho-chow and Lin-hsia.
4	Salars (Turks)	50	In the area of Hsun-hua, south of the Yellow River, and around Payen-Jung, southeast of Hsining.
5	Mongols	33	In the area north of the Kuku-nor, south and north of the Tsaidam swamps and in the area of the Bayan Kara Shan mountain range.
6	Mongours	72	West of the Kuku-nor in the area of the tributaries of the Ta-tung River, Hsining River. Some of them live south of the Yellow River around Kuei-te.

*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the [162] Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and [177] since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the *563 northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. 771 Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans 795 living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. *563 Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very 142 muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 C. Economic Activities
241 The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or 233 farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about [162] 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers [441] and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found (578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the [361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
*563 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
*563 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried
592 children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
[848] to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young
[836] people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
[591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
*563 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
583 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's
591 family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
595 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
162 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
*563 tinuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability
593 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic
182 family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

*563 658 871 *175 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools and students as of 1945 was as follows:

Table 4

563 87 162 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools 12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools 129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

871 184 A. Education under the National Government

During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 871 *175 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted * 668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S [464] and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [166] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

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/Turks of Sinkiang/

fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

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Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

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Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

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The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 • 162 [562] The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime. [159]

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

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As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
#175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
#668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
#563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
• 162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
175 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
668 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
563 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.
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Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

N The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
#175 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
#668 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
#563 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
162 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
631 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
S counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
175 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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*175 in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*668 January 8, 1952).
*563 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
• 162 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
631 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
[873] University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[874] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
S Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
175 The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
668 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
563 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
162 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

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*175 A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*668 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
578 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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175 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racial-
668 ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the...
563 Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in
631 opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

N 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total
*175 of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or
592 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung
• 162 jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized
S peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only
175 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only
592 the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the
162 whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in
[494] the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations
[406] and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statis-
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses
are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet
175 Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a
648 foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950,
to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To
implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical
research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October,
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint
stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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[312]

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 654 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began 175 to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a 423 land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
Shensi						
162 Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [175] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of 5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
*668 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to
185 develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the 133 city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

36 Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated 669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now 162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which 579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial [714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

2: Teichman G-3 (1921 Ar 13 Northwest China Ar 13

634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[449] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time 361 during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

162 I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely 563 scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

5: Tafel--418 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.w. China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues.

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebelliions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

167 Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning
175 of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably al-
563 ways pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu.

162 The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan
563 bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred
175 families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also
563 belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples
175 which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

N
161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance
1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
N
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S
[161] For example, in regard to the population estimation of Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[1]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
• 163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
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N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
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563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

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753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
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753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
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S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
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772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
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S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

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*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
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364

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N 128 I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

S 262 563 A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumplings stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, [213] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

*563 • 164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, [758] this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infections. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

*563 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps
164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
*563 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
164 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
753 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence
776 among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

757 "...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means
an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major
subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the
*563 whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

/The Chinese/

N *563 •164 364 S 563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] S 563 164 [165] [844]

Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S N [165]

Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 S 759 563

The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744

The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan
133 range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

797 There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

• 164 The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

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It seems to have been checked by the energetic action of the Chinese authorities acting under the advice of a British missionary doctor from Lanchou. The terrible thing about pneumonic plague in North China is that a patient once afflicted seems bound to die, which accounts for the amount of attention it attracts. But the ravages even of such an outbreak as the Manchurian one of 1911 seem small when compared with those of bubonic plague in India. The outbreak of 1911 caused a panic in North China amongst Chinese and foreigners alike, and the Legation Quarter in Peking barricaded itself behind its defences as though to repel another Boxer rising, though only a case or two occurred in the city; one does not hear of similar measures being taken in India.

From Lanchou Fu to Old T'ao Chou by the route we followed is a distance of about 1450 li and occupied some 24 day's travel.

000 in Dulan gomba. It is true, there was not much hope from the beginning for the gifted little boy. His heart was too weak. He died two days later. And while the sorrowing parents with their Chinese friends were carrying the coffin to a distant grave outside the city, the dreadful plague struck their second boy. Again, none of the remedies we tried helped. The child followed his brother into the grave after a few days.

The sorrow of the poor parents knew no bounds when we washed the child for the last time and laid him in his little coffin and closed it up. I have never before so much admired missionaries who in obedience to the old Bible command, go to far countries with their families in order to bring the blessings of the gospel to others, while they themselves usually harvest but ingratitude, and finally sacrifice their own families. No matter what one's views are about the question of missions, one has deep respect for such sacrificial courage. The China Inland Mission to which Mr. and Mrs. Ridley belong, combines a number of sects: High Church and Lutheran, as well as Brethern, Methodist, and members of the Salvation Army, etc. They all work together and for a salary that hardly meets their needs. During my time every active member, man or woman, got about 20 taels a month. This required good management, in spite of cheap living conditions.

• 164 After this sore trial, Mr. and Mrs. Ridley threw themselves into their work with twice the energy. At that time there were many sick to be cared for. Throughout Kansu it had not rained for several months and scarlet fever and diphtheria were taking a dreadful toll everywhere. Every day 18 to 20 bodies were carried out of the comparatively small city of Hsining fu. The Chinese simply threw many children over the walls where wild dogs and birds fought over their bodies.

One night I was called to a house where a young woman lay on a bench in the middle hall, dressed in her best silks, awaiting death. The Taoist priests had vainly attempted to cast out the disease with bells and gong, now the white magician should see what he could do. The coffin was already standing beside the woman and none of the relatives wanted to stay near her. I heard the death rattle as a servant led the way, bearing a candle.

The plague attacked young and old and there was hardly ever an effective remedy. The people maintained that bathing and sponging meant certain death. After this experience I was not surprised that
165 the natives estimate child mortality in and around Hsining fu at

N.W. China AF13

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floors of on an average 2,900-2,700 meters high.

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Even toward the end of September it was very rainy in and around Tao tschou. The precipitation remained within modest amounts but the sky was usually overcast. This was probably the reason why the night temperatures were not yet low and, in spite of the 2,760 meter altitude, hovered between +2° and +6°, whereas at noon the air warmed up at various times to more than +10°. As a rule there was almost no wind on the ground. The rain clouds came from the southeast or the west. On September 16 in the early morning we had snow with a gentle east wind and a westerly drift of clouds and only on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first I noted thunderstorms in my meteorological diary. All three thunderstorms came from the west. September 24 when I said farewell to Tao tschou and its hospitable Americans, was a day of rain so that the animals slipped on the sticky loam earth and the pack animals were hardly able to make any progress. Mr. Ruhl accompanied me on the first two marches. So at first 797
I had to say goodbye to Mrs. Ruhl, my extremely gracious and pretty hostess and her little baby. Even though the mission house in Tao tschou presented a very good and neat appearance - everywhere the guiding hand of the practical American woman was to be felt - nevertheless for a woman of our Western culture residence in the city must have been torture. Year in and year out one hears about nothing but war and pillage here, and the missionary work bears occasional fruit only among the Chinese and the widowed or lonely old Chinese women. Tangible success in mission work among Tibetans and Mongols is not to be thought of, of course, because of the omnipotence of the lamas. Besides, the European also battles the severe highland climate and the homesickness that comes from this seclusion from the world. In the summer of 1907 there was an imperial Chinese postoffice in- 205
stalled, but because of lack of other interests it was only obliged to forward missionaries' letters and every tenth day a messenger arrived who delivered mail that had been en route six weeks from Hsingan fu. As in Hsining fu, the population is frequently afflicted with diphtheria, 164
scarlet fever and smallpox. Typhus and syphilis of course also reap large harvests and among the lung diseases of the region asthma plays an important role. A large percentage of the missionaries contracted smallpox. Mr. Simpson had acquired pock marks up there in carrying out his profession. A missionary who had just come up from the coast where he had been freshly vaccinated, died shortly before my arrival, of variola.

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[1]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

N 131 135 319 433 635 N 131 135 319 635 N 161 163 165 361

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164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S
N Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
[165] deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S E. Efforts of the Government

N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

000 in Dulan gomba. It is true, there was not much hope from the beginning for the gifted little boy. His heart was too weak. He died two days later. And while the sorrowing parents with their Chinese friends were carrying the coffin to a distant grave outside the city, the dreadful plague struck their second boy. Again, none of the remedies we tried helped. The child followed his brother into the grave after a few days.

The sorrow of the poor parents knew no bounds when we washed the child for the last time and laid him in his little coffin and closed it up. I have never before so much admired missionaries who in obedience to the old Bible command, go to far countries with their families in order to bring the blessings of the gospel to others, while they themselves usually harvest but ingratitude, and finally sacrifice their own families. No matter what one's views are about the question of missions, one has deep respect for such sacrificial courage. The China Inland Mission to which Mr. and Mrs. Ridley belong, combines a number of sects: High Church and Lutheran, as well as Brethern, Methodist, and members of the Salvation Army, etc. They all work together and for a salary that hardly meets their needs. During my time every active member, man or woman, got about 20 taels a month. This required good management, in spite of cheap living conditions.

164 After this sore trial, Mr. and Mrs. Ridley threw themselves into their work with twice the energy. At that time there were many sick to be cared for. Throughout Kansu it had not rained for several months and scarlet fever and diphtheria were taking a dreadful toll everywhere. Every day 18 to 20 bodies were carried out of the comparatively small city of Hsining fu. The Chinese simply threw many children over the walls where wild dogs and birds fought over their bodies.

One night I was called to a house where a young woman lay on a bench in the middle hall, dressed in her best silks, awaiting death. The Taoist priests had vainly attempted to cast out the disease with bells and gong, now the white magician should see what he could do. The coffin was already standing beside the woman and none of the relatives wanted to stay near her. I heard the death rattle as a servant led the way, bearing a candle.

The plague attacked young and old and there was hardly ever an effective remedy. The people maintained that bathing and sponging meant certain death. After this experience I was not surprised that 165 the natives estimate child mortality in and around Hsining fu at

70 percent. Otherwise infant mortality in China is figured at only 50 percent. And yet even here Chinese culture is gaining the upper hand. "Rdya sche sdong luch!" (If today you kill a hundred, tomorrow there will be a thousand to take their place!). Thus speak the Tibetans of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese. In order to maintain itself a vigorous race does not need the protection of European hygiene! 165

/85/ "What sea is it from which ever to be freed is so very difficult?" 000
"It is the cycle of rebirth in the three worlds, in whose mighty tide of suffering we are tossed about."
/Saying of bLobzang sKalbzang the seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1758) at an examination. /

CHAPTER XIII
A New Journey

"So you say you've been in Tibet! And were you in Lhasa? Did you meet Sven Hedin there? - or did you at least see the Dalai Lama?" These are the three things that cultivated Germans generally want to know from someone who has been in Tibet.

It was therefore my good fortune that I was attacked and forced to return to Hsining. In that way I at least saw one of the three important things of Tibet, the Dalai Lama.

It was the end of November when I rode down to Lanchow fu in order to fetch from there extra instruments and, above all, silver. The European colony in that city had meanwhile grown astonishingly; there were ten of us, including children. Belgian mining engineers and chemists as well as a professor of textiles had just arrived from Europe through the help of Paul Splingaert, the one-time interpreter of F. v. Richthofen. Engineers of the German firm were also expected, who were to put up an iron bridge in place of the old pontoon bridge, this Central Asiatic wonder-of-the-world. A faint awareness of a new era had penetrated to the chief city of Kansu. Indeed, a few weeks before my arrival street lamps had been put up, the little salad-oil lamps of Laohokow, which, behind their paper shades gave just enough light so that one could make out the post on which they were placed. 178

S N 563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols 771 and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is N 181 rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively [162] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the N bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided 181 into the following groups: the descendants of those who were 166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu 167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N Among the Chirese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi 181 and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in [668] the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Alfan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of [167] the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, *175 73 such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quick- • 166 ened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the *175 633 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

658 schools.
87 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
*175 teachers and fourteen primary schools.
563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
• 166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
[648] front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[658] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

N
*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

N
*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the
*563 upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
631 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
5 tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

N
To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*175 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
*668 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and
• 166 workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [EXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

Table 7. WORKERS AND CADRES TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHWEST

Date	Profession	Number	Total Number	From	Destination
January to May	workers		16,000	Shanghai	Northwest
May	workers	1,600	3,620	"	"
	truck drivers	430		"	"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	Sinkiang
	cadres	362		Kuangtung	"
	demobilized servicemen	238		Chekiang	"
June	workers	1,865	2,665	Tsinan	Lanchou
	students	800		Peking	Sinkiang
July	doctors				
August	workers	900	5,640	Tientsin	"
	students from Indonesia				"
	govt. cadres	1,000		Peking	"
	" "	900		Tientsin	"
	students	540		Kiangsu	"
	"	300		Kuangtung, Shanghai	"
	"	2,000		Tientsin	"
November	govt. cadres	1,400	2,000	Peking	"
	" "	600		"	Chinghai
		Total	29,925		

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The
625 post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 474
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house;
and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his
friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the
mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers
ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper;
'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my
nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen)
'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now
take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this
season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this
rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted
the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to
see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a
snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-
watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu.
The dome of the tower is said to have originally been
covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the
Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in
turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently
whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 776
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
S N
[169] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the
S N
[651] societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S 563 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
635 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
182 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
798 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
182 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

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While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is N 181 rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

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*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and *175 73 166 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the *175 633 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N 161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, N S judged by some current information, the large increase of [167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N 635 161 D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, Occupation, and Urban Centers

(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was S [161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N 635 162 Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

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S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 • [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
• 167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
[181] the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
167 a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
621

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
*563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[351] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
• [167] asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
• 167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
[873] number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
[656] pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
+ 668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [801] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted * 668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the • 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

*668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yenan, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

*668 179 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime

With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[167] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced, [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

*668 cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously
172 caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated.
[166] Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities
669 While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillow
spread for the wretched feast. This town might easi
[448] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being th
[237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January th
merchants come from all quarters to buy the tin
soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day
their existence. Large sums of money change hands
Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spe
upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt an
[567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of dece
clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market wi
its required commodity of little girls for the great citi

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when so
Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreign
'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. W
found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, w
was begging his way to Peking. The road over whi
we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russi
refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingn
to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, f
themselves homeless exiles on the face of the glo
For some months before our arrival a great stream
suffering humanity poured down this highway, in ev
stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until
great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were un
the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them sup
sedes the instinct of individual nationality (stre
though that be), was also impregnable in the We
From this time, however, European prestige
entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, pennil
whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and
helpless women becoming the concubines of Chin
men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor ha
the common people ever recovered from the sh
caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

the hour at which the midday meal is served. In place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China. 634

The business men, with whom we were friendly, seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang. 702 167

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a 000

N.W. China AF13

Hsining and To ba, stems from the military colonizations of the Han period. (2) The city is 2,680 meters above sea level. In the 361 563

2. A few lis below the present city of Dankar, at the upper mouth of the valley, there are huge loam walls that might go back to the Tang period.

vicinity barley, oats, and vetch are raised, but no longer much wheat. There are still real Chinese farmers as far up as this, although not very many. With their industry and their stable culture they have spread out wherever the earth promises a yield, especially in the axes of the larger valleys. But in Hsining fu today, i.e., in the district under the Hsining inspector, to which Dankar belongs, all the smaller lateral valleys are inhabited by remnants of non-Chinese peoples. The Mohammedans who have been more than decimated since 1895 are to be found in great numbers only in certain places. One has the impression as though they were once artificially pushed in between the Chinese and Tibetans and as though the Chinese were only now following after. All the Chinese in Hsining fu still maintain that they come from the lowlands, most of them saying that they came from the Nanking region. (3) It is 563 167

3. Kiangsu province; either as military colonists or as exiles.

considered too barbaric to say that one comes from the land itself, just as in the province of Szechwan where the Chinese still assure you that they come from such and such a province but never from Szechwan itself, even though it has 45, in fact some people say 68 million Chinese today. (4)

4. The official count (better, estimate) of the year 1902 reports 68,724,890 inhabitants for Szechwan. Hosie, probably the greatest specialist on that region, estimates the population at 45 million. According to the census of 1911, it probably has 55 million. According to earlier official estimates, Kansu was said to have 10 million inhabitants. According to the census of 1910/11 Kansu has between 3,800,000 and 4,500,000 inhabitants, or 711,000 independent and 195,639 dependent families or households. Thus, according to my calculation, it has 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. 161

5: Tafel--418 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.w. China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues.

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn (or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A. D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chroniclers. 563 173

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1) 167 175 563

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

167 Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning
175 of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably al-
563 ways pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu.

The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan
162 bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred
563 families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in
175 between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also
563 belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples
175 which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession

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and consists mainly of Khoshot. The family of the dsassak stems from Tseren Khatan Batur, the younger brother of Gushi Khan. The incumbents of the office of dsassak became taidshi of the first class for the first time in 1725 and the office is hereditary since 1782. Nineteen of the twenty-one Khoshot banners of the Koko Nor belong to descendants of Gushi Khan, one (Taidschinär) to the descendants of the older brother of Gushi, one (Barun) to the descendants of the younger brother. 643

Very near to the dsassak's houses lived a brother and a cousin of my servant Han. They were two Dungan who had fled here in 1896 from the Hsining territory when the rebellion was quelled and the Dungan emigrated en masse. They had lost their fortunes during the war and became subjects of the Barun dsassak. Both of them had now taken Mongolian wives and established a household. We stayed a night with one of them, and I was touched to see how Han, at the request of his clan and all the Bamba Mohammedans, tried to persuade the brother and cousin to return home. In our honor a sheep had been picked out of the herd and my Han was entrusted with killing it according to Mohammedan rites. Everything Buddhistic had been removed from the yurt in our honor. The two pseudo-Mongols had at the first unsuspected meeting, shamefully removed the amulets which they wore around their throats according to lamaistic custom, and put them in their pockets. The Mongolian wife made no effort to hide her displeasure at her husband's conduct and at his sudden shame before his Mohammedan brother, as though their Buddhistic gods were not as good as the god of Islam. She sat idly in her tent beside me and made a sullen face, letting her husband take care of all the hospitality, alone. She was naked to the waist because of the heat. A half dozen small leather pouches and a small bronze Buddha shrine hung down to her ample breasts. Her small, four-year-old son was her only comfort in her anger. He kept running up to slake his thirst at his mother's breast. 167 ● 000

My servant Han spoke Chinese which the Mongol woman did not understand and /352/ tried all his powers of persuasion. "You are living in wedlock here with a dirty Fan po, we Mohammedans shall get you a clean woman from among our people in the lowlands." - "The Mongolian woman presented me with a lovely little boy whom I do not like to leave." - "When you die they will expose your body

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WESTERN ASIA Present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia	NORTHWEST CHINA Sinkiang (Ili Region, Tarim Basin), Chinghai and northern Kansu	CHINA PROPER including Shensi and southern Kansu
1200 -		
1100 -		CHOU (Capital: Sian) 11th
1000 -		
900 -		
800 -	Jung, Ti, and Chiang	Invasion of Jung
Medes 708-550		
700 - Zoroaster-zoroastrianism		
600 -		
Rise of Persia 580		
500 - (Achaemenids)		Warring States
400 -		DIVISION
Conquests of Alexander 321-331	Huns (Hsiung-nu). Chinese settle in Kansu, Chinghai. Huns drive Yüeh-chih westward	
300 - Greek states in Bactria	165 B.C. Chang Ch'ien's Travels 138-126	CH'IN (Capital: Sian)
Parthia (Assakids)	Chinese advance into Turkestan 121-119	Great Wall linked
200-	Take Tarim Basin, 104, 4 garrison cities; three campaigns against Lou-lun, 99-90;	HAN (capital: Sian) 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.
Scythians (Sakas) 165	defeat of Wu-sun 72 B.C.	
100 -		
B.C. / A.D.	Chinese split Hun Confederacy - 44 A.D.	Wang Mang 9-23
	Revolt of Nomads, Kushan (Yüeh-chih) invade Turkestan 87	

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100 -		
Pan ch'ao reaches Caspian Sea 92	Pan Ch'ao regains Turkestan 74-94; returns to China 102 Huns retake Turkestan 107-31. Invasion of Kushan 127	
200 -		
Sassanid Dynasty in Persia 226-651		THREE KINGDOMS (221-265) CHIN 265-419
300 - Mani; Manichaeism		Barbarian Invasions Foreign States in North China
	Hephthalites (White Huns), Juan-juan, Kao-chü (Tolös)	
400 - Wars with Rome	Appearance of Turks; Expansion Turks destroy Juan-juan and the Hephthalites	Minor Chinese state in South China
500-	552 Division of Turks into East and West 582	DIVISION
554 -subjugate the Hephtalites in region of Oxus		
600 - Arabs invade Persia	Travels of Hsuan-tsang	SUI (capital: Sian) 589-618
Expansion to Mediterranean; Last Sassanid King flees to China, 674	Chinese defeat E. Turks 636; Tibetans 639; W. Turks 659; Chinese control of Turkestan	T'ANG (capital: Sian) 618-906 invasion of E. Turks 629
700- ARABS -	Arabs and Tibetans effect junction 741 Expedition of Kao Hsien-chih over the Pamirs 747	Rebellion of An-lu-shan 755 Uighurs sack Loyang 762
Qutaiba conquers Central Asia 707-713	Battle of Athlach 751, Chinese defeat. Uighur Empire on the Orkhon 744-821	Tibetans sack Ch'ang-an 763
800-	Defeat of East Turks, 745 Tibetan Wars 763-821 Kirghiz destroy Uighur Empire 840	Barbarian Invasions
900-	Uighurs migrate to (1)Irtish (2)Urumchi-Turfan Qarluks, Uighurs, Sha-t'o (Chöl) Turks	FIVE DYNASTIES (North) and TEN STATES (South) DIVISION

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1000 -	Hsia	Liao(Khitan) Sung(Chinese) 960-1279
1100 -	Kara-Khitai	CHIN (Juchen)
1200 - Mongols destroy Khwarezmian	Mongols destroy Hsia & Kara-Khitai	Mongols destroy Chin 1233 Mongols destroy Sung 1279
1300-Mongol Il-Khans in Persia; Tamerlane 1369-1405	Chagatai and Uesdei princes (Mongols)	YUAN dynasty 1260-1367 (Capital:Peking) MING dynasty 1368-1644 (capital:1. Nanking 2. Peking)0
1400 - Timurid Dynasty 1387-1449	Oirats (Mongols) -Esen, ca. 1450	Expulsion of Mongols Invasion at Oirats 1449
1500 - Safavid Dynasty in 1560-1736	Oirats (W. Mongols) Atan Khan ca. 1550	
1600- Abbas I ("the Great") 1587-1629	Oirat confederacy; Galdan invades Mongolia 1697; Tsewang Raptan 1697-1727	CH'ING dynasty 1644-1911
1700-	Conquest of Tibet 1717 Amursana 1755 Chinese dominate Turkestan, 1759 Return of the Turgots, 1770	
1800 - Kajar Dynasty in 1794-1925	Moslem Revolts, 1820-1878 Jehangir 1820-27; the 7 Khojas, 1848; Yakub Beg, 1865-78. Tso Tsung-t'ang reconquers the Northwest 1869-78. Sinkiang Province created 1884	Taiping Rebellion, 1851-64 Moslem Revolts in Shensi & Kansu, 1862-71; Ma Hua-lung, 1862-71; Pai Yen-hu, 1862-78
Anglo-Russian Rivalry		Revolution, 1911
1900 Revolution in Persia 1905	Yang Tseng-hsin governor 1912-1928 Dungan Revolt 1932-34 Sheng Shih-ts'ai 1932-44; Ili Revolt 1944-46 Sinkiang submits to Communists, 1949	REPUBLIC, 1912 Communists in Shensi, 1935 Communist Govt. in China, 1949

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TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older N [171] than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is [241] found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether N *563 Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The 621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N [701] The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212] Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252 Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291 The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N * 563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 873 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771
756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[187] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[296] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such mani-
[428] festations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[187] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

171 776 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

171 175 77 [1956] This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

776 171 771 Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth.".

771 756 171 This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokaëta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

771 175 171 756 More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there implored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov, the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggis, the god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration, Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

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B. Buddhism

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The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Survarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bâtur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai
795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
(648) turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
(795) tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
(669) Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong
795 strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 D. Manichaeism
Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and
175 China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity
795 From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role
175 in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it ex-
171 erted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalüt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

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795 were annihilated by the victory of Islam.

171 When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a
175 Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khaiyan.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Nauruz resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

779 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

779 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
*563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
*668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
*668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

795 C. The Fate of Christianity
798 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
*668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
*668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
177 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
798 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

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The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

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Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

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V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
668 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region
177 as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
N developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
657 5 million yuan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
• 177 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innocu-
lation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans
have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's
Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from
other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take
the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this
area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics
have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

*175 Communists. On paper, the people were permitted to nominate
*668 candidates from the floor, but such practices were discouraged.
666 "Through the method of small group discussions and appraisals now adopted...individual nomination will gradually be standardized and consequently should not be subject to any restrictions." (Wang Shui, "How to nominate candidates for election" JMJP June 11, 1953). Thus the electoral procedure followed the Soviet practice of presenting single lists of candidates. The nominees were shifted by means of a process of "consultation and agreement" and after the list of names were agreed upon, the voters go through the motion of approving it.

• [171] This manner of voting bears close resemblance to the system in the USSR and is a far cry from the system adopted by the Chinese Communists in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region sixteen years before. (See Table 5).

In preparation for the election, large numbers of cadres were given training to qualify them to serve as chairmen of basic level election committees and to guide, conduct and supervise the elections. The number who were assigned was one cadre for every 2,000 persons and one technical cadre for every 500 persons. In the months before the election, the people were screened during the process of census-taking, and the qualified ones were registered. They were subjected to a barrage of propaganda and indoctrination in the form of meetings, forums, discussion groups, and through the media of books, pamphlets, films, radio broadcasts, and exhibitions. Mock elections were held where the cadres taught the voters how to conduct themselves, how to discuss the list of candidates and how to cast their ballots. Prior to the real election, experimental elections were held in a number of selected locations. These were the straw votes to give the Communist authorities an idea as to how well the cadres and propagandists have indoctrinated the people, how well the machinery operated, and what were the reactions of the people.

In Shensi, the experimental elections were held during the months from May to October, and the places where they were held included: the counties of Lin-tung, Nan-cheng, Pao-shan, Tao-shui, and, surprisingly, the wartime capital of the Communists, Yenan. As the results were satisfactory, the real elections were permitted to take place in October, and they were expected to be completed by the end of April, 1954.

In Kansu, due to the mixed population, the preparations for the elections were the reverse of those in China Proper. While in North China, in preparation for the elections, 67,727 hsiang were merged into 20,000. In Kansu, the 3975 hsiang were increased to 5650.

By March, 1954, it was reported the basic elections were nine-tenths completed in Ninghsia with 90 per cent of the people

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 516]

Table 5. **COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES**

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

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241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 175 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

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Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

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241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
429 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 429 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 429 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

429 [175] There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

S 131 161 Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

N 133 161 [171] [132] The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

N 172 As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civilization.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

635 and importance, political, commercial, and military, it entirely overshadows all the other towns in Shensi and Kansu, and is altogether the metropolis of the great agricultural North West, the land of loess and wheat.

Hsian is a backward place as regards the improvements of modern civilization, no macadamized roads, no electric light, no foreign carriages. Amongst other conveniences waterworks are required, as the water from most of the wells in the city is very brackish; good water could easily be brought from one of the many clear streams which emerge from the Ch'inling Shan a few miles to the south. There should be a boom in big contracts in Hsian when the railway gets there, or before.

172 438 We were too busy during our short stay to do much sight-seeing, but felt constrained to visit the Pei Lin ("forest of stone tablets") where the Nestorian Tablet now is. A large rubbing industry has sprung up (or perhaps it has existed for centuries or thousands of years) and almost every other stone has its attendant Chinese busy taking an impression. One would imagine that the more important inscriptions would get seriously damaged by this incessant rubbing, and indeed such appears to be the case. Outside is a shop where these myriad rubbings are busily sold, and their export from Shensi is quite a trade. The Chinese are, of course, great amateurs of ancient curios, inscriptions, and other historical records, and Hsian and Central Shensi is for them a happy hunting ground in this respect. It seems curious that this region has not received more attention from European scholars interested in these matters, since it contains the beginnings of everything as far as Chinese history is concerned, and the latter is hard to beat for an early start; sand-buried cities in the heart of the deserts of Central Asia are ransacked at great difficulty and expense by scholars of various nations, but it does not appear that much if any excavating has been done on the Hsian plain, which contained the capital of ancient dynasties which flourished three to four thousand years ago. The Nestorian Tablet, which dates back eleven to twelve hundred years, records the propagation of Christianity in China by Nestorian missionaries from Western Asia in those days. It is curious that this faith should have so completely disappeared, while Maho-

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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very 244
good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also [248]
to be bought, as this district,[1] unlike many others, pro- [286]
duces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and
weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also
supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when 316
burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off
intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used 491
alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the 172
ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

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172 wandering through the deserted temple-courts, where huge, grotesque, clay-images of gods loomed, we perceived, in the corner of a small shrine, two men fast asleep, with their heads pillowed on their bulging cash-bags. A few moments later, we saw these same individuals quietly remove the stones barricading a side door, through which they then slipped and vanished. The action seemed suspicious, for the honest traveller in China is always ready to exchange road-information with other passers-by. We therefore asked the old woman who they might be, but for answer she drew one of us by the sleeve into the recesses of her hovel, and then whispered: 'Nobody knows, and we dare not question them, but they have been hiding here for two days.'

233 Having explored the shadow-filled temple, we proceeded to visit the lonely guardians of a camel encampment, whose tents were pitched about a quarter of a mile distant, where the animals fed on the prickly herbage abundant in the neighbourhood. Seeing us coming, the drover called in his fierce dogs, who at a word slunk behind the tents. Round these the camel packs were symmetrically stacked in a semicircle, while the browsing camels themselves were to be seen outlined against the horizon.

000 The head-man now came forward, and to our surprise we found ourselves confronted by a Lanchow College graduate, the son of just such a wealthy house as that we had lately visited at Fuyi; and presently, over a cup of tea, a delightful hour followed of unconventional, human intercourse, not only with this intelligent, well-educated man, but also with the drovers, for China is a land where a real, though unconscious, democracy exists. When we rose to leave, our host gave the signal for rounding-up, and all the savage dogs then rushed

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bid her farewell, before she would permit the s
words to pass her lips she washed her face and co
her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to th
True God to address Him unprepared. Such a s
this, met with on the road of life, one can never f
She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, an
glad.

361 The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair t
133 appear under the encroaching sands, as these
already drifted round it as high as the top of the
It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on ever
and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The
132 is said to blow every day in the year, but in the
512 it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are close
733 everything is at a standstill. Every household
lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, n
surprising that so many while away the weary
487 with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies
cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow
off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeti
the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four
to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had a
172 reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a p
American archaeologists from Harvard Univ
who had recently been there for the purpose of
its art treasures. Not being able, however, t
their purpose, they were returning to Peking, ca
away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tur
population, and they warned us that we should fin
turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This d
alarm us, however, as our search was for trea
a different kind, which called for excavation of a
and less obvious nature.

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484 you.' We had not gone very far when a mounted soldier galloped alongside. 'Ask him his honourable name,' said the senior member of the party from the recesses of the cart, 'and how many children he has.' This led on at once to a friendly conversation, and soon we were supplying the soldier with pears, and a share in the lunch we were carrying, while in return he gave us an immense amount of information, more or less reliable, about the whole district. The road proved indeed 491 difficult to find, and as, from the moment of leaving the 133 fertile land surrounding the city, until we reached Chienfutung, we did not meet a single human being, •172 we should have inevitably wasted much valuable time had we been unescorted. For some time we ploughed our way heavily through the loose sand, to emerge finally on a gravel *glacis* of uncompromising sterility. Eastward stretched a range of sandy foothills, whose outlines were always changing under the bidding of the winds, but which, tradition affirms, hide beneath them the ruins of a very early civilisation, while ancient records speak of at least two towns, at one time ruled by Mongol princes, no traces of which can now be found. The whole impression given, is that of a thickly-inhabited district overtaken by some cataclysm, which has left Tunhwang to stand alone—an island of verdure in an ocean of sand. After three hours' travelling, the coarse grit gave place to boulders, with flakes of mica glittering on the ground; then, following what seemed to be the bed of a former river, bordered by cliffs of conglomerate, rising gradually to a great height, we were led to the back of the sandhills, where unexpectedly we entered upon a green oasis planted with fine young poplar trees, some still vividly green, while others had already changed to clearest yellow. Here were the rock-temples.

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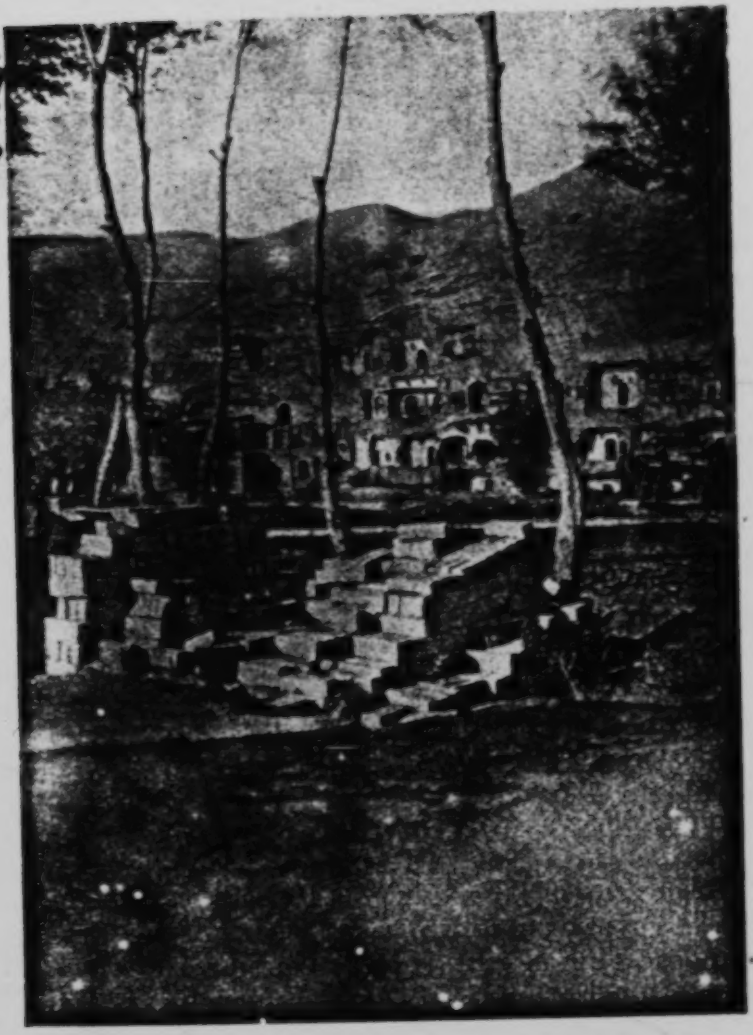

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS.

"Many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below."

To face page 134.

[FACING p. 134]

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The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

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cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou*.' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script ~~as employed~~ in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

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172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
346 commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
532 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's [824]
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [137]
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

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~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

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•172

whom he introduced as a friend travelling from Urumchi to Lanchow. Pending the moment when he should declare the object of his visit, we engaged on a conversation which, starting with enquiries regarding our respective ages, family circumstances, and the reason of our living in Suchow, led on to the cost of living, the local money exchange, and various other topics of interest. After some time thus spent, the stranger drew from his pocket an object wrapped in a cloth which he unfolded, and produced a petrified egg, asking if we were interested in such things. Mr. Li explained that he could not expect travellers of our experience to marvel at a mere egg, but the man said : ' Eggs of this kind are scarce, and some foreigners give big prices for them.'

' Where did you find it ? ' we asked.

' It was picked up in the Gobi Desert.'

' What are you going to do with it ? ' we enquired.

Mr. Li bent forward and explained *sotto voce* : ' The egg is greatly coveted by a powerful Official, and this merchant has had to leave Turkestan on that account. He is willing to part with it, but says its price is one hundred pounds.' Both men looked questioningly at us, but the offer elicited no response, so the owner of the egg shook it vigorously, whereupon a slight gurgle was heard, and his eyes glittered with delight.

' He says that is a jewel rattling inside,' explained Mr. Li.

Our advice was that he should take his treasure to Lanchow, and show it to a famous Swedish archaeologist who was living there.

' He can tell you all about it,' we said : then, with unpardonable stupidity, added, ' Whatever happens, do not let it get broken ! '

He thanked us, exchanged some more polite words, and Mr. Li then revealed the main object of the visit by

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

172 [521]

asking if he might leave the precious egg with us for the night, as his friend was afraid of losing it.

The next day he fetched it away and we saw him no more, but some time later news reached us that, unable to restrain his curiosity, he had broken it open but failed to find the jewel within!

11th June, 1926, was the day decided on for our departure. Our explicit orders had been that all three carts must be completely packed by the evening of the 10th, as we should leave at daybreak on the 11th. For days past everyone had worked ceaselessly, yet the sunset of the last day saw various small jobs inevitably held over until the next morning. The nine mules were only brought back newly-shod from the farrier's after dark. Had we been so inexperienced as to question why this important job should be left to the last afternoon, the answer would have been: 'Had anything occurred to delay your departure, the shoes at present in use would have lasted another three weeks, and what a lot of money we should have saved you!'

On the 11th we all rose at 4 a.m. in order to start before the great heat began. We drank a single cup of tea, after which the kettle, teapot and cups were packed into the food-basket and stowed away in the recesses of the cart. Men ran hither and thither; neighbours came in to say last farewells, while a crowd of our beloved children ran in and out to report generally on the progress made. It was, however, midday before our carts left the compound, yet had we suggested the possibility of dinner, there must have been a further delay, so we suppressed our desire for food, and made a start. Never had our carts been so heavily laden, and as each fresh bundle appeared, the crowd of bystanders sighed, announcing openly that no mules could possibly accomplish what was expected of ours! There was

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484 afternoon. This is the height of luxury in travel in North Western China. Riding good ambling ponies we used to average four miles or more per hour on a good trail, and a day's journey of 80 li seemed nothing under these conditions. But a few really tiring marches (and this is one of them) stand out in my memory, when we had to cover a hundred li or more over rocky mountain paths where it might be necessary to walk half of the way; the hardest day of all was a march on the Kokonor border, when we started at 6 a.m. and got in at 9 p.m., crossing a pass over 13,000 feet high on the way.

487 Leaving Ch'iyi Chen the track runs down the valley
133 towards the Yellow River for a few li and then strikes straight up the mountain side to the south to reach the pass (3600 feet). This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, which are both very extended ones. From the pass there is a steep drop into a gorge and then a climb over a loess spur to reach the hamlet of Tuch'uan lying in a narrow ravine. From here the trail strikes again up the mountain side to the south, crosses a pass (4100 feet), and descends along a loess ridge with finally a steep drop to reach the walled village of Wangfeng Ch'iao lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east. From Ch'iyi Chen to Wangfeng Ch'iao is the middle stage in the three days' march between Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, and though only called 60 li in length is a tiring day's work, consisting of one long scramble up and down the mountains. As this route slants across the ridges to the S.E. and approaches the Yellow River, the passes decrease in altitude and some loess begins to reappear. The mountains in this neighbourhood appear to be full of iron ore.

From Wangfeng Ch'iao the track ascends the mountain side to the south to reach a pass (3400 feet) in the last range which bars the way to the plains. From the previous passes there were extensive views across the cañon of the Yellow River to the mountains of Shansi, but the river itself remained invisible; from this ridge it is seen for the first time, emerging from the mountains at the mouth of the
173 gorge known as Yümen K'ou. This is a very celebrated spot amongst the Chinese, since their annals record that the Emperor Yu (2000 B.C.) here cut a channel through the

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mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
133

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

36/133 with stealthy steps; moving, like some sluggish organism, till with soft, hungry lips it has seized its prey and absorbed it; and then, replete and satisfied, has lain down triumphant. The surrounding scene is of an unspeakably desolate character, reminding one of a landscape in the moon, only that instead of extinct craters, here are dead and forgotten cities, towns, and villages.

•173 All sorts of legends are told about this region.[1] Pulungki is said to have been the original Eden of the human race; any amount of buried treasures lie concealed in caves underneath the soil; demons haunt the whole neighbourhood; a hole in the ground with steps leading down may mean a robber's den, or, on the other hand, it may be the entrance to some Arabian Night's grotto, piled with glittering stones!

Circumstantial stories of such discoveries were told us. Men, whose names were known, had dug into such a hoard, and by the flare of torches had actually seen the booty, but when they were just on the point of seizing it, a rush of wings had passed overhead, throwing the searchers violently to the earth, and filling them with such terror that to escape with their lives was all they could hope for. Bats? No, not bats, they were too far in for that; besides, the cave had never been opened within the memory of man! Again, one party of excavators entering the far recesses of another subterranean shaft, had seen, to their amazement, a faint glimmer of light. Drawing near they had found a tiny oil lamp burning—a mere speck of flame, but undoubtedly of human origin, as there was a wick, which wick was fed from some enormous vat of vegetable oil, the supply of which had been sufficient to keep the light going for centuries! And to convince us of the truth of these assertions, we were shown certain remarkable,

[1] [Between Yumen and Tunhwang—Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

and obviously antique, vases dug up from the same locality, and which were worthy of a place in a museum. One can wander from end to end of these lonely, melancholy, derelict cities, where on stormy nights the howling winds make play, and the swirls of sand spin down the forgotten avenues like Dancing Dervishes; and nothing can be too weird or too fantastic for the imagination to devise after lingering, even only for a few hours, in such surroundings. /73•

By day we were subject to the illusion of the desert mirage. Again and again our field-glasses assured us of the existence of a large lake ahead, whose shining waters were bordered by standing trees, but as we came nearer there was only the lion-coloured sand, and the long line of the horizon. 000

We reached the next inn at midnight, and received the following morning the gift of two small cabbages, three turnips, and a little vinegar from a very old woman, who having heard that three 'Preachers of Righteousness' had arrived during the night, was determined to be the first to give them a welcome.

We found her living alone in a miserable hovel. Nevertheless, the ruling desire of her whole being was to be well-pleasing to the gods by purity of actions, hence her ardent desire to meet us, and be taught by us 'the Way of Life.' Living by herself and having no near relatives left, a young man had been fetched in to listen to our words, so that when we were gone he might help her to remember the precious instructions.

There was something inexpressibly pathetic and moving in the way in which she drank deeply of the truth as it is in Jesus, memorising with the utmost reverence the brief prayer we taught her; and when, on the morning of our departure, we went at dawn to

5. Tafel--421 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

197
563

I eat -	wu tschilarä
bread -	borzordeno
Buddha -	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha -	Yerech'tuch' te
tea -	dya
teacup -	aira
sky -	tingere
temple -	larang
horse -	more
mule -	lossa
plough -	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house -	ger
tent -	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
ride horseback -	moru h'anä
walk -	so wade
I came -	tschüre wu
I went -	tschisch tschewu

563
101

The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In their own language they call themselves mongrolkeff, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese [186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

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173

2. Wieger, S.J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn (or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A.D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chroniclers. 563 173

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1) 167 175 563

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
• 174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

*174 *668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 579 *668 669 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 563 *668 669 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

485 we were however, obliged the next night at 1 a.m. to pass the same spot[1]—one lonely shed inhabited by an old man, who provides boiling water for passers-by. But on this occasion he would not permit us a moment's delay, and urged us to proceed to our destination with all possible speed; which, needless to say, we did.

CHAPTER XXII

JADE GATE TO TUNHWANG

712 •174 FIVE days' journey from Kiayükwan the traveller sees on the farthest horizon a light, elegant tower rising high above the city wall. This is Yümen—'Jade Gate'—through which he passes to Central Asia, and which being visible from a very great distance, is the one dominant feature of the beautiful little town of the same name.

Ancient records dating back to 104 B.C. speak of Yümenkwan—'Jade Barrier'—as terminating the line of guard-houses which were planted at intervals from Chiuchüan—Ancient Suchow—in a north-westerly direction on the Kansu border. A great deal of research has been made by Sir Aurel Stein as well as by other *savants* to elucidate the exact position held by this particular fort. Sir Aurel Stein places it beyond Tunhwang, one hundred and thirty miles west of the little town which now bears its name, while others believe this elusive gate to have been no other than the original structure of Kiayükwan which is, all agree, the modern equivalent of the ancient Barrier. Local opinion, however, confirms Breitshneider's assertion that the modern Yümen is built on the site of the ancient Jade Gate.

1 [outside the village of Chikinpu--Analyst]

1: Washington AF13 Northwest China AF13

• 175

[For additional information on the general cultural history of Northwest China up to 1956, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 25, 26-29, 33-47, 73, 77-79, 113, 152-154, 158, 181, 236-237, 291, 296, 301, 306-310, 437, 465-469, 475, 484, 486, 488-524, 533, 540-545, 560, 569-570, 648, 654-658, 668-669, 671-672, 678-681, 687-690, and 692-702.]

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 197 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Büks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bük, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bük, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bük, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bük, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Büks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N
489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral
S N nomadism.

631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N
563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
659 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S
631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S
631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
649 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territo ial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S
N
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S
N
175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
657 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
563 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
669 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

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N
175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S
N
175 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through

S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason

S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based

S [622] upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.

S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed

S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted

S K 563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-

[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site

S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
198 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
199 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
M [191] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
M 175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
199 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
614 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
622 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

N
*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C. E. P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Cnou Dynasty

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In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

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N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy
642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there implored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov, the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggiz, the god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration, Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

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B. Buddhism

795 171 175 The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Survarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

795 171 175 P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 795 792 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo, as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

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795 792 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

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792 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong
795 strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and
175 China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghis forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity

795 From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role
175 in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it ex-
1971 erted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalüt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

795 were annihilated by the victory of Islam.
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175 When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khaiban.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Nauruz resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

709 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

709 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[302] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the terri-
[292] tory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

SN 795 621 993

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

SN [554]

SN 795 185 [175]

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

SN 795 792 185

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
*668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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TABLE I

THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL OF NW MAC IN 1952

CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

NORTHWEST MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
Chairman: P'eng Te-huai Vice-chairmen: Hsi Chung-hsun Chang Chih-chung
Members: 46 (47 men and 1 woman: 1 Mongol, 1 Mohammedan, 2 Tibetans, 2 Uighurs, 38 Chinese, 1 unidentified)
Secretary-general: Ch'ang Lo-fu Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lieh

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
Director: (Not appointed at this time)
Deputy directors: Chao Pi-shan, Chu Yeh-li

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL AND LEGAL AFFAIRS
Director: Chang Chih-chung
Deputy directors: Wang Tao-i, Yang Tao-lien
Members: 29 (28 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Ch'ang Lo-fu
Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lieh

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: P'eng Te-huai
Deputy directors: Chia T'o-fu, Pai Ju-p'ing
Members: 37 (not only to appointed)
Secretary-general: Ti Chang-hsiang
Deputy secretary-general: Kao Shih-ch'i

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Yang Ming-hsuan
Deputy directors: Chang Chia-fu, Ko Chang-p'ing
Members: 38 (37 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Wu Wen-ling
Deputy secretary-generals: A Mo, Wang Chih-jen
Director of Administration Office: Wang Chia-jen

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Ma Wen-jen
Deputy directors: Tong Sheng-ch'ih, Shih Tao-chang
Members: 12 (11 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: T'ao Sheng-jen

COMMITTEE ON LAND REFORM
Director: Hsi Chung-hsun
Deputy director: Han Chao-o
Members: 23 (22 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Huang Chih
Deputy secretary-general: Hsieh Ho-liang

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Wang Feng
Vice-chairmen: Seidulla, Ma Hung-ping, Hsu-jao-chai-te-ts, Ta-li-ma-ya
Members: 44 (43 men and 1 woman)

DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL
Director: Wang Tsun
Deputy directors: Li Chang-ying, Meng Ting-chia

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Director: Wang Tao-i
Deputy directors: Jen Ch'i-ien, Wu Chih-yuan

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Director: Kao Sao-ch'i
Deputy Directors: Li Ch'i-ming, Ju Ming-te

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Director: Yang Tao-lien
Deputy director: Ho Lien-ch'eng

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
Director: Pai Ju-p'ing
Deputy directors: Liu Yung-ho, Ma Han-fang

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE
Director: Ti Chieh
Deputy directors: Shih Wei-jen, Tung Lin-che

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
Director: Wang Tai-ch'eng
Deputy directors: Ma Fu-ch'eng, Wu Sheng-hsin, Fu Tao-chen

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION
Director: Ho Wei-te
Deputy directors: Liu Liang-cheng, Tseng Chao-wu

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Director: Hsu Chung-ch'uan
Deputy directors: Pai Hai-feng, Ts'ai Tao-wu

DEPARTMENT OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Director: Ho Tao-lin
Deputy directors: Chang Chung, Sheng T'ung-sheng (Hsiang Cheng-ch'eng)

DEPARTMENT OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Director: Li Ho-lin
Deputy director: Ting Chung-wei

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Director: Chao Pu-p'ing
Deputy director: Chao Chan-k'uei

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
Director: Ch'eng Pa-pin
Deputy directors: Wu Wen-lin, Ma Chan-ling, Chang Chu-ch'uan

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Director: Chang Lung-chi
Deputy directors: Lin Ti-sheng, Tang Ch'ing-lan

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Director: Ho Pao
Deputy directors: Tseng Yu-sheng, Chang Ch'a-i, Ch'e Cheng, Shih Shu-lan

PRESS BUREAU
(Abolished in July, 1952)
Director: Chia Ch'uan
Deputy directors: Wu Chu-wei, Lin Lang

BUREAU OF PUBLICATIONS
Director: Wang Shou-t'ung
Deputy directors: Chang Hsing-ch'i, T'ao Wen-yuan, Ch'ang Tao-chang

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241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [175] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

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NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK (UNIT: 1,000 HEAD)(CHINA HAND BOOK-1937-1945, TABLE 22. p.442)

	PROVINCES	OXEN	HORSES	MULES	DONKEYS	GOATS	SHEEP	HOGS	CHICKENS	DUCKS	GEESE	WATER BUFFALO	TOTAL
1942	NINGHSIA	14	8	4	31	106	186	34	175	6	2	...	566
	CHINGHAI	35	32	24	44	224	367	79	250	3	3	1	1,062
	KANSU	583	96	94	536	1,378	2,459	760	2,431	165	43	11	8,556
	SHENSI	839	84	113	256	...	277	751	2,558	158	16	2	5,054
	TOTAL												15,238
1943	NINGHSIA	14	4	3	34	93	159	30	187	8	2	...	534
	CHINGHAI	36	26	28	50	155	274	55	192	5	1	...	822
	KANSU	626	115	112	565	1,495	2,594	663	2,545	145	34	5	8,899
	SHENSI	887	89	112	239	340	245	740	2,688	150	15	7	5,512
	TOTAL												15,767
1944	NINGHSIA	28	8	5	57	140	234	41	176	9	3	...	701
	CHINGHAI	43	36	26	42	170	211	51	139	9	2	2	731
	KANSU	623	138	105	594	1,522	2,768	614	2,470	116	28	2	8,980
	SHENSI	808	83	114	254	313	203	669	...	120	13	6	2,583
	TOTAL												12,995

[P.645-A]

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427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T.H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PREFACE

000 THE following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

114 We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

000 This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

• 176 721 Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919-1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

175 settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of 721 conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has survived many vicissitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

249 The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

2: Teichman [illegible] (1916) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

000 Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few
175 hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

487 Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li,
764 still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us
175 suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand
487 years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village
133 of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess
361 plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

133 From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this
487 road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

797 missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

175 Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated 669 a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted 563 still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

635 The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in 563 the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

487 494 175

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

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Tu ren

quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn (or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A.D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chronicles. 563 173

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1) 167 175 563

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

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167 Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning
175 of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably al-
563 ways pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam-bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu.

The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan
162 bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred
563 families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in
175 between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also
563 belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples
175 which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession

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of Hsining, Niem be hsien and their surroundings. But it seems doubtful to me that they played the leading rôle in the Hsi Hsia kingdom- as a Liu tu se, a prince of the Tu ren told me. It seems to me that for this their dwelling places were too far south. The destruction of the Hsi Hsia kingdom, like the conquest of the Chinese Sung kingdom by Genghis Khan and his descendants did not bring about an extermination and expulsion of peoples, because the assault of the Mongols from the Altai with its relatively small /249/ forces could only cause dynasties to fall and cities to be plundered, but could not replace or destroy whole nations. 563 175

Sanan Setsen, in his history of the East Mongols tells us that Yen ta (Altan Gegen Khan) in his drive into East Tibet at the end of the sixteenth century, made war on the "Schara Uigur" who lived here, and captured several of their aristocrats. But these Schara or yellow Uigur (Igh'or) are none other than the "Hor" of Tibetan history and the old "Tu ku hun" (Tu yü hun).

As far as the above-mentioned Nan ding wang kingdom is concerned, of which the Tu ren spoke, it is probably the kingdom of An ting or Ngan ting which was said to have been located between Kanchow and Hsining. During the Yüan dynasty Buyin Timur, an imperial prince was set up as king there. After the Mongols were driven out of China his descendants were able to maintain themselves for a while as hereditary princes who were recognized by the Ming emperors. However, their subjects seem to have been largely Tibetans. When the northeast Mongol Ibula came, part of the An ting people fled to Scha tang tschuan east of Wei yüan bu. In the Ming period the military districts of An ting wei (Ngan ting), A duan wei, Tschu hsien wei, and Han-tung wei belonged to Hsining, while Tsche dschin wei and Scha tschou belonged to Suchow. Under "Nan ding wang" the city of Wei yüan bu was said not yet to have existed.

When the Tu ren maintain that their national hero defeated Hoang tsch'ao we are reminded of the great "Schah to Turk" (?) Li (Schah to is the steppe in the northwestern part of Kalgan). According to Wieger, Textes historiques, Vol. 3, Hoang tsch'ao was one of the most blood-thirsty conquerors in the entire bloody history of China. He laid

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waste 879 cantons and ravaged the capital city of Tschang ngan (Hsingan fu) so that only Szechwan was left to Emperor Hi tsung. In his extremity he turned to prince To pa se kung from Hsia tschou, whom the historians sometimes speak of as a Turk and sometimes as a Tibetan. He had before that himself risen up against the emperor, but obeyed the emperor's summons in view of the expected booty and in the year 884 destroyed the rebel Hoang tsch'ao. As a mark of gratitude he was accepted into the imperial family. The Tang emperors descended from a Li family and for this reason the rescuer was henceforth also called Li or Li ko yung (Li K'eue young, according to Wieger). Besides, he received the title of duke of the land of Hsia. The descendants of this Li later became rulers of the kingdom of Tsinn in Shansi and, according to Wieger and de Mailla, they made themselves emperors of China with the dynasty title of Hou Tang (later Tang, 923-936) with their residence in Lao Yang (Honan).

Inasmuch as Chinese sources maintain that the Tang hiang prince by the name of To pa Sse Kong of Hia tschou helped the Chinese in 881-884, Devéria, L'écriture du Royaume de Si hia ou Tangout (Hsia Hsia), believes that the kings of Hsia Hsia kingdom who are said to be descended from this man, are also Tibetans, assuming with Klaproth that the Tang hiang people are Tibetans. But later on, he himself says that, according to Chinese sources, the title To pa which was applied to the Hsi Hsia kings means that they descended from the Sien pi. He says that the Sien pi who founded the Wei dynasty in the year 386 A. D. were formerly regarded as Tatars.

Tu ren of Wei yüan bu and their present-day Li Tu se told me that they were descendants of this To pa Li ko yung and the Hsi Hsia kings. Now, they are surely not Tibetans but Mongols, and ethnographically they show various peculiarities of both. Therefore, I cannot regard it as impossible that they stem from the Hsien be (Sien pi). In that case the Hsi Hsia kingdom could have been a Hsian be dominion and the strange, hitherto undecipherable language which has remained of this kingdom would have to be Mongolian or Tungus. Since to this day among the Chinese many things are done "ts'a bu do," i. e., "approximately," I do not

regard the old Chinese assertion that Hsi Hsia was a "Tanggut kingdom" and Tibetan as conclusive. (With the word "Tanggut" the Mongols of Koko Nor mean only Tibetans nowadays, but it is not known since when this has been done.) 563 175

/249/ The thing that strikes a stranger most when he comes to Wei yüan bu and to these Tu ren is the dress and the head-wear of the feminine population. Even in these regions in which the eye is certainly used to many daring color combinations, the feminine mode of Wei yüan bu is conspicuous for its particularly bright colors (Plate LII). The Tu ren women wear one or two cotton jackets next to their bodies, and these, just as with the Chinese, take the place of our chemise; they also wear two pairs of trousers which are rather wide and open at the bottom and not tied at the ankles as is the case with the men. The one pair is bright red, the other indigo. Over this they wear a rose red skirt which, however, is made more like a long apron and is split in the middle from top to bottom; in other words an article of clothing with no visible function. Over this is worn the most important part of the dress, a Tibetan caftan which is closed at the side and reaches about down to the calves. /250/ This caftan is sewn out of blue cotton material and in the winter when it is very cold it is padded. At the hips it is held together by a red wool belt from which hang three towels, a green one, a white one and a red one. But this by no means satisfies the clothing need and above all the love of color of the Tu ren women. The upper part of their bodies is also covered with a blue cotton jacket with wide sleeves which are sewn together with horizontal strips of green, red and blue cloth and on which are fastened black, yellow, etc., ribbons and bands. On their feet they wear cloth boots that are colorfully stitched all over and the legs of which reach to the calves. And on their head sits a fashion structure of the most grotesque forms and proportions. It consists of a more or less large hood, depending on the tribe and the valley around Wei yüan bu from which the person comes, with huge orange-colored tassels, with a center piece resembling a saddle from which hang brass buckles that widen out at the bottom (Plate LV). Altogether there are thirteen variations of this headgear. As a non-professional in hat styles, I noted particularly three kinds which I collected and photographed. Among the Tu gu h'ung women the headdress consists of a metal trident which sticks out from their blue-black hair, and 563 291

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The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

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The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

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We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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of the middle territory, which was quite different from that of the Ming emperors who confined themselves to the rule within China itself and were usually glad when they kept control of the wealthy places within the present-day 18 provinces, by modernizing the "great walls" and in general by extensive brick masonry. Hardly had they pacified the old kingdom, when they were already bent on extending their supremacy to the rest of the east and central Asiatic peoples, at least of the mainland. Emperor Kang hi (1662-1723) - as I already mentioned among other things, on p. 176 of Vol. I - had already got mixed up in the disputes between the West (Ölöt) and East Mongols (Khalkha). After the overthrow and death of the West Mongol (Ölöt or Dsungari prince) Galdan (1697) - who bore the secular name of Buschuktu Khan - his nephew, Tsewang Rabdan, became the ruler of all the Kalmuk tribes and lands between Hami in the East and Kokand in the West. Spurred on by the unrest in Lhasa, this Tsewang Rabdan got the idea of conquering Tibet and gaining influence over the entire Lamaistic church and thus over all Mongols. In the winter of 1716-17 he quietly and secretly sent Tserengdondob with 6,000 men through the Lob desert and across the Tschang tang to Lhasa and another division to the Koko Nor. Kang hi decided first of all to protect Hsining and the Koko Nor against an /146/ attack of the Dsungarian Ölöt, for Kang hi had not immediately learned that Tserengdondob had been sent out to distant Lhasa to make a sudden attack. Kang hi feared that Tserengdondob would join forces with the lamas and the Mongol king at that time, military ruler and protector of lamas at Lhasa, Latsang, who was the greatgrandson of the Khoshot and Kalmuk Gushi Khan (page 311, Vol. I) and that they would band together and attack the Gum bum monastery. But when Latsang (Lhabzan: 1704-1717) was asked for help against Tserengdondob, Kang hi again immediately interfered. the troops gathered around Hsining were ordered to march on Central Tibet and Lhasa.

This imperial advance began in the spring of 1718 under the Manchurian officers Sereng and Erentai with 10,000 men including 6,000 auxiliary troops of the Koko Nor Mongols. They crossed the Tung tien Ho (Yangtze Kiang) in the vicinity of Chu Mar rabwden and reached the shore of the upper Salwen or Nag Chu. Meanwhile, after a preliminary indecisive clash between Latsang and Tserengdondob, an influential Ölöt lama had gone over to Tsereng, the Central Tibetan auxiliaries of King Latsang had renounced their old master and scattered to their homes, Lhasa was stormed, the castle of Potala had fallen as a result of treachery, King Latsang was killed in a sortie,

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his family fled to Tsaidam, and all Tibet lay at the feet of the Dsungari. Sereng and Erentai were besieged for weeks on the Salwen by the Dsungari and their Tibetan friends and shot at from entrenchments. Their provisions and arrows gave out. Only a short message from this division and the announcement that Erentai had been shot through the forehead in a sortie reached the ears of the Emperor.

The state council in Peking thereupon decided that further undertakings against the western lands of Tibet were to be abandoned because the war was too costly and difficult. However, Kang hi was not so easily diverted. He probably already saw the rise of a Kalmuk kingdom, uniting all Lamaistic peoples. From the city of Ta tsien lu which had already become Manchurian in the last decade of the 17th century, first Litang and then Batang were cautiously occupied in 1719, whereupon the nearest abbots of the monasteries of Draya (Tschamdun Dschraya) and Tsiamdo, which lie on the road to Lhasa, volunteered submission. In the spring of 1720 there was a simultaneous advance from Batang and Hsining on Lhasa. As a result of the enterprising spirit of a general named Yo tschung tschi, 800 (!) Manchurian banner troops coming from Batang stood outside of Lhasa within four months. But the northern expedition (from Hsining) was the decisive one; many Mongols from the Koko Nor joined it, as well as the bLobzang sKalbzang Dalai Lama, the seventh incarnation (or the sixth official Chinese incarnation). After short battles with the Dsungari Kalmuk who had been deserted by the Tibetans at the mere news of the arrival of sKalbzang Dalai Lama, Tserengdondob escaped to the north and fled back to Ili to Tsewang Rabdan with only a few followers left. The Manchu not only entered the Potala in the rôle of liberators from the spoils-loving Kalmuk, but they also (from Hsining) enthroned the sKalbzang Dalai Lama in the presence of countless Mongolian and Tibetan princes.

This sKalbzang Dalai Lama was not installed immediately after the death of the last Dalai Lama in Lhasa. In the year 1706 Latsang Khan who, as a descendant of Gushi Khan, still held the military high command in Central Tibet, had had the Tsang byang Dalai Lama killed because he grew up to be a dissolute fellow who disregarded the laws of the Gelugbu. In his place he had proclaimed a young monk Nawang Yishi to be Dalai Lama, who was 25 years old and into whom not the soul, but at any rate the "spirit" of the murdered one was supposed to have wandered. This explanation of Latsang Khan was believed by only a few people and Latsang thereby lost all respect among the Tibetans, in fact, Tserengdondob's expedition was the result.

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Soon after (1708), a new reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, in other words of a second god, was discovered in the principality of Litang, and this child, the same sKalbzang, was, at the age of two, brought from Litang to the Gum bum monastery by the princes of the Koko Nor, all of whom were not in accord with Latsang's theory, in order to safeguard the child against Latsang's persecutions and so that they themselves would gain influence.

Bringing the sKalbzang Dalai Lama to Lhasa was an excellent chess move of the Emperor Kang hi. It brought complete success. At first 3,000 banner troops were left in Lhasa, (later the number was reduced to 1,000) in order to protect the city from a new /147/ invasion of Tsewang Rabdan and Tserengdondob. For some time troops were kept on the Yangtze Kiang, which had come from Hsining and had first served to cover the supply columns during the journey of the Dalai Lama. From Szechwan only the main road through Ta tsien lu, Batang, Tsaimdo, La ri (Lharigo) had been occupied as military relay road for Lhasa; only this road became Chinese. The lands to the right and left remained in the hands of the officers and monks of the Dalai Lama who had been sent from Potala and the newly-installed King bSodnam. Now when the Koko Nor Mongol Lobzang Dandsin had rebelled (see pp. 312 and 313, Vol. I) and when in the year 1732 General Ta ai suppressed the uprising mentioned in Vol. II, pp. 20 and 21, fn. 1, the Hsining Chinese again came from the north across the Yangtze Kiang and their General Ta ai established the Yü schu in the year 1733. Tibetan taxes which before that were paid to the Mongols, henceforth flowed into Manchurian hands. At that time there were 40 "Na tribes" with 8,400 independent families, 100 of which were required annually to pay a horse apiece as tax. The Tibetan aristocrats received patents as ts'ien hu, be hu and be tschang (Tibetan: be tschen), which Emperor Yung Tscheng confirmed. The kingdoms of Dergi, Hor, Dyarong, Ardschün, etc., remained untouched by these events. They were only later overcome diplomatically by way of Ta tsien lu, and affixed to Se Szechwan (see in this connection the Scheng wu dyi, the book of wars of the Manchu dynasty as well as Haenisch, T'oung Pao, Vol. XII).

T 631 [65]

As in the rest of Tibet the community or village elders (Tibetan: rGam bo) are subordinate to the tribal chiefs (be hu, be tschen, hum bo, dbon). The be hu levy taxes on their subjects in the form of sheep, barley, tea, butter, and salt. However, the rgam bo does not have this right. He is usually merely freed from taxes. By far the greatest part of the taxes goes from the be hu directly to the lamas

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361 the captain was not irritated by this and saw the funny side of everything. Among the many yarns with which he spiced our feast I remember the story of a hsien who, in response to an official inquiry from Lanchow the previous summer, whether to his knowledge there was ore to be found in the district, did not hesitate for a moment to reply in the affirmative. Then, when a visit from a Belgian engineer hired by the government was announced, he quickly had a smelting oven erected and his ore-bearing rocks treated. At night when the engineer was asleep iron in hundred-pound lumps was added and a very good product achieved. The Belgian's poor opinion of the rocks was belied by the masses of iron which flowed from the furnaces of the hsien. Thus the mandarin soon obtained capital from the viceroy's strong box to open up a large foundary. By the time his term of office expires he can report to Lanchow that the iron mine caved in or suddenly gave out, and he can also count on the fact that meanwhile his superiors have changed office and the matter has been forgotten in the official documents.

•175 361 The old city of Tao tschou is today still an exclave of China in the Tibetan Amdo country. Round about it Tibetan farmers cultivate the fields. But more than 2,000 years ago in what was then Tao tang Chinese were already much more deeply entrenched than they are today. They pushed on following the loess and the soft red, the quatä clay, and, defying the amazing altitude, laid out their terraced fields and built quite a number of settlements at 3,000 meters. There was here a strong frontier guard against the peoples of the west before the latter were split up and when their forces were still intact. /304/ Around Tao tschou, just as in front of the big wall in North Shansi, crumbled square towers of loess rise over the land; a widely ramified net of beacons joined all posts. Even the simplest Chinese of today realize that they are interlopers. Farmers tell how, long before, they came from down below, from the province of Anhwei. However, none of them can say when his family was transplanted thither; nor would he say even if he knew, because they were exiles. In the old chronicle of the city of Tao tschou the reasons for the earlier advance and later retreat are said to be given, but the book containing the records of the district was destroyed by flames along with the plates in one of the many Mohammedan rebellions around the middle of the 19th century. In the Sui and Tang periods (589-907) there was a large city farther up in the west. Two kilometers farther east there was a second city wall and seven kilometers farther, down below on the right bank of the Tao Ho, lay the fortress of Yang ba tsch'eng,

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formerly known as Sche bu tsch'eng (city with the stone entrenchment). All three are today in ruins. In the last-named I found copper pennies dating from the Tang period, of Emperor Hsüan (Yüan) Tsung (713-756) with the inscription Kai Yüan (713-742). There I also saw an octagonal stone monolith inside remnants of a wall of stamped loess which today encloses only a small farm and potato fields. The inscription on the red sandstone says that during the rule of Tien bau (742-756) the Tibetans, the tu fan, conquered and destroyed the city, but that the Chinese, after a 30-day siege, again gained possession of it on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in the eighth year of the rule of Tien bau. General Li scheng was obliged to take the city within three days, otherwise he would have been beheaded. The district was at that time subject to the inspection of Ho tschou in Lung yu, one of the 15 provinces which the kingdom had at that time. (1)

1. Sche bu tsch'eng which is also mentioned in histories of China written by Europeans, as for instance in De Mailla and Wieger, must have been a Tibetan stronghold from the beginning. Its situation is economically too unfavorable that it could have been founded by Chinese. The right or southern bank of the Tao ho is at that point too cut up and is besides even today largely covered with forests. The river looks almost as though it had slid off the red clays that form the mountains at the city of Tao tschou and been pushed south into the Perm sandstone mountain range. There is room for only a few fields in its vicinity and no trade route comes by there. The river winds its way with difficulty between the rocks; it is 65 meters wide and, at an acute angle, washes against a narrow almost perpendicular rock and knife-sharp vertical slabs of slate, against which the fortress stands. Beside it a small level space was enclosed by a wall which ran from the rock to the river. Only this short stretch of wall consisting of loess-loam fortified with pile work, was vulnerable and might have proved fateful for the defender.

The conquest of Sche bu tsch'eng in 749, which was mentioned on the monolith, falls into the brief period during which the South Tibetans from Lhasa succeeded in uniting the chieftains who were always at odds. It was the time when Srong btsan sgam bo (617-698) had created a dangerous empire not only for the Tu ku hun (the ancient

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Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

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If the superiors of the high command in the Tawo war[1] had spoken the forceful language with which Li sheng[2] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text. / /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

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[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 481 — Analyst] [2] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492-4]

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

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N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
62 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S
[613] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[554] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken N [197] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a N 563 794 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among 177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and 184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; *arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"*
179 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[292] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[293] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
794 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
[798] caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[346] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
794 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
795 division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 563 668 177

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

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HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 1. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

S 635 [131] [6] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

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In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 175 487 S 175 487

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

N 315 new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the
S [315] exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been consid-
erably increased in the last two years. At a conference on pet-
N 315 roleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of
648 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the
177 development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been
working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil
experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian
Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method
of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD
Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given
315 by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological
654 surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most
inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment
in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times
more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were
planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work
on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by
thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral
reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in
drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological
Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago
315 at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-
Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China
National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu.
At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near
Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of
N the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations ex-
[133] tend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages
are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have
N been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts
[433] to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent
S paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more pro-
315 mising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range.
[648] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foot-
[433] hills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its
current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some
new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other
parts of the province.

N Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have
315 been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China
S with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West
[315] Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have
been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

N [177] N [233]

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

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Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nan̊-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'up-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-l m-na-de-bar-tyŏ-chig

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As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

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The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

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The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

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A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and :h'ŭ. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɳ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [199] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kolonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

*563 [77] 195

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 241 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetan are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
184 nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.
[651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the
[361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit
[162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
177 that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

• 177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
[181] the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
*563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group, they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda * [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 * 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with • [177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 177 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

*563 538 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 532 C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the [177] first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on [992] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. [992] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The [777] brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting de- [291] signs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

*563 535 far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

*563 535 536 796 It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church, given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

536 *668 • 177 The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Communist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

*[175] Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

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among those who promoted this movement during the earlier war years was Ting-ling (see General Handbook), whose dramatic team was particularly active before army audiences. Further impetus was derived from the foundation of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts, which also had a drama department. Ts'ao Yü and Ma Chien-ling are two of the more frequently produced authors.

The whole movement was streamlined, however, only in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on the "Problems of Art and Literature" (see General Handbook). The directive given therein to link up artistic activities with popular traditions was followed and, at least in name, the yang-ko movement gave contour and direction to the dramatic arts from then on. The yang-ko, literally "rice sprouting song," was a widespread and popular form of dance, songs—frequently antiphonies—and simple thanksgiving plays in the rural areas. Again the discovery of the usefulness of this tradition for contemporary propaganda purposes was not of Communist priority; it had been used in similar ways in the Ting-hsien experiment.

Very little but the name remained of the popular yang-ko tradition under Communist moulding. Most of their propaganda plays for rural and army consumption, whatever their topics and whatever their form, were called yang-ko. The number of so-called yang-ko pieces composed and produced in Yenan is legion. The most famous of them is, of course, "The White-Haired Girl," the libretto for which was written in early 1945 by members of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts (see General Handbook).

Other playwrights, particularly Ma Chien-ling, developed the regional style of the traditional opera, the so-called ch'in-ch'iang, into an instrument of Communist propaganda. Ma's first play in this tradition is called "Bloody Enmity," and was written in 1943, the enemy being the Kuomintang and not the Japanese. His second play, entitled "Everybody is Happy," was written in early 1944. Its topic is the conversion of an opium smoker and lazybones into a useful and productive member of the rural masses. This was followed in 1946 by the play called "Save the Peace," which is put into the take-over situation after the Japanese surrender, and in which the conversion of Kuomintang soldiers is the main topic; and in 1947 by the play "The Hate of the Poor People," a civil war play in which the objects of hate are, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, the "feudalistic" gentry and American "imperialism." It is worthy of note that at that early date the Communists came out into the open with their anti-American slogans in a context in which they believed themselves to be, and were, unobserved.

The appeal of casting propaganda plays in the opera style was

536 strong for several reasons. Not only was the entire population
*668 familiar with this style to the point of knowing from memory a
• 177 large repertory of traditional plays; the splendor of the costumes, falsetto singing and accompanying acrobatics were features in which any audience rejoiced. For that reason not only the local theatre style but also the Peking opera were cannibalized. An Institute of Research on the Peking Opera was founded at Yenan, the function of which was to remould classical operas along Communist propaganda lines. Particularly plays in the tradition of the great novel, Shui-hu (All Men Are Brothers), lend themselves to this type of recasting.

538 The story-teller's tale was also adapted to contemporary
*668 use. Perhaps the most famous of Communist epics in this style
177 is the story of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which was written at Yenan in 1945 by Li Chi. The author is not a poet, but has won himself a name as a Communist theorist since the 1920's. He makes use in this story of the rather freely modulated and crudely rhymed seven-beat line of the popular ballad for a story in which the landlord, who is a bloodhound as well as a lecher, is finally disposed of by Communist soldiers.

Another author who worked in this genre is T'ien Chien. His "Song of the Carter," written in 1946, tells the story of an oppressed, poor peasant who, after having received indoctrination from Eighth Route Army people, succeeds in organizing peasant resistance against landlord oppression, and in the course of this action also gains the allegiance of his sweetheart.

After 1949, the Shen-Kan-Ning region lost its leading place in literature and the arts to the major cities, particularly Peking. The general trend, however, developed during this period and remained influential in all later production (see General Handbook).

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[179] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chŏr-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[876] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next [854] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[179] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery [179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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658 The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in
871 lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to estab-
• 100 lish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In
*563 Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the
importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the
S number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:
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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

S According to another source, the schools were mostly es-
871 tablished and operated by the cultural associations of various
563 nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

S
[162] Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

(872) (563) The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

+668 The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

• 197 "It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

871 rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it
*668 with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-
• 177 school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

[212] Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

873 In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün
*668 Art College were their major institutions of higher learning.
177 During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

III. The Communist Period

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A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.
877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
*668 way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
177 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.
577 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.
• 177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
177 a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
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Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
177 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

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*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
177 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
874 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
*[563] The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

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873 874 *668 179 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 *668 179 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. [114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. [875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education).

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The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
• 177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

5 In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
177 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

S N 795 785 796 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

203 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 796 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 788 778 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

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N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 778 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

228 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
716 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

N 771 182 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

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S 771 795 [575] Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

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A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
• 177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
* 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.
S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.
S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
[635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

N 795 *668 • 177 S 795 668 177

ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

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Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In
648 April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from
* 668 forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce
• 177 the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations,
793 they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist
798 the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has
* 668 been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist
177 regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to
798 become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted
*668 the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the
• 177 enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism,
795 not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslave-
648 ment of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May
*668 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The
177 American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in
795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had
*668 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination
177 over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples
641 of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official
*668 documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Com-
177 mon Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
• 177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
798 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
*668 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
177 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

795 Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
182 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
(669) tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

S 795 798 668 177 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

S [648] [669]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

N 795 792 *668 177 B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N 795 792 *563 *668 177 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
*563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
*668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
• 177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
*668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

795 C. The Fate of Christianity
798 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
*668 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
177 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
[797] communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
*668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
177 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
798 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

795 number of parishes, religious life went on without major inter-
#668 ference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the
• 179 Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and
798 Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.

2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.

3. Avoid making martyrs.

4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.

5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.

6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.

7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

795 continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tri-
798 bunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading
• 177 through the city, were the methods most frequently used.
*668 In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily; and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan, Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

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PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
+668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
• 177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

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Northwest(discounting wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers):

1. Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (Mass Daily) Sian, Shensi. This was the most important Communist Party paper in the Northwest during the period when the Northwest Greater Administrative Area was in existence. With the abolition of the Greater Administrative Area System in 1954, this paper merged with the provincial paper, Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily). Apparently the Ch'ün-chung jih-pao was built upon the material foundation of the former Hsi-ching jih-pao, the Nationalist Party paper. It delivered the official Party line to the party members as well as to the public of the Northwest.

2. Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily) Sian, Shensi. The Party daily in Shensi with a section on literature. After 1954, it absorbed the original Ch'ün-chung jih-pao.

3. Kuan-chung jih-pao (Kuan-chung Daily), Sian, Shensi. Apparently this is the paper of the local Communist Party in the area of central Shensi.

4. Nung-min pao (Farmers' News), Shensi. A local Party paper published for the peasants in Shensi.

5. Ching-chi k'uai-pao (Economic Express), Sian, Shensi. A paper with emphasis on economics but it has a section for literary work.

6. Ye-nan pao (Yenan News), Yenan, Shensi. A local Party paper in the former Red capital Yenan.

7. Lan-chou Kung-jen pao (Lanchow Workers' News), Lanchow, Kansu. First published on February 7, 1952, apparently by the local trade union, it is a four-page tabloid paper published once every three days.

8. Kansu jih-pao (Kansu Daily), Lan-chou, Kansu. The Party paper in Kansu. Published in Lanchou but its distribution is province-wide.

9. Kansu ch'ing-nien pao (Kansu Youth), Lan-chou, Kansu. An official organ paper of the Kansu provincial committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Published once a week since January 28, 1955.

10. Hsia-ho pao (Hsia-ho News), Hsia-ho, Kansu. The Party paper published by the Communist Party Working Committee in Hsia-ho county of Kansu. First published on April 10, 1952, it is a weekly four-page paper in Tibetan and Chinese.

11. Mu-min pao (Herder's News), the Mongol Autonomous chou, Kansu. A local paper in Mongolian for the Mongols in Kansu, a four-page paper published three times each month since January, 1955. According to the Communist reports, "in the past issues, much space has been devoted to reflect the pastoral people's production, life, and demand in the autonomous area. The newspaper devotes special columns to the study of Mongolian, to cultural and recreational life, and to favorite songs and tales."

N 204 *668 177 12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 *668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia.

S 204 668 177 Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 *668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 *668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet; guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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Hsin-hua pan Yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly) of March 21st.

One of the unconventional features of these papers is their special use of letters to the editors. These letters are not only published as a safety valve or to reveal public opinion, but are carefully planted "to consolidate the ties between the newspaper and the people." Another way to achieve this aim is the direct appointment of a large number of correspondents from among workers, peasants, students, PLA units and government branches. (Liu Tsun-ch'i, NCNA December 17, 1950.) Liu also hinted at the usefulness of keeping acquainted with constant shifts in the party line, a hint that was well understood and boosted the circulation of the papers.

In appearance these papers are generally very pleasing. Regular newsprint is used again and a clear print. Misprints are few. Starting from January 1, 1956, Shensi jih-pao has changed the setting of types from the traditional vertical lines into horizontal lines. The Sinkiang jih-pao and the Kansu jih-pao are also making preparations for this change.

II. Periodicals

Up to June, 1955, there were 305 different kinds of periodicals in Red China. Among these, 166 were nationwide. In the Northwest, the following magazines were most popular:

1. Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth)
2. Hsüeh-hsi (Study)
3. Shih-shih shou-ts'e (Handbook on Current Events)
4. Hsin-chung-kuo fu-nü (New China Women)
5. Kung-jen (Worker)
6. Hsin kuan-ch'a (New Observer)
7. Shih-chieh chih-shih (World Knowledge)
8. Wen-i-pao (Literature)
9. Jen-min wen-i (People's Literature)
10. Hsin chien-she (New Construction)
11. Jen-min hua-pao (People's Pictorial)
12. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao (New China Monthly), starting from January, 1956, it has been changed into Hsin-hua Pan-yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly).
13. Lien-huan hua-pao (Pictoral Stories)
14. Min-tsu hua-pao (Nationalities Pictorial)

(See China General, Public Information).

According to the advertisements in the local papers, these periodicals are available in the Northwest through the book stores.

Identifiable periodicals edited and published in the Northwest include the following titles:

1. Ch'ün-chung yin-yüeh or The Music for the Masses, edited and published by the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian.
2. Hsi-pei wen-i or Northwest Literature.

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3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

207 time of 19 1/2 hours per day. Now there are also programs in
*668 Uighur, Mongolian and Tibetan. The political program takes up
177 about 30% of the time; music, literature and drama take up about 60%; other items take up about 10%.

In 1951, the Communists claimed to have 73 People's Broadcasting Stations and the "monitoring net" had covered the whole country. There were 15,200 monitoring stations and monitoring cells, besides 14,260 independent monitoring units manned by one individual. How many of these were in the Northwest, was not reported.

Besides the broadcasts sent out from Peking, the main broadcasting stations in the Northwest are:

Name	Wave Length (kc.)
Northwest People's Broadcasting Station in Sian	8007
Sian People's Broadcasting Station	1280
Lanchou People's Broadcasting Station	7313, 1400
Hsi-ning People's Broadcasting Station	9900
Urumchi (Tihua) People's Broadcasting Station	7050

(Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952, p. 436)

These stations were not used to their full capacity. In 1952, Sian People's Broadcasting Station broadcast only three times a day, from 6:20 to 7:20, from 10:50 to 13:30 and from 17:20 to 22:00. On some days the morning broadcast was omitted. The following are sample programs:

July 2, 1952:

Noon:	12:00 - 12:30	Workers' period: Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the representatives of the workers of Sian celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Chang Yen-po, Deputy-Director of the Department of Organization of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Feng Li-shen, the Secretary of the Enterprise Committee.
	12:43 - 13:15	Songs
Evening:		
	17:45 - 18:00	Youth Period: Introduction to the movie "Sverdlov".
	19:00 - 19:30	Local opera of Mei-hsien and Hu-hsien, "Chao Hsiao-lan".
	19:45 - 20:20	Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Deputy Mayor Ch'en Shih-yü of the People's Government of Sian; Vice-Chairman K'ang Hsin-tsai of the Consultative Committee of the All City All Circle People's

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Representative M ·e'ing

20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:

Noon:

12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.

12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:

19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law

19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.

20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.

20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

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In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monit ring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
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[674] These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being constantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
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[207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
*[668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
•[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Ch'un-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem. 464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted *668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and • 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs N [789] medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [199] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. [272] The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton S 563 262 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef [272] for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the var- [146] ious food products. Although many might wish to improve their S N daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

648 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the
874 health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow
743 after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in
+668 the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Govern-
● 177 ment. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

N 744 *668 • 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N [759] The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N 743 *668 177 The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S 743 744 668 177 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of var ous nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

S
743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
668 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region
177 as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
N developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
657 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
177 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
• 177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innocu-
lation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans
have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's
Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from
other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

747 797 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary 747 797 736 organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The outstanding welfare contribution of the Catholics is their maintenance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 648 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

74 *668 • 177 From the information that we get from the Communist press and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the 745 *668 177 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

745 If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the
+668 workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of
• 177 how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

855 Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests
+668 on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Com-
177 munist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day
[736] time. Government orphanages were established as well, sup-
737 plementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however,
+668 do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since
177 they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
179 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [198] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 • 177 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 [562] The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 • 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime. [150]

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

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I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

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Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

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N 635 631 * 175 N *[668]

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

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II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N
*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

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*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
S
175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

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642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
•177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
178 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

*668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yenan, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

*668 • 177 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime

With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[167] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced, [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

*668 cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously
• 172 caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated.
[166] Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities

669 While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 • 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

N *668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
• 177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The
plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S [668] farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[177] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 35% of all
[474] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations

*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Türkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

S 668 669 648

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] [177] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[518] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

N
*668 one of the most important industrial areas in China for three
433 reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown
S great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent
668 out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports
433 of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Com-
[135] munist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second,
the geographical location of this area is such that it would be
the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic
N point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it
S
[177] would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting
technical aid from Russia.

S Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Com-
668 munists have paid special attention to the future development of
433 this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists
took over, there was very little industrial production. But in
1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to
New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts,
which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percent-
ages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production
accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts
accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of
1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be in-
creased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of
1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will
account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and
handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned
total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

665 the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

[797] The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic [177] priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials through- 205 out the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

1797 There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 494
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 796
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

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175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
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175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bük even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

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175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631
619 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
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175 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bük's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 241 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 596 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] [241] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eartern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted 563 233 361 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] [668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz [622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] [594] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
SN caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

#175 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to
[633] a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest
• [178] had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had
accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the
land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops
#175 to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces,
724 not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by
487 canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S N 635 186

between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

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The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816

The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648]

Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 12, 1956).

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B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	186,331,000

228 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[777] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

S 829 563

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

[178] [596] [614] [619] [701] [622] [554]

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N 829 *563 *668 177 [634] [242] S 829 563 668 177 [634] [242] S N [361]

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

N 829 *563 S 829 563

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [198] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 199 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
178 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

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leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places, a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were suspended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

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Kansu: In this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

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Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45.62 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

000 northwestern provinces during 1955.

S Thus, even from incomplete sources, the number of people
175 sent out to the Northwest came close to 30,000. Of this number,
668 the bulk were destined for Sinkiang. The influx of this horde of
166 Chinese into Sinkiang was to safeguard Chinese Communist inter-
N est and Chinese ascendancy prior to the granting of autonomy to
[175] the native peoples of Sinkiang. As early as the summer of 1953,
*[668] Burkhan had sought to prepare the ground for the invasion of the
[166] Chinese. In a speech, he said, "It has been due to the great help rendered by the Han Chinese cadres from other provinces and the People's Liberation Army during the past three years since the liberation that achievements of the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang in their construction work was possible. Therefore, after the enforcement of regional autonomy, autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres to take part in work." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

N C. Expansion of the Communist Party

*175 Along with the assignment of cadres to the countryside to
*668 carry out the work of collectivization and the transfer of workers
178 and cadres from China Proper to the Northwest, there was also an expansion of the membership of the Communist Party in the Northwest. The induction of men into the Chinese Communist Party and into its auxiliary, the New Democratic Youth League (Communist Youth League), had been active from the beginning of Communist rule. In 1950, out of the 3,600 national minority cadres trained in the short-term classes, 560 joined the Chinese Communist Party and 1,000 the New Democratic Youth League; in 1951, out of the 1044 graduates of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party Sub-bureau Cadre School, 88 joined the Communist Party and 726 the New Democratic Youth League.

In May, 1952, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued instructions to strengthen the work of party expansion, and ordered the directors of the Organization Departments of local party committees to convene and to work out methods for party expansion. "In rural areas where land reform has already been carried out, we must recruit more new party members and build up our party organizations so that we may vigorously promote mutual aid and cooperation of labor in production," stated a Central Committee directive (JMJP May 4, 1952). In 1954, the announcement of the General Line for the transition of the state to socialism brought a further acceleration of the work of party expansion.

Shensi: From June, 1952 to the end of 1954, a total of 3,625 basic level (hsiang) party branches were established, increasing the number from 60 per cent to 86 per cent, and 36,833 new members recruited. Up to the end of 1954, the majority of the new

*175 party members were from the urban areas. In 1954, 4,000 work-
• 178 ers were admitted into the party, a 14-time increase over 1953,
*668 and in the city of Sian, 40 per cent of the new members were workers. However, the bulk of the party men were in the government where they made up 23.6 per cent of the administrative personnel. In 125 factories, mines, and government enterprises there were no party branches, and in 63 industrial units there were no party members.

*175 In the rural areas of Shensi, up to March, 1955, less than 0.6
178 per cent of the party members were farmers. Of the 845 hsiang
*668 in Shensi, 156 had no party members and in 15 per cent of the
474 agricultural producers' cooperatives, notably those in Yenan (the old Communist capital), Han-ch'eng, and An-kang, had no party members. In the remaining 85 per cent of the cooperatives, the only party members were the members of the cooperatives and heads of the mutual aid teams. In Yenan Administrative District,
[476] for example, out of the 106 new members inducted into the Communist Party in 1954, 82 were members of the agricultural producers cooperatives and 24 were heads of mutual aid teams, and in Ch'ang-an county, 93 per cent of the 358 new party members were from the cooperatives.

*175 The focus of attention during 1955 was the recruitment of
*668 party members from the factories and from the farms. Out of the
178 38,300 new party members to be recruited in 1955, 28,000 were to be from the rural areas, 5,600 from the factories, 3,300 from government agencies, and 1,400 from the schools. In the first batch of 6,000 new members recruited in spring of 1955 included 4,000 model farmers and 1,200 model factory workers. The total party members up to March, 1955 was 95,000.

Kansu: Party organization was stronger here than in Shensi. In 1954, 3,400 "advanced" peasants joined the party and there was a total of 3,938 rural party branches in 70.54 per cent of the hsiang. 16,200 party members held positions in the cooperatives and mutual aid teams. In 1955, 20,000 new members were recruited, and plans call for the recruitment of 120,000 Chinese Communist Party members and 480,000 New Democratic Youth League members by 1958.

Chinghai: By the end of 1954, there were 3,121 party mem-
* [563] bers in Chinghai, 732 of whom were recruited from the 3,471 national minority cadres. Out of the 190 cadres trained in the Shun-hua Salar Autonomous Area, 61 joined the Communist Party. Since it was reported that there were party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang, party leadership is spread very thin. Of the three thousand party members in Chinghai, only 93 native party members were employed in party headquarters, and 865 assigned to rural areas. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were at the end of 1955, 9,328 members.

625 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However,
*668 in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight
178 against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to
political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major
section in the internal organization of the police offices. To
673 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes
*668 can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered
sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

3. Committee of residents

625 In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also
*668 organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

> 1)...Arresting and rugning over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.
>
> 2)...Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but...have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.
>
> 3)...Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but...have no power to

*668 533 545 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing, We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16, August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 536 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine. The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 178 VII. Conclusion

A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

The situation resembles an
#668 old Chinese story which was translated recently by the Chinese
198 Communists:
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"There was a man who made shields and spears. 'Buy my shields,' he would say. 'They are very strong. Nothing in the world can penetrate them!'
He also lauded his spears, saying: 'My spears are the sharpest in the world. They are so sharp they can pierce anything!'
One day someone asked him: 'If we use one of your spears to pierce one of your shields, what then?'
The man from the land of Chu could find no answer." (China Reconstructs, December, 1955, p. 23.)

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 377 256 288 399 237 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 N 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [289] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N [433] in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output N [433] is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

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The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

Table IX. The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

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II. The Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

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A. Changes in Volume and Kind

As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage. The following changes, however, may deserve special attention: First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in December 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lanchou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been improved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

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*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

668 78 133 315 [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yüimen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 198 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

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C. Civil Aviation

*668 509 [473] [648] *[195] The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 489 433 The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest *668 489 499 178 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old *668 491 648 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways. *668 648 509 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention *668 489 433 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness

70 percent. Otherwise infant mortality in China is figured at only 50 percent. And yet even here Chinese culture is gaining the upper hand. "Rdya sche sdong luch!" (If today you kill a hundred, tomorrow there will be a thousand to take their place!). Thus speak the Tibetans of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese. In order to maintain itself a vigorous race does not need the protection of European hygiene! 165

. /85/ "What sea is it from which ever to be freed is so very difficult?" 600
"It is the cycle of rebirth in the three worlds, in whose mighty tide of suffering we are tossed about."
/Saying of bLobzang sKalbzang the seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1758) at an examination. /

CHAPTER XIII
A New Journey

"So you say you've been in Tibet! And were you in Lhasa? Did you meet Sven Hedin there? - or did you at least see the Dalai Lama?" These are the three things that cultivated Germans generally want to know from someone who has been in Tibet.

It was therefore my good fortune that I was attacked and forced to return to Hsining. In that way I at least saw one of the three important things of Tibet, the Dalai Lama.

It was the end of November when I rode down to Lanchow fu in order to fetch from there extra instruments and, above all, silver. The European colony in that city had meanwhile grown astonishingly; there were ten of us, including children. Belgian mining engineers and chemists as well as a professor of textiles had just arrived from Europe through the help of Paul Splingaert, the one-time interpreter of F. v. Richthofen. Engineers of the German firm were also expected, who were to put up an iron bridge in place of the old pontoon bridge, this Central Asiatic wonder-of-the-world. A faint awareness of a new era had penetrated to the chief city of Kansu. Indeed, a few weeks before my arrival street lamps had been put up, the little salad-oil lamps of Laohokow, which, behind their paper shades gave just enough light so that one could make out the post on which they were placed. 178

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During the day a uniformed policeman stood beside them. The police force was also a new achievement.

Last but not least, a school had been organized for modern European subjects and languages - the charming English missionaries already called it a University. Two Japanese had just been engaged as teachers. Before I reached the city one of the pupils, a 25-year-old man, told me that ancient Chinese sciences which had long since been neglected, had been dug out of the attic, and that the Chinese would again begin to study more mathematics and engineering which were subjects that they had taught us Europeans several hundred years ago. We Europeans, he said, had pursued these studies, whereas the Chinese, because of the Manchu, had neglected them to some extent. "In Lanchow fu," he cried over and over again, "there is now a forest of schools and colleges."

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As soon as my financial affairs were straightened out I was again on my way to Hsining fu. In the upper part of the Hsining Ho Valley the road was in excellent shape. All the holes had been filled up and not a stone lay in the road. All this had been done for the Dalai Lama when he came from Urga. Inasmuch as not a drop of rain had fallen for months, /86/ the road was in the same good condition. Besides the stones, a great many temple gates containing images of gods, local idols and Chinese heroes had been removed. In fact, in the upper of the two chia of the Hsining Valley, that is in the narrow rock pass 25 li below the city, a terribly strong fortress wall many hundred years old, which blocked the road, was torn down in honor of the great Holy One.

However, I found the populace all along my journey to be in a state of anger over the Dalai Lama. The arrogance of his Tibetan horsemen knew no bounds. When a Chinese gate-temple did not come down quickly enough to suit them, the Tibetans promptly set fire to it and all its gods, and when the hsien of the city of Niembe came out to meet them dressed in his official clothes, they knocked him off his horse and beat him because he was responsible for this. In Lanchow, also, the inhabitants were by no means delighted with the Holy One. The fact that the Fan tse, the Dalai Lama who always traveled in a horsemen's sedan chair - that is, a sedan chair whose poles were carried by four horsemen, front and back - did not even alight in order to accept the greeting and kowtow of the tsung tu, the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, was exceedingly hard to bear for the Chinese. When he arrived in Hsining fu the Dalai

361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
597 the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly
133 welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

•178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

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and a few oil lamps in the main street. A dao tai li had made himself very unpopular with the population two years before because he wanted to force them to sweep the streets and because he numbered the houses. He aroused superstitious fear in doing so and it almost came to open rebellion. 178

Following the broad fertile valley of the Hsi Ho, one travels from Tsinchow at first for a few hours between rice fields and persimmon trees beneath which poppies are grown - Tsinchow was, before the war on opium, /327/ the center of opium-growing. In the afternoon we crossed over in a ferry to the northern shore of the Wei Ho (1,120 meters above sea level). Only a poor foot-path follows the course of the Wei River, and this serves the small amount of local traffic. The main road, a mule track leads over Tsing schui hsien with about 3,000 inhabitants (1) and 15 li from there to the east I 487 [349]

1. A day's journey farther to the north is the important and busy spot of Tschwang kia tschwan under the jurisdiction of the Tsing schui mandarin, in which only Hui hui live and in which the chief ahun of the entire region has his residence.

In the Tsing schui district I saw for the last time a veiled Chinese woman. The custom that a young woman wears a black face veil in the first years of her marriage if she shows herself in public, is as frequent in the district of Tsinchow as in that of Hsining fu. [56]

came out of the loess-covered clay mountains of the Tsinchow basin into granite and entered a tangled and lonely wooded mountain range which is connected with the Liu pan Shan and the mountain of Kung dung Shan (40 li southwest of Ping liang fu) to which pilgrimages are made. We soon lost our way completely in the ravines, had a wet bivouac in the woods and did not get to the large mule track and across the highest point on it, the Da kwan Shan pass (2,250 meters), for two days. From this high point we looked south across long, equally high ridges to the peaks, already snow-capped, of the Tsin lung range, while in the east we already saw the low-lying loess of the lower Wei Valley basin. I was now only a few hours from the commercial city of Lung tschou which is still 980 meters high, and soon one admires from below the mountain wall which extends in almost meridional direction from Tsin ling Shan to the Lo Shan, Niu tou Shan and Ala Shan and separates the present-day province of

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

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IV. Dominant Social Motives.

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The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who coogeratively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions, although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

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of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

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Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

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V Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

S N 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

S N 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

S N [668]

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

S N 563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

S N 563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

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563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
771 and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is
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181 rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as
[829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

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[635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively
[162] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

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181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided
166 into the following groups: the descendants of those who were
167 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

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181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile
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and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed
[812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

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The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in
[668] the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

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V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about [162] 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or: "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 791 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

*563 795 186 a. Chinese

The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

177 *563 628 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country. *563 628 167 177 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is *563 628 167 177 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, [181] especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 582 177 [591] The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a *563 177 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with
181 which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values
83 are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

121 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the
183 norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

121 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically,
183 custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as
• 181 matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group, they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

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128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda
* [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chi-
* 563 nese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with
[199] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N 563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

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S N 563 101 B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [197] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[197] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
•[181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] These appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
•[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[372] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cautious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
342 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
352 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
353 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 a. Virtue

181 Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived
577 from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 b. Etiquette

576 In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be
431 made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is
[822] considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living
[574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return
[554] visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
574 proaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection
576 from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they 32 had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 [701] [352] [276] The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable coverlets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 [186] While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 441 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

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181 436 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

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Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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S 563 642 643 79 19 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 179 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to ~~by~~ any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
565 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
829 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
668 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they
179 felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a (556) person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social-affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 *181 183 829 (674) About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
• 181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
184 speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-
speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race
different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group.
Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their
co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the
basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the
racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders
were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered
them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools
and learned the Chinese language they immediately become use-
ful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of
learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his
wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans
in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous
observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
*563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater
emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Con-
fucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become
almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course,
give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confu-
cian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the
Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possi-
bly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear
more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao
district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

the ground. This pine forest belongs to the monastery and nothing is T 346
permitted to disturb its peace. Hares and marmots in great numbers 351
have set up their homes here. No one is permitted[1] to hunt the animals T 825
for according to the lamaistic doctrine of the cycle of all living things, 775
it is possible that souls after death may be forced to assume the shape of an animal, that is, be reborn as animals because they did not withstand the temptations of this world. Thus, during their lifetime as human beings they did not achieve perfection and holiness, but retrogressed, and it is believed that these poor souls usually do not travel far but are reborn close at hand. An old priest showed me a marmot which had made its burrow near his house, and assured me in all seriousness: "This was my brother before he died. He was a priest of this monastery and had to assume this animal's body as a punishment for his transgressions."

I visited the Dunkur monastery on April 20, that is, on the twenty- T 543
eighth of the third Tibetan moon month, because on this and the following day a fair took place there and the people of the entire vicinity gathered there. People drank, prayed and amused themselves royally. Chinese from Dankar and Hsining had also come, but only as shopkeepers and owners of eating houses. The Chinese is attracted to the C [441]
Tibetan festivals not for religious reasons but for commercial reasons. The Chinese are not like the Tibetans, blindly trusting everything that the lamas say. To be sure, the Chinaman is also a Buddhist, and T
remarkably similar to the Tibetan in his faith as well as in his way of 186
life and customs; in fact, perhaps Tibetans and Chinese - especially C
when both are farmers - feel more kinship with one another than the 186
Chinese and Mohammedans who hate and scorn one another. But as far as character is concerned there is an enormous difference between Chinese and Tibetans even at the border. The Chinese is much more skeptically and critically inclined. He is conscious of being more highly civilized. Even the simplest Chinese farmer feels that he belongs to a privileged race and is a member of a great and rich state. But this higher level of culture has brought with it many cares which the Tibetan, the Fan tse, the barbarian, does not know. The Chinese C
is like the European, proud of thousands of minor things, all of which, 181
however, only plague him. The majority of Chinese, in their greater struggle for their daily bread, have forfeited a natural simplicity and guilelessness as compared to their neighbors. The Tibetans, especially the nomads, enjoy their pleasures far more. I never saw as many jolly faces at any of the Chinese festivals /282/ as I did at the fairs in Tibet. Indeed, the very love of color of these people and their various costumes make one's heart sing.

[1] [i.e., around the Dunkur monastery.—Analyst]

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

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S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society 182 in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in SN developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks 563 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in 795 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been 797 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only 668 true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern 563 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized 795 Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness. SN

As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it 563 can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. 795 However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the pa'impeest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendancy, and heir exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the
N disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.
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5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

175 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
121 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
● 182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

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1. Chou Dynasty

In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. During the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

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GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest
184 China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.
241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies.
233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is
182 mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

133 The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic. S N [589]

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
63 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
563 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried
592 children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
[848] to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young
[836] people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
[591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with
*563 their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
583 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
591 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
595 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
162 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
*563 tinuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability
593 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic
182 family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.

593 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[182] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
-84] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the
household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan
woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

3 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
12 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood neces-
sitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are prac-
tically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start
living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry
against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is
dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not
get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They
all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on
either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow
of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow
of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obliga-
tions from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived
from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either
may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by
themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal
chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power
and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family.
This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[987] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given
to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After
the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding
the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

71 195 [575]

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

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A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

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These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
78 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
68 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
77 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
795 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial
•182 groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
[669] tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 631 182 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 649 635 631 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 649 632 631 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 .3 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

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SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with
181 which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values
183 are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

124 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the
183 norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

121 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically,
183 custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as
181 matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group, they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

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128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda
* [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different
* 563 races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with
[199] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

S N 563 291 S N [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 979 984

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 979 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code, it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.
(556) Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 181 183 829 (674) About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

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563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
619 management between the various tribes of the Western
233 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
422 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

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[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[609] individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

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563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
177 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition

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[184] underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

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563 The Salars:
794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

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[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

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[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

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563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
177 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
44) characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
62) to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
272) tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
273) less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
563 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
794 caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[798] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be
[346] architectrally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are n a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
563 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
794 division over religious questions makes their unification a
795 difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

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GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

77 184 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.

24 233 182 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies. From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

B. Surface Features.

133 The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

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563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

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[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[197]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

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*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
• 184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

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*563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
621 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

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*563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
592 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
621 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
• 184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they".
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found [578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the [361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
77 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
565 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
423 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans [redacted] Chinghai/

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
[431] Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
585 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
[583] lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
[583] family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

*563 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
585 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
593 young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the
585 poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get
[184] married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders.
[586] Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however,
586 with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 769 592 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N *563 592 [796] [184] [593] At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N *563 796 184 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is

N *563 829 more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so

N [558] essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

S N 563 101 B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S [161] [192] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S N 563 181 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

*563 264 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 574 262 • 184 556 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 291 c. Clothing

Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. [556] Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

[556] No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 302 [184] Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

*563 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than
658 in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools
871 and students as of 1945 was as follows:
*175

Table 4

563 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945
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	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yin-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools 12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools 129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu
*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

871 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has
184 been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage
871 of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was
*175 appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 792 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[172] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[172] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 S disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
563
751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
S the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
164 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and 199 learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden- 621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza- 184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, cor. munal activity completely overshadows

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 *184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their [562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open dis- [157] content. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

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In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
681 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
184 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
674 punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
• 184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
614 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

*668 A. The System in General
625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

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487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense 492 procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no [491] cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

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563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

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563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

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563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

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563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[829] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

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563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South Chin	176,331,000

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631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
• 185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

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433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

S
N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The realization grew however that with regard to natural
653 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
312 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might
185 be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
114 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field
651 of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Gov-
ernment and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
• 185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
(656) tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma
648 Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the
669 Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense
(631) of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[70] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
185 during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[206] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[811] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
64 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley,
631 comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thou-
635 sand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this re-
• [185] gion he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

159 His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally
669 ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

159 Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the North-
631 west Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's
635 Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

159 Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

*668 A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to
631 the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

159 The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United
*668 Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

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AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

I. The Pre-Communist Period

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A. Introduction

Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power, its interest in the Northwest, as an area for economic development, has increased. The Communists feel that this vast region of 1,232,074 square miles, which is roughly one-third of the total area of China (3,657,765 square miles), offers unlimited opportunities for economic development. They claim that vast mineral deposits exist, that agriculture can be greatly expanded, and that the Northwest might serve as an outlet for some of the heavily populated sections of China Proper. Of China's total population of 582,605,000 million people, only 35,360,000 reside in the Northwest (Shensi: 15,881,000; Kansu and Ninghsia: 12,928,000; Chinghai: 1,677,000; and Sinkiang: 6,874,000). These figures are from the 1953 census report.

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Since 1949, the Communists have begun to develop this area as rapidly as their limited capital and technological resources permit. Though the development of agriculture is only one aspect of their program, it is the foundation on which Communist planning in the Northwest rests.

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B. Sinkiang

1. The geographical setting

Sinkiang is enclosed on the north, south, and west by mighty mountain masses and on the eastern side by wide stretches of barren plateau and is bisected by the lofty Tienshan, or Heavenly Mountains, which rise to heights of 23,000 feet and extend across the province from west to east, dividing the region into two unequal parts. The southern area, two-thirds of the whole, is the Tarim Basin, the land of oases and deserts. The northern part is Dsungaria, traditionally the land of the nomads. The total area of the province is about 600,000 square miles, or twice the size of Texas.

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In the Tarim Basin, named from the east flowing river of the same name, is one of the world's driest deserts, the Takla Makan, which at its lowest point is actually below sea level. Vegetation is almost non-existent, so that nomadism is impossible except on a few alluvial fans where water lies near enough to the surface to support grass. The average rainfall is less than four inches a year. Water comes from the mountains which fringe the desert on the north, west and south. From the melting upland snows and glaciers, rivers cut their way down to the central oval desert. Where each river leaves the foothills, men dig canals to spread the water out in a fan, forming an oasis, so that the edige of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases.

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313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

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A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricultural and livestock production of the Northwest throu h coopera- 474 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining 476 these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm 433 implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, 311 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of • 185 the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of *668 irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is 185 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the *668 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang 288 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this 439 way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-suffici- [248] ent in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

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2. Chinghai

*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all housholds.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69. 7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

*668 241 • 185 *175 Because Chinghai is a dry region and irrigation works are needed the Communists planned for 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) of land to be brought under cultivation in 1955. Five teams of irrigation workers arrived at selected places to help extend the area of irrigated land. The plan for 1955 involved improving the irrigation canals, servicing 4,600 hectares (11,367 acres), and the setting up of two pumping stations. The Communists claimed that by the end of 1954, fifty per cent more land was irrigated than before the "liberation."

*668 185 Chinghai's problems are similar to those that prevail in Sinkiang. Production plans are not fulfilled, especially those plans for oil bearing crops and the improvement of sheep breeds. This is supposed to reflect a lack of responsibility on the part of the cadres toward the State's plans but the real problem undoubtedly lies with the difficulties of intricate planning and the insufficient number of trained, skilled cadres. Excessive spending and waste were attacked and these were blamed on the weakness of ideological leadership. The report by Chang Kuo-sheng goes so far as to say that workers are honest and loyal but it is the cadres who still retain "bourgeois" thoughts, and are to blame. Thus, it appears that the peasants are not being criticized for planning and organizational defects for fear of antagonizing and isolating many of them from Communist rural organizations.

*668 185 241 It seems fairly self-evident that as the work of planning in the agricultural areas becomes more complicated and detailed in nature, the number of technicians will have to be increased. In addition to being skillful accountants, agro-technicians, etc., they will have to be ideologically trained so as to faithfully carry out the State's plans. The Communists, then, have a twofold job: to train members of the various nationalities to be technicians and at the same time to turn them into good Communists. The speed at which they are attempting to turn out a large number may mean poorly trained technicians. This will complicate and hinder agricultural planning even more.

*668 578 Hsijaochiatso, the Vice-Governor of Chinghai, delivered a speech on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress on the progress made in Chinghai, which differed greatly in content from other speeches given by nationality leaders of the various frontier regions of China. While most of the other speeches to the National People's Congress dealt with concrete advancements made in the nationality areas, Vice-Governor Hsijaochiatso's report was devoted largely to acts of sabotage and resistance to socialization in Chinghai. A quotation will serve to point this out. "Because we are carrying out our construction plans very satisfactorily, the enemy both within and without the country has resorted to mad acts of sabotage in various forms. Very recently, in some pastoral areas, the rumor spread to the effect that the organization of cooperatives in pastoral areas is a disguised form

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 • 185 433 [241] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be [313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing *668 185 [474] [241] the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

ooo So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
• 185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
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*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
• 185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
404 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[404] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. I hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
496 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the North-
499 west region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chi-ese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
491 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[399] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
[648] Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied
[439] by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N
*668 Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
185 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
433 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
[648] centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a major rôle in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 policy is enforced, further economic exploitation and construction
185 may be carried out, and more rapid and deliberate development of
433 communications may be forthcoming in this remote northwest area.

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before dark- 563
ness sets in.

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to 651
the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very 185
reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and
Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron
von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find
European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of
Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and
champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short [316]
day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by
means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical
school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge
built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city
of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably ex-
aggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province
is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a
large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry
out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in [436]
which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold
for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He there- [316]
fore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining conces-
sions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that
there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan,
borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the
rivers on the border.

It was in connection with this very program that I came into fre- 574
quent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay 524
in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which
the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner.
Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of
morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble,
filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very
difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese
and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter,
through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being.
Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the
course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574
was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people
were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

S N 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized S N [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in S N developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- S N ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation S N (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

000 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai,
N and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia
*175 was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of
635 the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between
S the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast
175 as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast
635 and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards
175 Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili
648 valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-
635 t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from
*175 Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward
648 to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu
635 Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although

S the political control over these frontier dependencies of
N Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually
635 by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in
162 relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S The annexation of these frontier territories to China has
N brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and
635 the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers.
● 186 Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced
[563] much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about [162] 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
797 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N
[648] The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N
*[668] When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S
[131] In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[181] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[197] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[191] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

S N 563 291 S N [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

S N 563 186 183

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 779 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 935 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a S N (798) united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [86] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc., of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

The Han River is of course the main artery of communication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

5: Tafel--421 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

197
563

I eat -	wu tschilarä
bread -	borzordeno
Buddha -	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha -	Yerech'tuch' te
tea -	dya
teacup -	aira
sky -	tingere
temple -	larang
horse -	more
mule -	lossa
plough -	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house -	ger
tent -	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
ride horseback -	moru h'anä
walk -	so wade
I came -	tschüre wu
I went -	tschisch tschewu

563
101 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese
• [186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tú ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien
563 of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming
173 here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

2. Wieger, S.J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

the ground. This pine forest belongs to the monastery and nothing is T 346 permitted to disturb its peace. Hares and marmots in great numbers 351 have set up their homes here. No one is permitted[1] to hunt the animals T 825 for according to the lamaistic doctrine of the cycle of all living things, 775 it is possible that souls after death may be forced to assume the shape of an animal, that is, be reborn as animals because they did not withstand the temptations of this world. Thus, during their lifetime as human beings they did not achieve perfection and holiness, but retrogressed, and it is believed that these poor souls usually do not travel far but are reborn close at hand. An old priest showed me a marmot which had made its burrow near his house, and assured me in all seriousness: "This was my brother before he died. He was a priest of this monastery and had to assume this animal's body as a punishment for his omissions."

I visited the Dunkur monastery on April 20, that is, on the twenty- T 543 eighth of the third Tibetan moon month, because on this and the following day a fair took place there and the people of the entire vicinity gathered there. People drank, prayed and amused themselves royally. Chinese from Dankar and Hsining had also come, but only as shopkeepers and owners of eating houses. The Chinese is attracted to the C [441] Tibetan festivals not for religious reasons but for commercial reasons The Chinese are not like the Tibetans, blindly trusting everything that the lamas say. To be sure, the Chinaman is also a Buddhist, and T remarkably similar to the Tibetan in his faith as well as in his way of 186 life and customs; in fact, perhaps Tibetans and Chinese - especially C 186 when both are farmers - feel more kinship with one another than the Chinese and Mohammedans who hate and scorn one another. But as far as character is concerned there is an enormous difference between Chinese and Tibetans even at the border. The Chinese is much more skeptically and critically inclined. He is conscious of being more highly civilized. Even the simplest Chinese farmer feels that he belongs to a privileged race and is a member of a great and rich state. But this higher level of culture has brought with it many cares which the Tibetan, the Fan tse, the barbarian, does not know. The Chinese C is like the European, proud of thousands of minor things, all of which, 181 however, only plague him. The majority of Chinese, in their greater struggle for their daily bread, have forfeited a natural simplicity and guilelessness as compared to their neighbors. The Tibetans, especially the nomads, enjoy their pleasures far more. I never saw as many jolly faces at any of the Chinese festivals /282/ as I did at the fairs in Tibet. Indeed, the very love of color of these people and their various customs make one's heart sing.

[1] [i.e., around the Dunkur monastery.— Analyst]

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

631 on page 313 of the Mongol Lobdzang Dandsin in 1723, against Chinese suzerainty. Since that time the small Mongol barons or earls - or whatever one chooses to call them - are banner leaders directly subject to the Chinese government. When the small canton of Schang rdi was left without a leader more than 200 years ago, the Mongol aristocrats presented the manor estate to the Dalai Lama and the Lhasa government, because they were unable to agree as to who among them was to inherit it. At that time they were not even obliged to ask permission of the Chinese government to do this. Now Lhasa sends a kampo, a high Tibetan priest from Tashelhunpo (corresponding to a bishop in the hierarchy), thither, who levies taxes for his government and is replaced every three years. The Schang territory, because it belongs to Lhasa, has become a place of refuge for all those who have reason to fear Chinese justice. Since the autumn of 1904 the Pamba group of the Gân ts'a tribe is also living here, the same who, the summer before, murdered a good acquaintance of mine, the amban interpreter Ts'ai on the north shore of the Koko Nor. It was Ts'ai's official duty to visit thirty families. A dispute arose and when Ts'ai was about to depart and step out of a tent, the people collapsed it over his head and stabbed him through the tent wall. The group then packed up their belongings immediately and set out for Tsaidam, the dominion of Schang rdi. The custom of the inviolable right of hospitality is unknown to the Tibetans. They can murder and plunder a guest in their tent without scruple. This fact was confirmed by all the Chinese merchants whom I questioned. They can be kept within bounds only by good weapons and
[186] a resolute bearing. Chinese never trust the Fan tse; on the contrary, they believe them capable of any kind of betrayal and baseness. They say: "The Fan tse is like a dog; if you show fear, it gives him courage and he gets more and more impudent. But if you deal harshly with him, he draws in his claws and never stirs."

However, this knowledge does not help the Kansu government very much. In the last thirty years it has pulled itself together sufficiently to deal only one good blow at the Tibetans. This was the result of pressure brought to bear by the French, when the murder of Dutreuil de Rhins had to be avenged. But the Kansu officials miscalculated this corrective expedition so dearly, that the central government in Peking is loathe to consider such undertakings. It is true, the money for this expedition largely flowed into the pockets of the officers. No one speaks more of "face saving" /337/ than the Kansu people, but that is not affected by the fact that since 1800

[text continues on p. 565]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Monguor AE9

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Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Monguor
*ǵon "year"	on	fǎn
*ǵodun "star"	odun	fōdi
*ǵarban "ten"	arban	χarwan
*ǵeki "head, beginning"	ekin	χsgi
*ǵirů "to pray"	irůge	śurō-

(It must also be added that the Common Mongolian *p or *ǵ becomes ś in Monguor before the following *i, as seen in a previous example).

2) A special characteristic of Monguor is that in the very same word a Written Mongolian hard consonant (medially) becomes soft, but the Written Mongolian initial soft consonant becomes hard.

Mongolian	Monguor
ekin "head"	χsgi
burčaγ "pea"	p'dźiag
bičig "letter"	p'udźig

3) The Written Mongolian consonant *t and *k were so strongly aspirated in Monguor that they became *tš:

Mongolian	Monguor
tata- "to pull"	tšida-
teǰiye- "to feed"	tšudźie-

4) Written Mongolian *o and *ō converged to *o; and written Mongolian *u and *ů converged to *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
ebůdůg "knee"	udig
bōdōne "quail"	bodono
γurban "three"	gurǎn
odun "star"	fōdi

5) Written Mongolian vowel *i after *b became *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
bičig "letter"	p'udźig
bi "I"	bu

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III. The Tibetan Dialect of the Chinghai Region

The Tibetan dialect of Chinghai has never been studied, although some, like Potanin, Prževalski, Hedin, Filchner, Rockhill, Tafel and Ekvall have made some brief remarks about it. The following statements are made on the basis of the few words and phrases reported in their diaries and articles.

1) The Tibetan Chinghai dialect, like Lhasa Tibetan is a monosyllabic tonal language presenting the typical phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the Tibetan-Burmese subgroup of the Indo-Chinese language family.

2) The Chinghai dialect may be subdivided into two branches: that of the sedentary Tibetans (rong-skad "valley speech") and

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

*563 3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bkrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W
576 Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few
*563 greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced es-
[127] pecially in the area between Kokonor, Tossun-nor and the

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Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nan̄-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ūr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yō-lam-na-de-bār-tyō-chig

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As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyō, tchō, to ktchō. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-; e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

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The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

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The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

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A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ȵ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

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3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

d) Contrast between -ẽ and -aŋ

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Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

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The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

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V Concluding Remarks

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Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

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*668 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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*668 D. Minority Languages
*563 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
• 19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of
[642] the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of
19 the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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668 languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation
563 of the new written languages.
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So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest
S is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou
19 in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before,
212 but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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S As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other
19 than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu,
212 Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four-Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

19 Amne-machin mountain range.

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Sinkiang AI1

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S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. Th Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World S [191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsuppo.ted by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191] ●
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

19 Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legb "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg
	Futterer: nǎñ-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e
	Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-lam-na-de-bǎr-tyŏ-chig

194 As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

191 The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

19 A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ʐ- and ɲ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

S
N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, r d or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation
N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
779
784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit
N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity
N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
563
183
779
431

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of

S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S N 121 197 563

I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S N 635 161

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšīg (or bitšīg)
čimůgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čiraχ "face"	tširē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůddůg "knee"	öwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtšn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ölgē

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaγai "large and flat"	dalwaγā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moγai "snake"	moγā
alγui "name of a plant"	alγū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. The Monguor Language

*563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M The following observations may be made about the Monguor
19 language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and u-

c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i

S
N d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

● 197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the
S U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers,
[563] and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e.
[167] Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

N The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects
*175 of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese
197 texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang.
S These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be
175 directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The
197 striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

S
N Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak
191 Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

N *563 /The Monguors/

M 439 tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

[438] [543] [437] Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 6. Work and leisure

M 461 The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462 In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

M [574] M [437] [533]

N *563 G. The Tibetans

101 1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

N *563 • 199

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
[181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 798 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*[668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
S gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
[792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
N wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
[197] Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

subjects of Lu tu se who has his residence on the lower Da tung River in Lien tschen. If one passes through a Tu ren village of this kind, there is little noteworthy to be seen on an ordinary day. The houses are the same stamped-loam, flat-roofed dwellings that the Kansu Chinese build. At most /247/ we note that the women in these towns wear their feet only lightly bound or not at all. 563 342

At the present time the Tu ren speak mostly Chinese, but they have also kept alive a language of their own which only they understand. It is not written and consists of many dialects. I was repeatedly told that almost no one is familiar with Mongolian writing. Seven-tenths of the Tu ren language in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu is made up of Mongolian words, the remaining three-tenths has many peculiarities, probably of Turkish origin, but also contains Tibetan and Chinese words. (1) 563 197

1. The following sample may already show that the language is related to the Mongolian:

1	-	niga	11	-	haran nigä
2	-	hor	20	-	horun
3	-	horān	30	-	h'otschin
4	-	deren	40	-	tetschinn
5	-	t'awen	50	-	t'a yin
6	-	dyurgon	60	-	tscheran
7	-	dôlon	70	-	dalan
8	-	nimen	80	-	wayen
9	-	schetsin	90	-	yeren
10	-	hâran	100	-	negadyon

I - bu (wu)
you - tschi
he - tie
There is no plural pronoun.

man - de dyekon
woman - wereken
child - mola beli
Mohammedan - h'ui h ui
Chinese - h'ara tschitad
Gumbum - sgumbun
woman's coiffure - nudar
camel - temien

5: Tafel--421 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

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I eat -	wu tschilarä
bread -	borzordeno
Buddha -	skopdyo renbodye
living Buddha -	Yerech'tuch' te
tea -	dya
teacup -	aira
sky -	tingere
temple -	larang
horse -	more
mule -	lossa
plough -	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
house -	ger
tent -	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
ride horseback -	moru h'anä
walk -	so wade
I came -	tschüre wu
I went -	tschisch tschewu

563 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In
101 their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo, that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white" or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese
[186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning "black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien
563 of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming
173 here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

2. Wieger, S. J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Büks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bük, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bük, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bük, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bük, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Büks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

202 We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by 487 forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The 563 Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having 000
bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the 132
cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by 484
the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with [206]
their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of 494
carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we 202
heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Mails.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

202 responsible for the weight of his pack, and he was overheard to say: 'If it were not for those Christians my load would be light! If I am not carrying books for them, then it is letters; and if they have no letters, 361 then it is books!' The far-distant barking of dogs sometimes warns us of an encampment,[1] and we can just catch the gleam of the fire glowing like a jewel in the velvet darkness. In the daytime the low, sand-coloured tents are indistinguishable from the universal tawny shade of the ground, and being pegged down very low they seem to melt into the general outlines.

000 We took the journey very slowly, stopping at each little walled town or village, to hold meetings, visit the homes, and distribute Christian literature. Three days brought us to the city of Chikinpu. Had we been choosing its name, however, we should have called it 'Pain Sec,' in memory of a certain little place in the Rhone Valley, where the bread is said to be made only three times a year. At Chikinpu the date for baking must surely have been near, for the bread we ate was certainly three months old! The kindness and hospitality with which we were received were most refreshing and greatly added to our enjoyment of the trip. Here we also met a gentleman who had been one of the Suchow enquirers, but whose officials duties had now brought him to this far-off spot. Through his courtesy, on arrival we found our inn rooms already engaged, and in one of these the unusual luxury of a table and two chairs. He told us an interesting incident which had naturally much impressed him. Many years previously, in witness of a vow, he had set up a tablet in one of the shrines of a famous rock temple a few miles away from Chikinpu. Quite recently, hearing he was again in the neighbourhood, the priest-in-charge had hurried down in alarm to inform him that the tablet had unaccount-

1 [Between Kiayükuan and Yümen—Analyst]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
[793] and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then
[788]

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. [782] The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 794 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

S N 795 785 792 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

203 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 786 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 170 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 788 778 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

C 854

not be carried off by evil spirits. There were other boys whose parents had arranged their hair like that of girls in order to deceive the evil spirits, for in China not even the devil bothers about a poor little worthless mite of a girl. The important thing for humans and therefore also for the forces of evil is the son and heir who will offer prayers and sacrifices on the future grave of his still-living father.

C T18

We passed little wooden boxes that reminded us of European mail boxes. But nobody thought of mail at that time in Dankar. The boxes bore the label: "Remember paper with writing on it!" and were set up - as everywhere in the kingdom of 18 provinces - so that people would not commit the sin of stepping on printed or written paper which is sacred, as everyone knows. There was a huge proclamation stuck to the first Chinese house we passed. It was signed by the ting of Dankar and proclaimed to the people that the Dalai Lama of Urga had moved to Gum bum. The people should willingly pay the required contributions /83/, and if the Fan tse accompanying the Lama should be impudent, they should not immediately pay them back in kind.

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T 792

Life in the city of Dankar had changed very much. It was the time when the nomads were in the habit of trading in their year's supply of grain. Besides, at the news of the arrival of the Dalai Lama, hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had arrived who were following him to Gum bum. Day by day the largest yak- and camel-caravans arrived in the suburbs and again departed from the large market place as fast as they could. Once 60 camels marched by on the way to Lhasa, bearing gifts which the high priest had received in Mongolia. Most of the gifts consisted of silver, guns and cartridges. On the backs of the animals gay yellow flags fluttered, bearing the Chinese insignia of Hsi tien (western heaven), that is to say: Central Tibet, and with that everything crossed the border duty-free. The lofty lord seemed to have made good use of his time.

The Dalai Lama lived in the Gum bum monastery, but a large part of his retinue stayed in the city of Dankar where the Lhasa government in any case always had resident commissars. It is difficult to say whether the latter represent largely commercial or political interests.

T 766

Around this time a younger brother of the Dalai Lama died in the city of Dankar. His body was cremated in a desolate mountain gorge north of the city, and everything was carried out with the greatest luxury, fit for a real prince. He was bound together in a

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
+668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

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Northwest(discounting wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers):
1. Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (Mass Daily) Sian, Shensi. This was the most important Communist Party paper in the Northwest during the period when the Northwest Greater Administrative Area was in existence. With the abolition of the Greater Administrative Area System in 1954, this paper merged with the provincial paper, Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily). Apparently the Ch'ün-chung jih-pao was built upon the material foundation of the former Hsi-ching jih-pao, the Nationalist Party paper. It delivered the official Party line to the party members as well as to the public of the Northwest.
2. Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily) Sian, Shensi. The Party daily in Shensi with a section on literature. After 1954, it absorbed the original Ch'ün-chung jih-pao.
3. Kuan-chung jih-pao (Kuan-chung Daily), Sian, Shensi. Apparently this is the paper of the local Communist Party in the area of central Shensi.
4. Nung-min pao (Farmers' News), Shensi. A local Party paper published for the peasants in Shensi.
5. Ching-chi k'uai-pao (Economic Express), Sian, Shensi. A paper with emphasis on economics but it has a section for literary work.
6. Ye-nan pao (Yenan News), Yenan, Shensi. A local Party paper in the former Red capital Yenan.
7. Lan-chou Kung-jen pao (Lanchow Workers' News), Lanchow, Kansu. First published on February 7, 1952, apparently by the local trade union, it is a four-page tabloid paper published once every three days.
8. Kansu jih-pao (Kansu Daily), Lan-chou, Kansu. The Party paper in Kansu. Published in Lanchou but its distribution is province-wide.
9. Kansu ch'ing-nien pao (Kansu Youth), Lan-chou, Kansu. An official organ paper of the Kansu provincial committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Published once a week since January 28, 1955.
10. Hsia-ho pao (Hsia-ho News), Hsia-ho, Kansu. The Party paper published by the Communist Party Working Committee in Hsia-ho county of Kansu. First published on April 10, 1952, it is a weekly four-page paper in Tibetan and Chinese.
11. Mu-min pao (Herder's News), the Mongol Autonomous chou, Kansu. A local paper in Mongolian for the Mongols in Kansu, a four-page paper published three times each month since January, 1955. According to the Communist reports, "in the past issues, much space has been devoted to reflect the pastoral people's production, life, and demand in the autonomous area. The newspaper devotes special columns to the study of Mongolian, to cultural and recreational life, and to favorite songs and tales."

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12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.
13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

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14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.
15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.
16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

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Hsin-hua pan Yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly) of March 21st.

One of the unconventional features of these papers is their special use of letters to the editors. These letters are not only published as a safety valve or to reveal public opinion, but are carefully planted "to consolidate the ties between the newspaper and the people." Another way to achieve this aim is the direct appointment of a large number of correspondents from among workers, peasants, students, PLA units and government branches. (Liu Tsun-ch'i, NCNA December 17, 1950.) Liu also hinted at the usefulness of keeping acquainted with constant shifts in the party line, a hint that was well understood and boosted the circulation of the papers.

In appearance these papers are generally very pleasing. Regular newsprint is used again and a clear print. Misprints are few. Starting from January 1, 1956, Shensi jih-pao has changed the setting of types from the traditional vertical lines into horizontal lines. The Sinkiang jih-pao and the Kansu jih-pao are also making preparations for this change.

II. Periodicals

Up to June, 1955, there were 305 different kinds of periodicals in Red China. Among these, 166 were nationwide. In the Northwest, the following magazines were most popular:

1. Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth)
2. Hsüeh-hsi (Study)
3. Shih-shih shou-ts'e (Handbook on Current Events)
4. Hsin-chung-kuo fu-nü (New China Women)
5. Kung-jen (Worker)
6. Hsin kuan-ch'a (New Observer)
7. Shih-chieh chih-shih (World Knowledge)
8. Wen-i-pao (Literature)
9. Jen-min wen-i (People's Literature)
10. Hsin chien-she (New Construction)
11. Jen-min hua-pao (People's Pictorial)
12. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao (New China Monthly), starting from January, 1956, it has been changed into Hsin-hua Pan-yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly).
13. Lien-huan hua-pao (Pictoral Stories)
14. Min-tsu hua-pao (Nationalities Pictorial)

(See China General, Public Information).

According to the advertisements in the local papers, these periodicals are available in the Northwest through the book stores.

Identifiable periodicals edited and published in the Northwest include the following titles:

1. Ch'ün-chung yin-yüeh or The Music for the Masses, edited and published by the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian.
2. Hsi-pei wen-i or Northwest Literature.

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3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
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5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Store, were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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871 technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the 701 west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

205 The greatest change in China has been brought about by the introduction of the postal system and, in connection with that, the Chinese press which became possible only through the postal system. 204 Whereas in Lanchow fu a Chinese seldom took a letter to the post and there were no newspapers either in Tibet or in all of Kansu and wherever I had stayed during my journey, in Hsingan fu whole cart-loads of magazines and pamphlets arrived from Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The people of the city pounced on new reading matter and all at once it had become a necessity for them. It was the post, the regular couriers introduced by the Europeans, who spread the new ideas and the changes throughout the country.

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

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14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

665 the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

[797] [177] 205 The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

1797 There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

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In Lanchow fu I again recovered my large baggage which was brought here for me by Mr. Mason, on the large, direct road from Lung tschü tschai. Here I also finally received mail from home, the first news since I had left the coast. I learned again of the progress in the Russo-Japanese War of which the mandarins in the cities along the way had only had vague reports. None of them had newspapers, of course, and except in Kweihwacheng I had not found a post office to mail letters anywhere along my entire route. Even the imperial post office in Lanchow fu was not opened until the summer of 1904, operated very irregularly and poorly the first few years, and was used very little and only by Europeans, missionaries and a few Chinese from the coast, who had been forced to come here on business.

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I was deeply affected in Lanchow fu by the message of the death of my honored teacher, Ferdinand von Richthofen. Together with the announcement of his death I received a few letters from this greatest specialist of the physical conditions of East Asia. Shortly before his death he had given me further advice. Here, too, I received a reply from the imperial German embassy in Peking, in answer to my repeated, urgent request for new letters of safe conduct and recommendations to the Chinese officials. When in May, at the town of Hoa yin miao, I departed from the route indicated on my passport and could not obtain the customary police protection from the district mandarin, I had, as I already mentioned, informed the embassy anew of my travel plans and asked for recommendations. I was now in possession of this reply and on the basis of it was obliged to decide how much of my program I had to give up and what I had to change. The ministerial message ran as follows:

"Dear Dr. Tafel:

Your letter of May seventh from Hoa yin miao has been received. To my surprise you again request me to take the necessary steps with the Chinese officials to grant you permission to enter the territory occupied by Tibetan tribes. You may remember that when you were in Peking in the fall of 1903 it was made clear to you that the Chinese have good reason for refusing to issue passports to Tibet. The wai wu pu would also scarcely be inclined to address your request to the amban of Hsining fu. Furthermore I have, in the course of the past year, repeatedly warned you and Lieutenant Filchner not to travel in Tibetan territory, because of the uncertain conditions prevailing in Tibet and its neighboring countries.

"In view of the foregoing I do not understand why you now approach

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floors of on an average 2,900-2,700 meters high. 000

Even toward the end of September it was very rainy in and around 132
Tao tschou. The precipitation remained within modest amounts but the sky was usually overcast. This was probably the reason why the night temperatures were not yet low and, in spite of the 2,760 meter altitude, hovered between +2° and +6°, whereas at noon the air warmed up at various times to more than +10°. As a rule there was almost no wind on the ground. The rain clouds came from the southeast or the west. On September 16 in the early morning we had snow with a gentle east wind and a westerly drift of clouds and only on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first I noted thunderstorms in my meteorological diary. All three thunderstorms came from the west. September 24 when I said farewell to Tao tschou and its hospitable Americans, was a day of rain so that the animals slipped on the sticky loam earth and the pack animals were hardly able to make any progress. Mr. Ruhl accompanied me on the first two marches. So at first 797
I had to say goodbye to Mrs. Ruhl, my extremely gracious and pretty hostess and her little baby. Even though the mission house in Tao tschou presented a very good and neat appearance - everywhere the guiding hand of the practical American woman was to be felt - nevertheless for a woman of our Western culture residence in the city must have been torture. Year in and year out one hears about nothing but war and pillage here, and the missionary work bears occasional fruit only among the Chinese and the widowed or lonely old Chinese women. Tangible success in mission work among Tibetans and Mongols is not to be thought of, of course, because of the omnipotence of the lamas. Besides, the European also battles the severe highland climate and the homesickness that comes from this seclusion from the world. In the summer of 1907 there was an imperial Chinese postoffice in- 205
stalled, but because of lack of other interests it was only obliged to forward missionaries' letters and every tenth day a messenger arrived who delivered mail that had been en route six weeks from Hsingan fu. As in Hsining fu, the population is frequently afflicted with diphtheria, 164
scarlet fever and smallpox. Typhus and syphilis of course also reap large harvests and among the lung diseases of the region asthma plays an important role. A large percentage of the missionaries contracted smallpox. Mr. Simpson had acquired pock marks up there in carrying out his profession. A missionary who had just come up from the coast where he had been freshly vaccinated, died shortly before my arrival, of variola.

871 technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the 70 west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having 000
bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the 132
cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by 484
the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with [206]
their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of 494
carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we 202
heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Mails.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AFL3
Sinkiang AI 1

when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that: 'Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

Even the imperial telegraph line led over the bleak saddle of the Dschedo la and its 4,390-meter altitude. (1) The line had

N.W. Ching AF 13 206

1. Kreitner-Szechenyi 4,499 meters; Rockhill 4,365 meters (14,320 feet); Gill 4,425 meters (14,515 feet; War office map 15,000 feet.

just been completed as far as Ba tang. My Hsining men who had never before seen a telegraph line had to conduct a detailed investigation. Of course, they had long since heard that one could send a whole letter over the wires, but they had the most adventuresome ideas as to how this was done. They wanted to cut the wire and see what the hollow space inside looked like. Shortly after I had dissuaded them from this wild idea we met a telegraph sentry consisting of six men strong. They were looking for a damaged wire because the service had been interrupted the day before. It seemed a miracle to me that one could telegraph at all at the time because hardly any of the insulators on the poles were intact. The Tibetans regarded them as a particularly suitable target for their guns as well as for their beloved stone slings.

Beyond the Dschedo Pass the eye first of all falls on bare rocky 133
ridges and on broad, planed-out and dry ravine bottoms. The peaks in the vicinity of the pass rise above 5,000 meters. They are all still below the boundary of perpetual snow and one could discover on them only scattered white spots. However, when one descends the steep, uneven military road which was paved many years ago, and when one has turned the corner and reached an eroded ravine bottom, then suddenly gigantic fields of perpetual snow sparkle in the south (Plate XLVI). In front of these in the depths nestles the Dschedo Valley with the little village of Dschedo, an important stopping place for the night for people coming from below. Before one 137
reaches this town one crosses the wide rhododendron zone /202/ which, with its large white and pink blossoms, extends down from 4,500 to 3,800 meters. The large blossoms were just opening and the steep mountain slopes sometimes formed a vertiable sea of blossoms. Long before one reaches Dschedo one is within the boundary of mountain forests, and the amount of moisture which the monsoon must unload in these border mountains has caused an almost impenetrable jungle to develop on both sides of the valley, on the northern as well as southern slopes.

Near Dschedo the ravine which is used by the road abandons its 000
southeasterly direction and turns due east, and now all at once there

S N 214 171 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 468 177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 468 177 (656) Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 468 177 V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

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time of 19 1/2 hours per day. Now there are also programs in Uighur, Mongolian and Tibetan. The political program takes up about 30% of the time; music, literature and drama take up about 60%; other items take up about 10%.

In 1951, the Communists claimed to have 73 People's Broadcasting Stations and the "monitoring net" had covered the whole country. There were 15,200 monitoring stations and monitoring cells, besides 14,260 independent monitoring units manned by one individual. How many of these were in the Northwest, was not reported.

Besides the broadcasts sent out from Peking, the main broadcasting stations in the Northwest are:

Name	Wave Length (kc.)
Northwest People's Broadcasting Station in Sian	8007
Sian People's Broadcasting Station	1280
Lanchou People's Broadcasting Station	7313, 1400
Hsi-ning People's Broadcasting Station	9900
Urumchi (Tihua) People's Broadcasting Station	7050

(Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952, p. 436)

These stations were not used to their full capacity. In 1952, Sian People's Broadcasting Station broadcast only three times a day, from 6:20 to 7:20, from 10:50 to 13:30 and from 17:20 to 22:00. On some days the morning broadcast was omitted. The following are sample programs:

July 2, 1952:

Noon: 12:00 - 12:30 Workers' period: Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the representatives of the workers of Sian celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Chang Yen-po, Deputy-Director of the Department of Organization of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Feng Li-shen, the Secretary of the Enterprise Committee.

12:43 - 13:15 Songs

Evening:

17:45 - 18:00 Youth Period: Introduction to the movie "Sverdlov".

19:00 - 19:30 Local opera of Mei-hsien and Hu-hsien, "Chao Hsiao-lan".

19:45 - 20:20 Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Deputy Mayor Ch'en Shih-yü of the People's Government of Sian; Vice-Chairman K'ang Hsin-tsai of the Consultative Committee of the All City All Circle People's

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Representative M[illegible]ing

20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:

Noon:

12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence. An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.

12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:

19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law

19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.

20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.

20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

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In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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207 at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural
668 district in Sinkiang.
177 These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not
S powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning
[674] a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being con-
N stantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village
• [207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude
* [668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai,
[177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides
546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in
*668 Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned
177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Chü'un-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PROPAGANDA

I. The Aims of Propaganda

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The power of the Communist party, in China as elsewhere, is built upon numerous factors, but three are outstanding, namely, its organization, (including its secret police), its military forces, and its propaganda. Propaganda is used to promote military conquest as well as organizational expansion, while both military forces and organization are used to back up propaganda. Every Communist Party member is required to do his share of propaganda. Little propaganda is not originated and directed by the Party organization.

Before the Communists assume political control, propaganda is used to infiltrate and soften the spiritual fortification of the Party's enemies. After conquest of an area, propaganda is used to promote the Party's governmental program and policies. Propaganda is part of the program to maintain voluntary discipline. Positively, it is necessary to propagate and explain the policies and opinions of the Party to the public; negatively, it is necessary to stop and hit back at the "propaganda and rumor" that are "mistaken and reactionary."

Furthermore, in the effort of building a propaganda network, the Communists expect to have accomplished something other than just propaganda. The party requires the propaganda workers to set good examples for the public. It also expects the propagandists to train more people to carry on its propaganda program. Theoretically, a good propagandist shall believe in what he says, and a good believer shall be a good man of action to carry out what he believes. By the continuous training and growth in the number of the propagandists, the Party gets more and more of its work done.

II. The Propaganda Organization

A. The Reporter

The network of propaganda is built around the Communist Party. At each level of the Party organization, from the province down to the ch'u (district below county), a responsible member, many times the Party secretary, is assigned as a reporter. He is responsible for making constant, systematic reports of current events, Party policy, work assignments and work experiences. At least once every two months, each reporter makes a political report to mass meetings and to the representative meetings of the local people. The title and the outline of contents are decided or approved beforehand by the Party secretary at the related level. The result of the report also is reported to the same secretary. Some of these reports are selected and published in local newspapers by

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the related provincial or local Party committees.

B. Propagandists

1. Selection and methods

Besides the official reporter, every branch of the Party organization selects a number of Party members, youth corps members, model laborers and other revolutionary activists to be propagandists. These propagandists should have the willingness to lead in labor productivity and other work as well as the ability to promote propaganda. They may choose one or several of the following methods to carry out their work:

1) personal conversations
2) passing around information
3) reading newspapers for others
4) receiving and spreading People's radio broadcasts
5) writing and painting propaganda pictures, articles, etc.
6) editing wall newspapers.

The appointment of the propagandists is checked by the Party branch committee and approved by the Party organization at the level higher. Party and Youth Corps secretaries, committee members who have working relations with the public (such as: labor union workers, cooperative workers, village workers, school teachers, staff members of public educational institutions, wall newspaper editors (etc...) all should be propagandists.

2. Activities

At least once a month, the propagandists of a Party branch gather together to receive guidance from above and to discuss current work. They should also reflect the conditions of the public. This kind of meeting occurs not more than once a week. Once a month, the county (or city) Party committee calls a joint meeting of the Party branch secretaries or a representative meeting of the propagandists or a rally of all the propagandists in the area. The Party secretary of the county (or city) makes a report on current events and missions. Then he leads the group in checking the propaganda work of the past month and in discussing the future propaganda work of the coming month. In case of difficulties of transportation, this kind of meeting may be called by the district Party committee which directs the branch Party propaganda work. In the rural areas, the district Party committee establishes the system of propaganda transfer stations. By this system, the district Party committee members regularly, but separately, call in the propagandists or representatives of the propagandists of several Party branches to the stations where the contents and methods of propaganda are taught. There they also distribute and explain the propaganda materials.

3. Instruction and program

The Party committees of all levels constantly furnish the propa-

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gandists with instructions and materials. Party newspapers and publications at all levels regularly publish discussions about the propagandists as well as about their work. The Party schools and training classes at all levels offer courses on propaganda. When possible, they establish short courses to train propagandists.

Since the Party formulates the whole propaganda program, it organizes and utilizes in the program all the so-called democratic parties and people's organizations as well as the workers in the People's government, People's Liberation Army and cultural, educational and artistic circles. The provincial and city Party committees, according to local conditions, plan a definite program of propaganda once every half year. Upon the approval by the related central committee sub-bureau, this program is put into practice and checked regularly.

C. Basic Organizational Units

1. Outlets

The basic organizational units of propaganda are:

1) newspaper reading groups
2) blackboard newspapers
3) radio receiving groups
4) megaphone units
5) propaganda groups
6) propaganda teams
7) current event study groups.

Above these basic units, the work of an area is supervised and coordinated by a committee; in rural areas, it is the cultural and educational committee; in the city, the propaganda committee; in the factories and mines, the labor union's cultural and educational committee; in the schools, the propaganda and educational committee of the students' association. These committees, together with the secretary of the local Party branch committee and the Party propaganda head, are used as nuclei around which is built the local propaganda net, which absorbs all the local school teachers, propaganda workers of the local government and people's organizations.

2. Committees

The missions of these committees are threefold: first, they guide the local propaganda activities according to the program decided by the Party. Secondly, they insure accuracy in the political interpretation of the propaganda. Thirdly, they help the organization and consolidation of the propaganda groups among the masses. In order to achieve these purposes, these committees need to build the necessary working system of meeting, report, investigation, appraisal and criticism. According to incomplete statistics, in December, 1951, there were 85,000 propagandists in northwest China.

S 668 708 208 545 4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members S [563] included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of [484] them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 [648] acts before the audience in the capital.

668 648 545 The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

N IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

*668 • 208 Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model S Peasants Rallies" held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang [668] are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as [208] well as for denouncing germ warfare.

N A. Festivals

*668 796 *[563] [971] [651] Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

III. Functions of Propaganda System

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A. Sounding Board

This propaganda network has another important function. It also checks public opinion and relays it to the Party. Every propagandist is supposed to report back not only what he has said but also what the public has said to him. Since the Communist Party has control of all newspapers, radio broadcast programs and other means of public information, there is no other way of knowing the true feelings of the people. Thus, the propaganda machine is utilized to sound out public opinion, in order to better deal with the public.

Furthermore, the propaganda machine is fluid and can be used as a weapon in every field. (For the details, see the Propaganda section of the General Handbook).

B. Work with National Minorities

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1. "Central People's Government Mission to National Minorities of Northwest"

Besides the regular propaganda organizations, special groups and teams have been sent at various times to different areas. For instance, in 1950 the Communists sent a "Central People's Government Mission to the National Minorities in the Northwest." The chief of the mission was Shen Chun-ju, the deputy chiefs were Sa K'ung-liao and Ma Yu-kwei. The mission visited Panchan Lama on November 1, at Kumbum monastery in Chinghai. There they also attended a welcome meeting of 12,000 people of all the nationalities in Chinghai. The Panchan Lama presented Shan, Sa and Ma with katag, consisting of silk woven portraits of Buddha, the most precious gift to the Tibetans (obviously these were specially made, usually there is no portrait of Buddha), and expressed his profound respects for, and gratitude to, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "At the welcome meeting to the mission at Sining city on November 2, representatives of seven nationalities in Chinghai submitted to Chairman Mao a katag consisting of a silk banner more than 10 geet in length, inscribed with words in the Chinese, Arabic and Tibetan languages, stating: "Most Respected and Honored Chairman Mao; under your glorious banner, we have achieved equality, mutual assistance, love and unity." On the top of the banner there were attached 8 national flags of China and the portrait of Mao, at the bottom were paintings of the people of the seven nationalities in the province. (NCNA, November 4, 1950).

Of course, these activities greatly impressed the local people. This same mission in different groups visited Ninghsia and Sinkiang.

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In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest. Many of those so indoctrinated were organized into groups and sent

*668 796 656 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

B. Guided Tours

*668 484 648 *563 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 • 208 876 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:

"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

*668 208 The subject changes as the Party moves from one campaign to another. For instance, in Northwest China the first stage emphasized the destruction of organized resistance and the establishment of the Communist Government. About the time that the editorial of Jen-min jih-pao, Peiping, November 14, 1950, declared that "a comprehensive and far-reaching propaganda campaign should be carried out beforehand so as to enable the masses to gain a true understanding of the significance, functions and the way of the convening the chu people's representatives' conference" in Sining, Chinghai, "the Central People's Government Mission to the Northwest...convened three forum meetings of representatives of Tibetan, Mongolian, Turk, Moslem, Salar and Kazakh nationalities, and personages of all circles in Sining, and visited the mosque at the East Gate of Sining and the Chinghai Nationalities House..."

2. Resist-America, Aid-Korea and related movements

After the Communists participated in the Korean War and when the U.N. was discussing the case against Red China, an anti-Austin (chief U.S. delegate to the U.N. at the time) Rally" was held at Sian, Shensi. It promoted the Resist-America, Aid-Korea movement as well as the three self (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) movement of the Chinese Christian churches. In January, 1951, there came the first wave of attacks against the religious group I-Kuan-Tao. In 1952, there were the three anti and five anti-movements. About the same time, a movement for production-increase was launched.

3. Agricultural tax campaign

*668 651 When the new agricultural tax system came into force in June, 1952, the propaganda gave unreserved priase of the new tax and cursed the old regime. It is a good example of the Communist propaganda:

"New minimum tax rate is 7 per cent. For the majority of peasants, the rate will range from 11 to 15 per cent. Exemptions or tax reductions will be given those having economic difficulties arising from calamities, lack of manpower or disabilities and to families of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea and Chinese People's Liberation Army men. The new system is based on average annual agricultural income of every member of a family.

This new tax system is in sharp contrast to multifarious taxes under the Kuomintang regime. At that time peasants on an average paid from 30 to 60 per cent of what was left to them in taxes to the Kuomintang government after paying 50 to 80 or even 90 per cent of their harvest to landlords as rent." (NCNA, Peking, June 20, 1952. See section Agriculture of General Handbook for an evaluation of the actual tax burden.)

Judging by the above paragraph, the peasants under the Nationalists (Kuomintang) paid as high as 90 per cent of their harvest to

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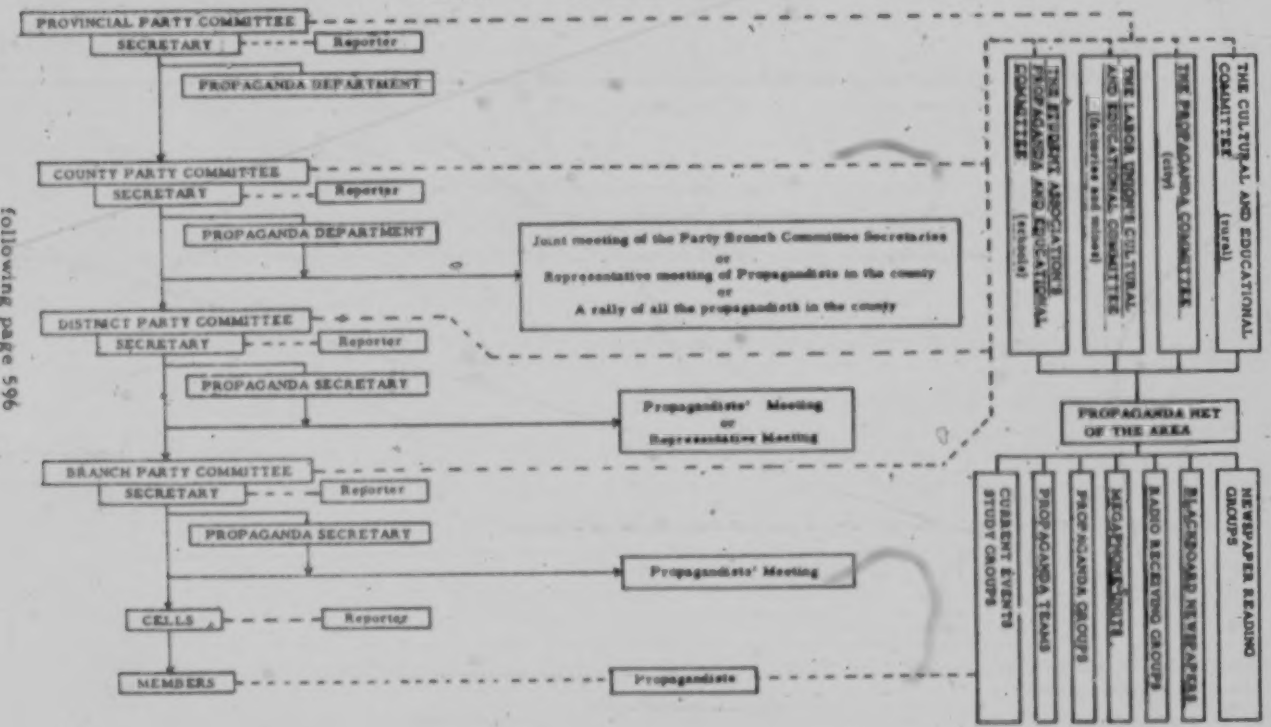
CHART I THE PROPAGANDA SYSTEM



following page 596

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798 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

791 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
771 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
796 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate III). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan tan is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

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*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

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*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

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563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

*563 3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bsrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

• [212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W
576 Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few
*563 greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced es-
[127] pecially in the area between Kokonor, Tossun-nor and the

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Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg
	Futterer: nǎñ-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e
	Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-lam-na-de-bar-tyŏ-chig

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As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

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The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

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The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

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A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɲ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The S [191] younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [190] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۇ while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

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b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

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Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

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The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

871 rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it
*668 with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-
177 school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

• (212) Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

873 In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün
*668 Art College were their major institutions of higher learning.
177 During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration; a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 563 [197] [142] The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

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N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 778 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
S yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
563 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
751 and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
[772] and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
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Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
*563 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
751 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
753 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
772 turbed, disease follows.
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
S lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
N In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
[184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
[212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

212 On our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-
871 harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for
799 conducting classes in village centres. These were very

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in the locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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609 596 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

797 212 871 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

244 THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

N 204 *668 199 3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
S 204 668 199 5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

N 214 III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

N 214 *668 199 After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yueh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

S N 214 171 March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177 The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 (656) Similar complaints can be found in the press and tae journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 *668 177 V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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With these basic premises, one may understand the real meaning of the "struggle for the independence, democracy, peace, unification and prosperity of China" (Article 1). They also help one to understand the following analysis.

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In the constitution of 1954, the same premise presented in the Common Program is restated. Under this general premise, the study of the constitutional system in northwest China can be carried out under four sub-headings, namely, the general civil rights, the economic rights, the political rights, and the rights of the minority groups.

The Communists always make a great effort to promote their programs. Before and after the establishment of their Constitution, they mobilized all people available to study the Constitution. To do this, study groups were organized everywhere. Discussions were insisted upon. Millions of copies of the draft constitution were distributed.

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In Northwest China, the Communists' effort to publicize the constitution can be seen in their publications. To reach the minority groups, the Constitution was translated into various languages. It is available in Kazakh, Tibetan, Mongolian and Uighur. So are the organic laws of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Local People's Congresses and Councils.

III. Practices Regarding General Civil Rights

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A. Pledges and Exclusions

According to the Common Program of 1949, "the people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations." (Article 5). This, however, does not mean that all will have these rights. The Communist Party may disqualify anyone. Moreover, since the standard of selection changes according to the ebb and flow of political tides inside the Communist Party, it is hard to guarantee that anybody, including Mao Tse-tung himself, always will enjoy these rights.

In the Constitution of 1954, this fact is even more clear. In Article 19 it is stated: "The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's democratic system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

"The state deprives feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of political rights for a specific period of time according to law; at the same time it provides them with a way to earn a living, in order to enable them to perform thorough work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."

In this article the first part refers to traitors and counter-

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The greatest object of interest in Hsingan fu is an ancient museum, the Be ling, the forest of inscription stones, a small cypress wood with pavilions and temple-like buildings in which for many years already hundreds of stone slabs bearing inscriptions and classical paintings were gathered together for official reasons into a gold-mine for Sinology. A few months before my arrival the famous Nestorian tablet had been hastily brought there from its former place in the western part of the city by 50 coolies because it was in danger of being taken along by an American collector. It tells of the great dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in China during the eighth century. Besides that, every stranger is supposed to look at the old governor's yamen in which Emperor Kuang sü and Empress Tse hi had lived during the Boxer Rebellion. After the court left, this yamen remained unoccupied because no one else was considered worthy of dwelling in the imperial rooms. The rooms were very simply furnished. On the walls hung kakemonos, flowers and luck-bearing Chinese pictograms, many of which the Empress Dowager was said to have designed and painted herself. In the courtyard of the one-time imperial palace I was shown a walled cistern that was many meters deep. In it - my cicerone said - the unfortunate emperor attempted to commit suicide in order to escape the torments of his aunt. Much more entertaining, were two festivals which were celebrated in the city while I was waiting there. One of them was a large parade of the Manchu garrison which at that time with 3,900 families (about 15,000 souls) occupied the entire northeastern part of the city; the second festival was a pupil and student celebration that took place on the old Chinese parade ground in the northwest corner of the city. On the one hand, the class which was at that time still in control and the banner people, the mainstays of the ruling dynasty; on the other hand, Chinese youth who were celebrating the end of their annual examinations, those new educational methods which were supposed to lead the kingdom of the middle, the Chinese common people, into new paths, to new bloom. In place of the old state competitions in which calligraphy and poetry and essays, interlarded as much as possible with quotations from the classics, were the dominating factors and determined the maturity and dignity of the candidate for the highest posts in the state, /329/ and for which one prepared privately, the Manchu had set up schools in which mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and political science were taught and examined. Now a general sport festival ended the school year of the elementary schools, of the preparatory schools, and of the

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/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
• 221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
• 221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[488] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
423 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XLVI

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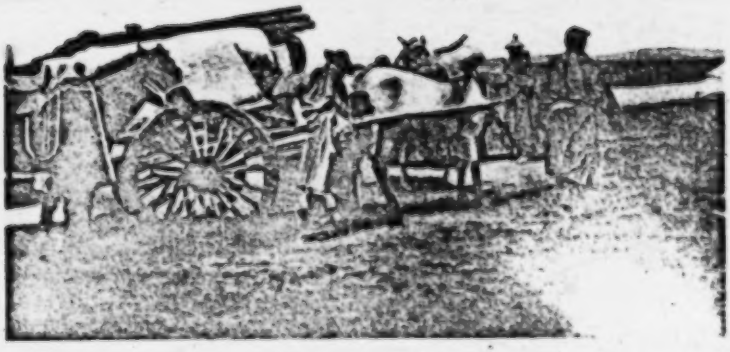
MONGOLS MOVING CAMP



MONGOLS MOVING CAMP

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Kalmuk

remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling. I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the Horkurma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly having to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strictly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult because the women had too little vision and would often not permit the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

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1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels-20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

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Kalmyk

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

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Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.
439 In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice
222 root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this
133 is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

361 Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River
243 in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic.
439 Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 -

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK (UNIT: 1,000 HEAD)(CHINA HAND BOOK-1937-1945, TABLE 22. p.442)

	PROVINCES	OXEN	HORSES	MULES	DONKEYS	GOATS	SHEEP	HOGS	CHICKENS	DUCKS	GEESE	WATER BUFFALO	TOTAL
1942	NINGHSIA	14	8	4	31	106	186	34	175	6	2	...	566
	CHINGHAI	35	32	24	44	224	367	79	250	3	3	1	1,062
	KANSU	583	96	94	536	1,378	2,459	760	2,431	165	43	11	8,556
	SHENSI	839	84	113	256	...	277	751	2,558	158	16	2	5,054
	TOTAL												15,238
1943	NINGHSIA	14	4	3	34	93	159	30	187	8	2	...	534
	CHINGHAI	36	26	28	50	155	274	55	192	5	1	...	822
	KANSU	626	115	112	565	1,495	2,594	663	2,545	145	34	5	8,899
	SHENSI	887	89	112	239	340	245	740	2,688	150	15	7	5,512
	TOTAL												15,767
1944	NINGHSIA	28	8	5	57	140	234	41	176	9	3	...	701
	CHINGHAI	43	36	26	42	170	211	51	139	9	2	2	731
	KANSU	623	138	105	504	1,522	2,768	614	2,470	116	28	2	8,980
	SHENSI	808	83	114	254	313	203	669	...	120	13	6	2,583
	TOTAL												12,995

[P.645-A]

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427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T. H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chirghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

*668 241 231 433 to the soil by planting grass, resodding, etc., and encouraging the production of livestock. The reason for Chinese Communist policy could be that wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops (these are the only three types of crops ever mentioned in Chinese Communist statistics) have priority over everything else as these crops are urgently needed in other parts of China as well as to sustain population increase and industrial construction in the Northwest.

*668 241 433 It is difficult to forecast prospective agricultural development in the Northwest. The Communists have demonstrated that they are intensely interested in developing the region and they have provided capital, when available, and vast amounts of labor to reclaim land, construct irrigation systems, and build water reservoirs. However, one gets the impression from reviewing past achievements and future goals that the Communists are depending largely on organizational changes in agriculture to bring them the desired output increases. When new targets are established, they are to be realized not by state financial or technical assistance, but through greater exertion on the part of the peasantry, more closely organized planning, better utilization of resources, and through cooperative endeavor and labor emulation.

At this stage of development, the State has few resources that it can divert to the Northwest to aid in the development of agriculture. It is forced therefore to rely solely on the production relationships already existent there and reorganize these relationships when able, to make for increased productivity. We have already cited the difficulties the Communists have encountered in their attempts to reorganize agriculture. And it has been strongly suggested that as planning becomes more intricate, and as more technicians and planners are required, the problems will multiply. One link in the entire chain of planning has only to break and large sections of the economy would be disrupted. When output increases are as vital and necessary as they are now, and the demand for greater food supplies increases, the burden on agriculture will become heavier.

It is questionable whether any increases in food production, i.e., wheat, rice, maize, barley, millet, will be of an amount sufficient to be exported to China Proper. Instead, output increases will be required to feed the expanding population of the Northwest; the recent efforts to expand the production of cotton and oil seed bearing crops by bringing additional land under cultivation for the planting of these commercial crops, may, over a period of time, yield quantities sufficient to supply the textile processing mills the Communists are planning to construct. There is a possibility also that livestock increases and the by-products from livestock, i.e., wool, meat, etc., will be of sufficient supply to be exported to other parts of China. However, consider-

*668 The number of large domestic animals increased to over
• 231 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection
313 was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some
*175 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it
185 will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output
433 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be in-
[241] creased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so
[231] that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be
[313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing
*668 the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of
185 all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer
[474] co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also
[241] to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and
[578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

ooo So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

231 The western districts of Central Shensi through which we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are [485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XXII

• 231

THE DIMINUTIVE SZECHUAN PONY

THE DIMINUTIVE SZECHUAN PONY

[FACING p. 97]

2: Teichman G-3 (1919) 1921 XP13 Northwest China XP13

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valley and reaches the town of Ningchiang, formerly a Chou, and now a second class Hsien.

Ningchiang is a picturesque little place lying surrounded by rice fields in an isolated valley in the mountains near the Szechuan border. It is still in the basin of the Han, and a railway from Hanchung along the line of the main road into Szechuan could avoid the Wuting Pass by following the valley of its stream. There would be greater difficulties in crossing the divide into Szechuan, though these mountains are not in this neighbourhood to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, being only about half as high.

From Ningchiang to Kuangyuan in Szechuan is a distance of 230 li, which is usually divided into three stages, 70 li to Chaoch'ang Pa, 70 li to Ch'aot'ien Chen, and 90 li to Kuangyuan; but as elsewhere along this road villages are numerous, and the traveller can make his own stages. Leaving Ningchiang the trail runs up the valley to the S.W., which ends 40 li out in an easy pass (3300 feet), being the divide between the Han and Chialing basins. From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into a little rice valley enclosed by wooded hills which leads down to the village of Huangpa Yi, 50 li from Ningchiang. The path here leaves the stream, which flows south, and, crossing a spur, drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing down from a high range to the west. At the point where this gorge debouches on to a larger valley, 15 li from Huangpa Yi, there is a barrier wall and a gate, indicating the Shensi-Szechuan frontier, and a few li further down this valley the village of Chaoch'ang Pa is reached. Here we parted from our friends the Shensi officials, who had looked after us so well for the past four months, and with whom we had undergone many a hardship. One of these gentlemen, who acted as business manager of the expedition and who throughout displayed great powers of organization as well as capacity for enduring personal discomforts and hardships, is shown in the accompanying photograph trying a little Szechuan stallion[1]. Having served as district magistrate for

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[1] These Szechuan ponies though very small are exceedingly well built and show a great deal of breeding; they are useful on the paved paths and stone steps of Szechuan to which they are accustomed, and which are fatal to the larger and heavier built ponies of Kansu and Mongolia.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

596 The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical
609 of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded
596 the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at
609 bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds
•231 were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feeding in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand sheep were spread over the fields around. 609 596 231 ●

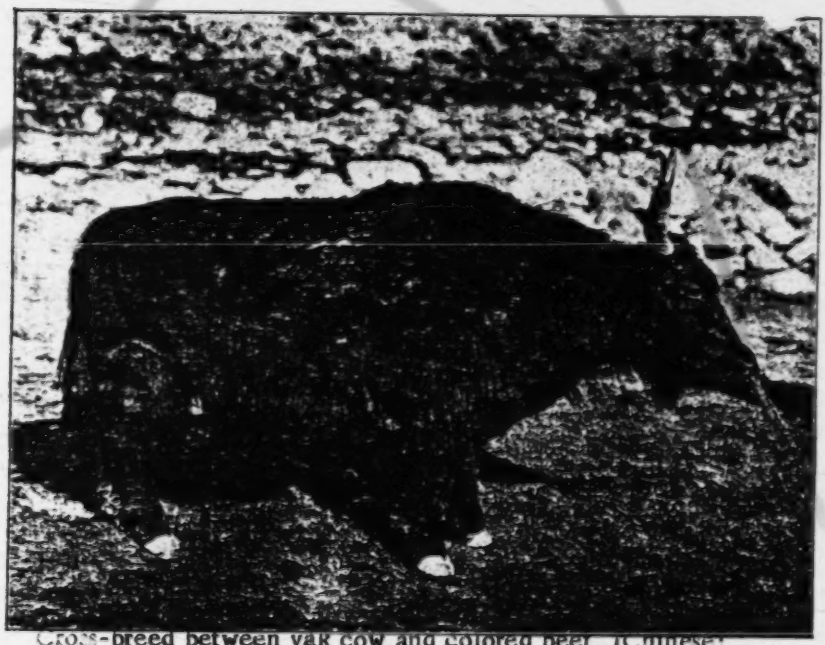
A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction. 609 596

491 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times
661 by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous num-
494 ber of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in
437 a rather short time. In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

Yak bullock with pack saddle from the Koko Nor region.



Cross-breed between yak cow and colored beef. (Chinese: Pien niu, Tibetan: ntso.)

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

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On the silver roof is a silver motto.
Though it rain three years, no silver will come off.

In Tashelhunpo down below stands a green jade temple.
On the green jade temple.... etc. etc.

It is a good example of the Tibetan metaphorical language. If frankly and clumsily expressed, the song would have said: And even if I sang for three years, my store of songs would not come to an end.

At the end I told Tschang that he had not entertained lavishly enough and had not offered enough courses. "What," he said vehemently, "you want to give still more? Why, you have already offered more than is customary with tea, tsamba, boiled lamb and rice with caramel sauce. One does not offer more, people wouldn't understand it, and everyone had his fill! You Europeans must have strange ideas about eating!" It was not yet dark when the two Mongols took their leave, for everyone avoids riding horseback at night over the loose rock ledges. But long after they had gone the sound of their highland shouts came up to us and were tossed against the sides of the valley in double and triple echoes.

T 231 C 231

On this evening I learned another lesson. A yak cow that had been bought in Tsaidam had a calf. Although it was supposed to be already over two months old, it was still very small and I doubted whether it would be able to keep up with the caravan. I therefore decided it would be more humane to kill the little animal immediately. I have seldom met with such opposition among my men, seldom been subjected to such disdainful and reproachful glances! It was as though I had invited them to a cannibal's meal. The consensus was that it was a mortal sin to slaughter the calf. Even Tschang whom I had found to be generally tolerant, said that I should give the cow and the calf to Dyoba and deduct the price, 10 taels, which I had paid for mother and child from his, Tschang's, salary. Even my Mohammedans who were always eager to slaughter protested against committing such murder. Besides that, my people stoutly maintained that a yak cow that no longer sees her calf will also no longer give milk. So there was nothing to do but subject the yak calf to the big journey and continue to share my milk with the little animal. There is another strange fact connected with this custom: calves of the p'ien niu, that is, those of hybrid yaks, are slaughtered without hesitation by Tibetans as well as Mongols. The Tibetan women use the skins of these calves to decorate the hem of their clothes with a black fur border. The p'ien niu cows that are highly prized for their rich milk, are an

exception and give milk even without a calf. It is undoubtedly also a mere superstition that the calves of hybrid yaks are good for nothing. These animals (called schdur in Tibetan) are to be found fully grown, although it is very rare; but they seem to be vigorous and among Filchner's herd there was one that rendered us useful services. Although I found it fit, I was ridiculed at the time for letting it be palmed off on me. /7/ The colorful cattle that are found among the Mongols and Mohammedans are also, according to their owners, not supposed to lose their calves if they are to continue to give milk. Tibetans as well as Mohammedans say that veal does not taste good. The meat of the slaughtered p'ien nu (schdur) calves is thrown away and never eaten. It is well known that Chinese are horrified at the thought of eating beef. Even in Hsining fu where Chinese customs are to a great extent mixed with Tibetan and Mohammedan ones, there are a great many Chinese who consider it a mortal sin to eat beef and who refuse to drink milk. Among Chinese on the Tibetan border as well, the general opinion is: niu she fo, the cow is a Buddha. It is also considered a sin to use it for riding; humans should only use it to plough. However, the Tibetan generally spares his horse and rides on his yak, and particularly his p'ien niu (Tibetan: ntso) (Plate LIX of Vol. I). T 231 C 231

On the third of August when the packs had been tied up we were greeted by a beautifully clear morning. This weather prevailed almost all the time of my stay in the Barun-Tsaidam territory. Amid jolly song we went farther up the valley of Turketse gol. Soon after we left our camp the valley's big caravan road that I had heard of became a narrow hardly discernible path that looked more like a kyang route than a bridle path. Only on a terrace of rolling stones leading to a brook where we had to dismount, were there distinct traces of the animals of previous caravans. We went due south, and toward the end the path was very steep. Vegetation was more and more sparse. In spite of the precipitous slope the soil higher up was a barren mass of sand and mire, interspersed with huge piles of rubble and slabs of rock. My little black cluster moved unbelievably slowly toward the pass. The yaks panted heavily. One after another of the animals sank helpless and motionless into the almost bottomless mire. It was no small task to keep unloading the 30-40 kilogram packs, extricate the animals and tie the packs on again. C 133

At the pass which was only 4,815 meters high there was, unfortunately, one snow cloud chased by another and this prevented me from climbing a peak that was about a thousand meters higher than the

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] [177] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[918] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate [474] greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 133 in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch, strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuimu, 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu. [532] Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms [651] of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

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Kalmyk

rented four camels for the crossing. On their high stilt legs they brought the bags of flour dry to the opposite shore, whereas the water ran over the backs of the bullocks. e 193

We camped on the left side of the river at an altitude of 3,170 meters, in other words, not much higher than the large Tsaidam Plain. Because of this, we were almost eaten up by millions of mosquitoes. To the north of us the Yohg'ore Valley soon passed over into the Tsaidam Plain. In the distance we saw the groups of houses comprising Schang rdi kura. On account of the mosquito-pest which was very painful for the animals - we were unable to let the horses graze freely even for a minute because they would immediately attempt to gallop off - I left the Yogh'ore Valley without visiting the houses of the Schang rdi with my caravan. On the following days I traveled over foothills and over several passes of 3,700-4,000 meters into the Barun territory (Plate LXXVIII). I was constantly running into individual Mongol settlements, yurts and flocks. Through some valleys I traveled as fast as I could. I suddenly learned that I had chanced on regions where there was a cattle epidemic. Now, some of my animals had allegedly had the disease, and I had bought them in regions where the pest had just raged very severely; yaks who have survived the disease are called tarma in Tibetan. Nevertheless, I was very much concerned for my herd. C 136 C 563 232

On July 12 we crossed the Ara Usse gol. Da Tschang and I were far ahead of the caravan and we reached this valley early. I was very hospitably received and entertained there by a Tibetan mamba, by a colleague of the science of medicine. The mamba with his wrinkled spouse, a Mongol woman, lived in a Tibetan black yak-hair tent which, inside, was furnished in Mongolian style. It had a two-winged entrance door and instead of the takoa, the walled and well-burning hearth of the Tibetans which always divides their tents in half, it had, Mongolian fashion, a cooking pot on a round, iron tripod about a foot high in the middle of the tent. In the rear of the tent there were a few chests on which stood a few dozen brass bowls containing holy water. The gentleman had evidently carefully packed away his gods before he invited us to step inside. From the ceiling hung countless small cloth pouches, blackened with soot, in which he kept his medicines, roots and seeds. He pulled down a little bag from the driest corner and showed me its contents. It revealed nitrate of potash which was supposed to come from the Lop region, and which he used to prepare gun powder. We talked about the weather and about cattle epidemics. The Ngolok and K'am T 756 342

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 ●
Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
35 caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

S N [621] S N [614] [426] [476] S N

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

SN 563 668 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization
● 233 are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among
SN the nomads.

563 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious.
181 Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the
SN Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivisation
(668) can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence.
181 It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for
153 maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old
SN uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic
563 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily
153 matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable
577 inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered
SN "bad" deeds.

563 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some
153 Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims
779 (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or
155 Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest
184 China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.

241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies.
233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is
182 mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

133 B. Surface Features.

The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

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161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

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361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
• 233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[1]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is M [241] livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. [233] The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours [433] now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. [177] However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to [171] wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours N now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai 619 area he found the following groups of Mongols:

361 (1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-
*[175] 350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
• 233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
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Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
311 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the
233 agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Where the loess has been washed away shales and sandstones are revealed, and often right on the tops of the spurs there are outcroppings of a sort of conglomerate of waterworn pebbles cemented together. The loess mountains in this neighbourhood are little cultivated, being covered with poor-looking pasture, which supports scanty herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Finally there is a descent of a few hundred feet to reach the city of Yungshou Hsien, which lies a little below the crest of the ridge, on the shoulder of a spur up which ascends the Great West Road from the Hsian plains. 487 133 [233]

Yungshou consists of one street running up the ridge and is merely a walled-in section of the big road; it is a replica of Linyu, with a little more life in it owing to its position on the Kansu highway. We had passed through it two years previously almost to a day on our way to the latter province, the season of the year being the end of May. 361

Our next objective was the district city of Ch'unhua (locally Shunhua) distant two marches of 90 li each. Leaving Yungshou we followed up the main road for a few li to regain the crest of the range, where I shot some cock pheasants in almost the identical spot as two years before, and then turned eastwards once more along the top of the ridge for 25 li to a cave village. Here the ridge ends in rolling uplands of loess, the beginning, from this side, of the great loess plateau of Western Shensi. The Belgian railway (Lung Hai) from Hsian to Lanchou will, it is said, follow up the Wei River, the line of the cart road being apparently too difficult; an easier route might perhaps be found following up the slope of this plateau through Sanshui district to Ch'ingyang, and thence through Northern Kansu. The upper portions of these rolling plains where we met them are uncultivated and covered with poor sheep pasture, apparently owing to the lack of water, the one great drawback to the loess; and one might imagine oneself on the grasslands of Eastern Mongolia, until, on attempting to cross the plateau in any direction away from the trail, one almost immediately fetches up against a chasm in the loess with perpendicular walls perhaps hundreds of feet deep. Lower down these uplands are one vast cornfield 487 133 [233]

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438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in

271 many regions. I have only one complaint to make against Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

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Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low 487
pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley
trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another 133
pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several [364]
Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen 342
of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged 487
from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots 133
were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it 235
all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains (elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak, sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba. These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese 133
as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and
west, and always one ascends to them through a region of 563
broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

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487 133 From Tama Ying the trail runs south-west across rolling grassy downs, on which cattle and sheep are pastured, gradually approaching the main range of the Nan Shan on the left front. We saw large numbers of antelope on this march and in places the pasturage was extraordinarily luxuriant and the grass up to the ponies' knees. The stage is a short one of only some 50 li and for the last hour the trail runs through fields of barley to reach Maying Tung, another of the old walled forts with which this region is dotted, surrounded by farms and patches of cultivation. It lies close under the Nan Shan, whose rocky peaks rise above the snow-line, and a few li from the mouth of the gorge leading up to the Kokonor plateau. This is the well-known passage through the Nan Shan called the Pien Tu K'ou, and is a remarkable cleft in the huge wall of rock presented by the main range, from which there issues a torrent flowing north towards Kanchou.

From Maying Tung to Êpo on the Kokonor plateau is a long march, called 100 li, which took us over twelve hours. The trail runs across the plain for an hour or two to reach the foot of the mountains and then enters the Pien Tu K'ou, a narrow gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The trail up the gorge is very bad, and is made more difficult by its constantly crossing and recrossing the torrent, which descends in a succession of cascades and, in the summer, is only just fordable. We were told that camels negotiate this road in the winter, when it is probably much easier. Every time we forded the stream I expected our mules to come to grief, the donkeys, which accompanied us in the capacity of grain carriers for the mules, being in places nearly submerged. At length the inevitable happened, and one of the mule litters turned turtle in mid-stream owing to the mules being swept off their feet by the current; all the contents were washed down stream and the occupant, one of the servants, nearly drowned. This incident, and the subsequent collection of as much flotsam and jetsam as we could recover down stream, delayed us for an hour or so. The gorge is uninhabited except for two likin huts which seem to have gone out of business. After some five hours' march the 233 going improves and the precipitous mountains give way to grassy slopes dotted with herds of yak and flocks of sheep

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueité, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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172 wandering through the deserted temple-courts, where huge, grotesque, clay-images of gods loomed, we perceived, in the corner of a small shrine, two men fast asleep, with their heads pillowed on their bulging cash-bags. A few moments later, we saw these same individuals quietly remove the stones barricading a side door, through which they then slipped and vanished. The action seemed suspicious, for the honest traveller in China is always ready to exchange road-information with other passers-by. We therefore asked the old woman who they might be, but for answer she drew one of us by the sleeve into the recesses of her hovel, and then whispered: 'Nobody knows, and we dare not question them, but they have been hiding here for two days.'

233 Having explored the shadow-filled temple, we proceeded to visit the lonely guardians of a camel encampment, whose tents were pitched about a quarter of a mile distant, where the animals fed on the prickly herbage abundant in the neighbourhood. Seeing us coming, the drover called in his fierce dogs, who at a word slunk behind the tents. Round these the camel packs were symmetrically stacked in a semicircle, while the browsing camels themselves were to be seen outlined against the horizon.

000 The head-man now came forward, and to our surprise we found ourselves confronted by a Lanchow College graduate, the son of just such a wealthy house as that we had lately visited at Fuyi; and presently, over a cup of tea, a delightful hour followed of unconventional, human intercourse, not only with this intelligent, well-educated man, but also with the drovers, for China is a land where a real, though unconscious, democracy exists. When we rose to leave, our host gave the signal for rounding-up, and all the savage dogs then rushed

N.W. China AF B
Kalmyk

Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by an emissary of the dsassak (banner-leader) of Barun who presented me with a khádar and requested me to visit the dsassak in the plains, in Barun Kurä, where he was staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I had been warned on all sides not to go down into the hot, mosquito-filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outlet of which stood our 563 233

1. Ulässutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166, however, is of a different opinion.

previous camp. The region offered little that was attractive or inviting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere, and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in the mountains was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts of grass only above 3,700 meters. Far back in the valley we came upon about twenty yurts of the Barun nomads. I decided to stay here and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The bullocks were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were ready to fetch them, we found only their footprints together with those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They had been stolen and I never saw them again. (1)

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told me that the dsassak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dsassak of Barun visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted courier came dashing up, behind him came the dsassak in the midst of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall, an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100 centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted awkwardly from his horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He, as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gaily-colored caftan, except 643 291

427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T. H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
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Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

[316] 502 136

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

133 [234]

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

[312]

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

stretches.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade.
236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu [439] by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from [236] Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the 487 Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu /33 into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese [797] population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering 502 the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

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Kalmuk

remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling. I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the Horkurma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly having to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strictly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult because the women had too little vision and would often not permit the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

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1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels-20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

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Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[197] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[272] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered ; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness : nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

N 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form.
[596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members'
[241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture
[438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct.
S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never
[233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays
[464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle
S [422] owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows,
S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly
S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy
S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The
[422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and
M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect,
241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest
198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming.
[177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the
N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows,
M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred
[554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy
[603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect-
[421] ively owned.

N 563 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a
M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the
622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he
177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of
178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

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132 it is 37.9 degrees , and at Urumchi it is 39.4. Because of its topographical conditions, the range at Turfan is greater, amounting to 40.8 degrees Centigrade. At all the stations, the yearly range of temperature is above thirty degrees. As to daily difference, the temperature varies more than twenty degrees. This is particularly true in summer when the earth absorbs heat and loses heat more easily.

N Rainfall is meager throughout Northwest China. Generally,
132 it is below 250millimeters. According to some data of the western stations of Kansu, Chang-yeh District has ninety-five millimeters; Chiu-ch'uan has eighty-one millimeters; Tun-huang has forty-six millimeters. The farther inland, the more obvious is the continentality and the less is the precipitation. Summer is usually the period of maximum precipitation. In Chang-yeh District the maximum precipitation is in July, August, and September. They have almost constantly seventy-four percent of the rainfall of the year, whereas the winter months, December, January, and February, have only five percent. The rainfall of the summer months in Chiu-ch'uan is approximately seventy-two percent of the year, but it drops to five percent in the winter months. The variations of the rainfall of Kansu Province are generally above forty
N percent, an amount definitely insufficient for agricultural
[241] usages. Irrigation in Kansu depends mainly on melting snow water from Ch'i-lien-shan rather than rainfall.

S Sinkiang is located approximately in the center of Asia.
132 Blocked by the huge mountains and gigantic desert, the moist
[131] air from the ocean can hardly move into the area so the atmosphere is dry, except in the northwestern section of the province where the topography is relatively open toward the west. When the western winds are strong, moist air is moved into the province. Rainfall is, therefore, heavier. According to the statistics, the mean precipitation is 229 millimeters at Urumchi; 280 millimeters at Ili; 274 millimeters at Chuguchak; and 149 millimeters at Altai. In southern Sinkiang all the stations are separated from the ocean by huge mountains and rainfall is light. For this reason, Kashgar receives only eighty-six millimeters precipitation a year; Kucha receives seventy-six millimeters; and Turfan receives twenty-
S nine millimeters. Charklik (Erh-chiang) has only 4.5 milli-
[161] meters in a year. It has been reported that in the Han Dynasty there were a thousand families living in the district. In 1943, there were only three families with some eleven persons remaining. The meagerness of precipitation through the years and the encroachment of the desert are the major causes for the rapid decrease of the population in Charklik. In some

S 132 places not even as much as 4.5 millimeters falls through the year. There are no longer a series of records showing either the temperature or the precipitation of the area, but the available data show that the total precipitation consists of snow water as well as summer rain in certain parts of the province.

N 132 In the geographical distribution of rainfall there shows a marked contrast between the shady side of the mountainous areas and the oases. On the whole, the southeastern part of Kansu and Shensi receive a relatively greater rainfall than the northwestern sections. For instance, Wu-wei district, in the southeastern section of Kansu, has a comparatively high precipitation, and Chiu-ch'uan, because of its location in the northwestern section of Kansu, has a precipitation that N [241] is relatively low. The former is considered an area of agricultural dominance; the latter, due to less precipitation, makes for agricultural uncertainty.

Because the warmer southern air has been blocked by the Nan-shan and Chin-ling on the southern border of the region, the temperature of Kansu and Shensi is relatively lower than those places in the same latitude in eastern China. For instance, the January temperature in Peking is minus 4.7 degrees Centigrade; in Chiu-ch'uan it is about minus nine degrees Centigrade. In July the temperature in Peking is 25.3 degrees Centigrade, whereas in Chiu-ch'uan it is 23.8 degrees Centigrade. This is due not only to the influence of location - one near the coast and the other inland - but also to the fact that the mountain range runs from west to east as the barrier which shuts off the warm, moist winds from the southeastern coastal areas of China.

S 132 Furthermore, the distribution of precipitation of Sinkiang differs from south to north of the Province. The mean annual precipitation at Kashgar is 89.4 millimeters of which over two thirds, or around seventy three percent, falls in the spring and summer. At Urumchi it is 228.8 millimeters, of which twenty-four percent falls in winter; thirty-four percent falls in spring; fifteen percent falls in summer; and twenty-seven percent falls in autumn. At Kashgar the precipitation is greatest in summer and at Urumchi it falls largely in the spring and autumn months. The Takla Makan desert absorbs the limited moisture from the air. However, in northern Sinkiang the topographical features are comparatively open so that the Arctic Oceanic winds blow toward the area more easily. Thus precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year.

S [241] The dry air reduces cloudiness and thus increases sunshine. The agricultural activities of the area depend largely upon the brilliant sunshine for melting snow on the mountains for irrigation.

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GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation, It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest
184 China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.
241 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies.
233 From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is
182 mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

133 B. Surface Features.

The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

133 mountains, notably the Chin-ling and Mei-chang, forming the boundaries of southern Shensi and northern Szechwan. Water separates the low lands between the mountains, and there are several notable basins such as Han-chung Basin. Except in the Chin-ling section, the mountain range is rather bare and has little vegetation. The slopes along the Chi-lien-shan are strewn with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the gravels. Valleys form vast corridors several miles wide between the mountain ranges. In the central area, where the topography is more level, pebbles, sand dunes, pastures, and swamps appear. The Chi-lien-shan region is suitable primarily for a grazing economy. However, most of the flat [241] land in the valleys has been opened for agricultural use. Spring wheat, millet, linseed, and colze are grown nearly everywhere in the region and form the major foodstuffs of the people.

The Chi-lien-shan is the major mountain range in this section [103] of Northwest China. It has received various names. The eastern end of the range is called the Liu-pan-shan or the "six coil mountain." The upper Yellow River cuts a gap through the links of the mountain range so that the Liu-pan-shan is an isolated mountain from which the Yellow River runs north and northeastward. The Wei River, one of the major tributaries of the Yellow River, runs along the south edge of the Liu-pan-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan eastward to Shensi Province, along the northern piedmont of the Chin-ling-shan. North of the Wu-sha-ling, or Dark Sand Peak, 120 miles northwest of Lanchou, a narrow strip of land extends along the northern foot of the Ch'i-lien-shan. From here westward, the land is relatively flat and plain. This area is called the Kansu Corridor. It is the important passageway to the Northwest of China.

All streams, as well as meltwater, come down from the Ch'i-lien-shan and run toward the north or northeast. Some streams disappear into the desert after a short distance. This is the case almost everywhere in Northwest China. This is one of the main reasons why agricultural products cannot be evenly distributed and dependably developed in the area.

Geologically speaking, the Tertiary formation appears in a number of basins in Kansu Province. The beds are generally composed of red clays, conglomerates, red sandstones, and gypsum. The geological structures remain the same to the mountain ranges of both the north and the south, the Ch'i-lien-shan and the Ho-li-shan, which is submerged into the Mongolian Gobi and the semi-steppes. They are mainly composed of Silurian and Devonian structures resting unconformably on older

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161 (Continued)

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
Southwest China	98,193,000
Northwest China	35,358,000

In the distribution of population densities, the Northwest is not comparable with other major regions except Tibet and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region as the following indicates:

Major Regions	Average Density per Sq. Mi.
Northwest	28.6
North	623.0
Northeast	214.0
Central and South	400.0
Southwest	222.0
Tibet & Shangtu Area	3.0
IMAR	17.0
Whole country	160.0

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162 Of the 35.3 million people of the Northwest, 28.8 million are found in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, only 6.5 million in Chinghai and Sinkiang. This contrast between the true Han-Chinese occupied eastern part and the multi-minority peopled western portion is sufficient to portray the unevenness of the population distribution. It becomes even more obvious when this distribution is expressed in terms of the size of the land occupied. Shensi and Kansu, including Ninghsia, have an area of 313,801 square miles which gives an average density of ninety-one persons per square mile, while Chinghai and Sinkiang have an area of 1,010,000 square miles with a density of 6.5 per square mile. The density of the eastern portion without Ninghsia would be increased to 126 persons per square mile, for Ninghsia has at most 800,000 people in an area of about 91,500 square miles. However, the larger density of Shensi and Kansu without Ninghsia is still below the average of the country.

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Broadly speaking, apart from the general uneven distribution between the eastern and western parts of the region, their distribution displays a special pattern. To the southeast of Nan-shan and Alashan mountain ranges and within the mid-drainage of the Yellow River and the Han-chung Basin, people are concentrated in the fertile valley plains where irrigation is possible, and also in the terrace dry lands of the Liu-pan hills where the annual rainfall is generally below fifteen but above ten inches which, though hardly adequate, is sufficient for growing millet, kaoliang, and even some spring wheat. Population is spread out more evenly in large expanses such as the Han-chung Basin, Wei-ho valley plain, and around Lanchou, a confluent basin where the Tatung, Huang-shui and T'ao-ho converge on the Yellow River, or in long stretches as in southeast Ninghsia between the Alashan Range and the Yellow River course.

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*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [199] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

*563 191 195

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 24 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

+563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
[792] together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

+563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
• 241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[292] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

N *563 621 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

• 241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of N *563 592 the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, [595] instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the N herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death [768] of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N C. The Mongours

*563 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a M reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, 173 brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in 565 Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops *563 depending on the size of the territory and the population of which M he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor 565 social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol [701] rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese M and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four [614] general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the *563 appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan M chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of 614 T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. 554 Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his M "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social [428] organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling
342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored
134 chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess
plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high
plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of
the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under
recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture
Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ning-
hsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi pro-
duce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because
the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi
along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce
good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and mil-
let. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where
there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained
by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible
in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small per-
centage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey
of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of
the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of
irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land
and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction
of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise
again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic
plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short
grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is charac-
terized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the
vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills
and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert
area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along
the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in
this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and
a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed
under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of
organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for
plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertil-
izer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant
residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

241 311 131 423 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate provinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm households, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey, p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 31 133 132 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farming. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

241 133 134 Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP (Maize, barley, oats, etc. excluded)	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 lb)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
KANSU	WHEAT	8,055	8,359	8,434	8,330	8,247	10,331	9,424	8,953	8,411	9,077
	COTTON (lint)	123	141	167	202		37	41	51	57	
	RICE (not glutinous)	50	66	72	69		127	152	141	157	
	MILLET (excluding proso millet)	2,326	2,126	1,967	1,947		3,667	2,949	,510	2,817	
	SWEET POTATOES	116	182	184	184		1,399	1,273	1,236	1,214	
NINGHSIA	WHEAT	337	360	379	396	409	394	558	514	522	594
	COTTON		7	8	8			1	1		
	RICE	79	83	91	95		104	108	77	102	
	MILLET	220	198	227	226		341	329	341	359	

following page 642

• 241 433

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 LB)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
CHINGHAI	WHEAT	2,444	2,356	2,319	2,427	2,409	3,501	4,096	3,030	3,641	3,797
	MILLET	260	273	215	231		254	447	205	285	
SHENSI	WHEAT	14,853	15,827	16,642	17,034	18,060	28,134	23,908	22,057	16,876	23,373
	COTTON	3,895	3,187	3,671	3,590		997	862	670	945	
	RICE	1,090	1,026	887	789		3,236	3,212	1,965	1,960	
	MILLET	3,363	2,975	2,698	2,678		3,879	4,163	3,226	3,658	
	POTATOES	353	342	336	337		3,759	3,132	2,818	2,530	

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following page 642 (a)

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T. H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	5	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kao-liang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought years 1928-1931. [136] [731]

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J. L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 175 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [175] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
433

Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

311 In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
139 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*195 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
48 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
[435] tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for
[433] their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of
433 resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668

A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 476 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through cooperativization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining 433 these into agricultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 311 185 *668 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 185 *668 288 439 [248] Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to
[177] improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
[177] nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
*668 region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the
[433] country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing
[242] the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.
[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

N
241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called
N ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres themselves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
121 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
241 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent
668 agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

S
175 1. Sinkiang

By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
474 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
241 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
668 and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with
[476] roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

S
241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[474] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

S
242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

S
668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S
668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

N
2. Chinghai

*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review, Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

N
*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
•241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
185
*175
433

175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large maghi-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

*668 241 185 *175 Because Chinghai is a dry region and irrigation works are needed the Communists planned for 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) of land to be brought under cultivation in 1955. Five teams of irrigation workers arrived at selected places to help extend the area of irrigated land. The plan for 1955 involved improving the irrigation canals, servicing 4,600 hectares (11,367 acres), and the setting up of two pumping stations. The Communists claimed that by the end of 1954, fifty per cent more land was irrigated than before the "liberation."

*668 185 Chinghai's problems are similar to those that prevail in Sinkiang. Production plans are not fulfilled, especially those plans for oil bearing crops and the improvement of sheep breeds. This is supposed to reflect a lack of responsibility on the part of the cadres toward the State's plans but the real problem undoubtedly lies with the difficulties of intricate planning and the insufficient number of trained, skilled cadres. Excessive spending and waste were attacked and these were blamed on the weakness of ideological leadership. The report by Chang Kuo-sheng goes so far as to say that workers are honest and loyal but it is the cadres who still retain "bourgeois" thoughts, and are to blame. Thus, it appears that the peasants are not being criticized for planning and organizational defects for fear of antagonizing and isolating many of them from Communist rural organizations.

*668 185 241 It seems fairly self-evident that as the work of planning in the agricultural areas becomes more complicated and detailed in nature, the number of technicians will have to be increased. In addition to being skillful accountants, agro-technicians, etc., they will have to be ideologically trained so as to faithfully carry out the State's plans. The Communists, then, have a twofold job: to train members of the various nationalities to be technicians and at the same time to turn them into good Communists. The speed at which they are attempting to turn out a large number may mean poorly trained technicians. This will complicate and hinder agricultural planning even more.

*668 578 Heijaochiatso, the Vice-Governor of Chinghai, delivered a speech on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress on the progress made in Chinghai, which differed greatly in content from other speeches given by nationality leaders of the various frontier regions of China. While most of the other speeches to the National People's Congress dealt with concrete advancements made in the nationality areas, Vice-Governor Heijaochiatso's report was devoted largely to acts of sabotage and resistance to socialization in Chinghai. A quotation will serve to point this out. "Because we are carrying out our construction plans very satisfactorily, the enemy both within and without the country has resorted to mad acts of sabotage in various forms. Very recently, in some pastoral areas, the rumor spread to the effect that the organization of cooperatives in pastoral areas is a disguised form

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate [474] greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

*668 The number of large domestic animals increased to over
231 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection
313 was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some
*175 280,000 mou (42,566 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it
185 will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output
433 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be in-
[241] creased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so
[231] that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be
[313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing
*668 the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of
185 all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer
[474] co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also
[241] to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and
[578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

000 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.

*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[315] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigati
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acre of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechan state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Ka
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburb
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hu Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech b Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feud
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolis 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
404 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their familie
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutua
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchase
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditic

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. If hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

*668 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chi-
● 241 nese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of
474 agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw
185 materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of
agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far,
[651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural
taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They
have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels.
Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the
peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is
expected that once some nucleus of control has been established
in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid coopera-
tives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will
take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have
563 proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agri-
cultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national
[474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in
the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a
barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small
241 supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and
654 the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this.
452 It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in
the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and suffi-
cient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have
241 attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through
433 extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They
have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly mili-
tary, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and con-
struct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of
this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai
and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming
procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible.
Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Com-
munists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a
scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they
have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive
farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest,
241 with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect
231 in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to
433 increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton,
and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from
policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L.
Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

*668 to the soil by planting grass, resodding, etc., and encouraging
241 the production of livestock. The reason for Chinese Communist
231 policy could be that wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops
433 (these are the only three types of crops ever mentioned in Chinese Communist statistics) have priority over everything else as these crops are urgently needed in other parts of China as well as to sustain population increase and industrial construction in the Northwest.

*668 It is difficult to forecast prospective agricultural development
241 in the Northwest. The Communists have demonstrated that they
433 are intensely interested in developing the region and they have provided capital, when available, and vast amounts of labor to reclaim land, construct irrigation systems, and build water reservoirs. However, one gets the impression from reviewing past achievements and future goals that the Communists are depending largely on organizational changes in agriculture to bring them the desired output increases. When new targets are established, they are to be realized not by state financial or technical assistance, but through greater exertion on the part of the peasantry, more closely organized planning, better utilization of resources, and through cooperative endeavor and labor emulation.

At this stage of development, the State has few resources that it can divert to the Northwest to aid in the development of agriculture. It is forced therefore to rely solely on the production relationships already existent there and reorganize these relationships when able, to make for increased productivity. We have already cited the difficulties the Communists have encountered in their attempts to reorganize agriculture. And it has been strongly suggested that as planning becomes more intricate, and as more technicians and planners are required, the problems will multiply. One link in the entire chain of planning has only to break and large sections of the economy would be disrupted. When output increases are as vital and necessary as they are now, and the demand for greater food supplies increases, the burden on agriculture will become heavier.

It is questionable whether any increases in food production, i.e., wheat, rice, maize, barley, millet, will be of an amount sufficient to be exported to China Proper. Instead, output increases will be required to feed the expanding population of the Northwest; the recent efforts to expand the production of cotton and oil seed bearing crops by bringing additional land under cultivation for the planting of these commercial crops, may, over a period of time, yield quantities sufficient to supply the textile processing mills the Communists are planning to construct. There is a possibility also that livestock increases and the by-products from livestock, i.e., wool, meat, etc., will be of sufficient supply to be exported to other parts of China. However, consider-

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able time will have to elapse before there can be the proper processing and handling of such by-products.

During the next five to eight years, at least, it is questionable whether the Northwest, from an agricultural standpoint, can contribute significantly to the industrialization program being enacted on the Chinese Mainland. The big problem will be whether the Northwest can contribute agricultural surpluses toward its own future economic development, and the answer depends on the success of cooperativization of agriculture and the maintenance of a constant outflow of food and agricultural raw materials. So far, we are only able to point out the trends in agricultural management and the stress on production of certain commercial crops and food staples. The problems the Communists have encountered and will continue to meet have also been mentioned. But it is still too early to venture an opinion as to the success of Chinese Communist policy in developing the broad base of agriculture in the Northwest.

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content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old. 361 [634]

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea, 438 241 135

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc., 241 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, 135 iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret 563 society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of communication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three 133 weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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487 countries. Yet a series of macadamized trunk roads would be an inestimable boon politically and economically to the country and the people and could be constructed at a comparatively small cost; some of the large sums spent annually for the upkeep of unnecessary military forces in the various provinces might with great advantage be diverted to this end.

133 Leaving Hsingan the Han River is crossed by a ferry above the city and the trail then runs westwards up the [491] valley plain of the Yo River, which is navigable for small [241] boats from Hanyin down. Its valley forms a rich little alluvial plain growing rice and wheat and supporting many farms and villages, and offering an admirable route for a railway westwards, which can thus avoid the gorges of the Han in this neighbourhood. To the south a range of mountains rises steeply to a height of a few thousand feet, separating this little plain from the Han River, while to the north the valley slopes up to low hills of red clay backed by mountains. Seventy li from Hsingan the township of Hengk'ou is reached, the end of the first stage, situated at the junction of the Yo River with the Heng River from the north. It has the honour of being the native place of the present Military Governor of the Province, General Ch'en Shu-fan, the old rule, which has many advantages, that an official is debarred from serving in his native province, no longer holding good.

487 From Hengk'ou to Hanyin is called 110 li, but the road is good and the li very short (at least four to the mile), so that with ponies and pack mules the distance can easily be done in a day. The Chinese li is commonly considered to be the equivalent of a third of a mile, which, however, is only the case in out of the way parts of Kansu. Elsewhere north of the Ch'inling Shan ten li to three miles may be taken as a fairly accurate average. In the upper Han valley, as in Szechuan, the li averages about four to a mile, or even more in the mountains; the difference north and south of the Ch'inling Shan being probably due to the use of animal and coolie transport in those regions respectively.

Ten li beyond Hengk'ou the hills close in on the river to form a *kuan*, or barrier, and the path crosses a low spur to descend again into the valley, here less than a mile in width, up which it continues past several large villages, crossing and recrossing the stream by fords, for the rest of the way to Hanyin.

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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361 Fop'ing, formerly a T'ing and now a third class Hsien, is a tiny place, a mere walled hamlet, containing only twenty or thirty families, and is probably about the smallest and most miserable of all the Hsien cities in China Proper. It lies in a cultivated valley, on the headwaters of a stream which apparently flows west and then south to join the Han near Ch'engku. This valley, over 6000 feet above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by [241] lofty mountains; it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop [262] in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanchung plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including T'aipai Shan in the N.W. corner. The post of magistrate is naturally not sought after. The Chinese consider Fop'ing a "dreadfully bitter" place (*k'u ti hen*), since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies; but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday.

136 We stayed a couple of days at Fop'ing, during which it rained in the valley and snowed on T'aipai and the higher ranges. The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains

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plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
133

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lun[illegible]—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kan'tsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world.

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over
133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends
[361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out
[346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
438 suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank
of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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133 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan
563 or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands,
487 passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou
[361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in
792 this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the
[241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We
609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley, past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

361 Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [24] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor 648 border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

131 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue ; and i
time all was in order, so that, apart from the
the feet and legs of man and beast were enc
sheath of thick mud, which gradually harden
consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage wa

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast whe
where in late autumn the persimmon grove
beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage
glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together
golden fruit hanging in profusion from the
boughs, are very distinctive features. The
food, also, was the best we had met with in Ch
before long we entered the pear-growing distric
Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for
all sides. Here, besides filling every chink
luggage with the pears, we considerably adde
elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,'
several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy
the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of K
[443] passed a number of booths in which were sold
small articles carved from the wood of the ju
(*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality
red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard
almost indestructible. A plantation of the
346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock,
has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting
After wandering around and between its huge
climbed the many flights of steps leading to
723 on a level with the prodigious face. This
forms one of a group of three colossal images,
of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—
thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hou
must move towards his sleeping brother, repo
stretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him

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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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your sins to God, and ask Him to incline the heart of the Mandarin to restore the water to this district. Meanwhile, let everyone of you fetch his own spade, and supply my men and myself with tools, and we will see what can be done by clearing the canal in preparation for the water for which we have just been praying.' In an hour's time the preacher and men, having thrown off their coats, were digging hard, and repairing the channel. Two days later, Dr. Kao received a summons from the Civil Magistrate of Kanchow, requiring his medical assistance. Before he left the Yamen, the Mandarin said: 'What is this I hear about you and your men, digging out an irrigation-canal at Hehcheng—Black City? I really think something ought to be done for those people over there; as soon as I am rid of this illness, I will enquire into the matter.'

A few days later the water which so long had been withheld poured down the canal, and a new life began for the inhabitants of Black City.

On the occasion of our visit, they had just reaped their first harvest, and some were eating wheaten-bread for the first time in two years. Their homes were almost denuded of the necessities of existence. When we entered many of the barest farms, the women dared not descend from the *kang* to receive us, their rags only covering their nakedness while sitting huddled together, and girls of eleven years of age went about entirely unclothed. Yet even in this poverty-stricken place gifts of food were brought us daily—a few eggs; a bowl of green wheat steamed till the grains burst; a handful of garlic picked wild in the fields, or a bunch of the desert-grown, edible plant (Nostoc commune flagelliforme) known as 'hair-grass,' from its likeness to black human hair;—all these things and many others were presented to us in token of friendship and goodwill.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a [7/2] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. [312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. 361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first 346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the 342 number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1.~~

waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 241
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132] night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136] which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

312 his own room and cared for him, and the subsequent
485 doings of the day for the remainder of the party are best described in the words of the diary, written at the time: 'Ate, slept, got up, and ate again; then back to bed for the night.'

312 The oasis of Petuntz—'White Tower'—formed a green patch in the arid surroundings. A delightful-
[24] looking stream gushed from the cliff and ran into a tiny canal which watered a patch of wheat and a small field of the opium-poppy in full bloom, which raised in us the hope for vegetables, but we found the water to be too alkaline to permit their growth. This property of the water we had, however, already discovered for ourselves, for our first instinct on arrival had been to run to the crystal spring and drink deeply from it; it was, however, a most disappointing experiment, so that here we had to take our first lesson in self-control as regards drinking, for the advice of experienced travellers is: 'Where the water is brackish, drink the least possible, as the more you drink the more parched will be your mouth!' It was now we learnt the bitter lesson that that delicious beverage known to us as 'tea' became in these places only a noxious infusion of tannin which left our lips dry, cracked and black. We found the only palatable way of dealing with desert water was to boil dough-strings in it, the flour and water absorbing the salts. We also, as well as all other caravans, carried certain drugs to administer to the mules as required, serious illness being frequently caused by their inability to assimilate the unaccustomed qualities of the water, human beings, however, as well as beasts who spend long periods in these parts, become at length accustomed to it, and cease to notice its bitterness.

494 The life of the few families forming these settlements

5: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

city. He afterwards confessed that he never expected to see me again. My new undertaking seemed too risky to him. Above all, he felt that I had taken along too few people. I, too, was convinced that we were too weak, but my financial condition was to blame for that. The first night we stayed in Tschen hai pu and on the second day of our journey we reached Dankar. On the next stage I covered the 70 li up to Schara khoto. I had decided to take the road traveled by K'am traders as far as the Hwang Ho and the Ngolok country. I had traveled this road with Filchner in 1904, but at that time we did not know that this was a much-frequented way. It is the easiest route and the one on which it is possible to make the most headway.

On January 23 we camped in the middle of the Remo Yung (Mongolian: Ara Gol), a few kilometers from the ruins of Tsaghan tsch'eng; and on the following day we rode past the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains and at dusk reached the peasant colony of Tschabtscha. The weather in the highlands was clear and beautiful every day. There were only a few individual cumulus clouds that swept past us and over the dry, barren tala steppe that is visible south of Tschabtscha. At noon in protected spots the temperature went up to zero, and once it even went to +2°; at night it cooled off to -26° and once it even went to -31°. It was bitter cold, for the wind never seemed to die down and it cut to the bone.

Although Tschabtscha lies at an altitude of 2,990-3,040 meters, a permanent village settlement has developed here and from year to year more and more Amdo-Chinese and Tibetans come here, among them many who have been guilty of some kind of mischief elsewhere. In answer to my question I was told that 250 families live in the scattered settlement. Most of them have come within the last ten years. Originally the land belonged to a Mongolian gung (duke) who today is in the Tsungkuk Valley near Gomba soma. Barley, oats, buckwheat, flax, even potatoes and some wheat are grown here. Three favorable months make this possible in spite of the northern latitude and the great altitude. One of the chief factors is the sunny, southerly position of the valley pocket. The village nestles in the declivity of the South Koko Nor Mountains between /100/ a few low foothills, and is protected from storms. Another factor is the loess that is quite thick here and was piled up because the South Koko Nor Mountains formed protected nooks into which the dust that was blown here from afar could settle. Finally, not the least important factor is the Tschabtscha tschü, a lively brook, that comes down from the mountains and can be utilized for irrigation of the fields, so that close

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beside the steppe, oasis-like, human endeavor has conjured up rich grain fields, and even isolated trees. Because of this stream the peasants have become independent of the spring rains and can make their seeds sprout when the steppes round about are still dry and dead. The inhabitants of Tschabtscha, Tibetan families who are emigrants from the Bayan rung district, as well as Chinese and Mohammedan families - the latter mostly rebels from the year 1896 who have since then wandered back from the Lob Nor but have not dared to come into Hsining - without exception enjoy a very bad reputation. I myself cannot complain, however. They invited me to pitch my tent on a barn floor, sold me grass and straw at a ridiculously low price and put my animals in an enclosed court. We stopped here for a day in order to have the saddling thoroughly inspected for the last time before crossing the uninhabited areas, although my interpreter Tschang implored me by all that was dear to me not to trust the peace of the Tibetans and to leave the ill-reputed town as quickly as possible. All during the day of rest he hid in my tent and begged and implored me not to let it be known that I had a yamen interpreter with me. He said that Tschabtscha never gives the Hsining government ula and the yamen interpreters are always miserably beaten up here.

Until shortly before my arrival 30 Horkurma-Ngolok with several hundred yak had a camp beside the town and from here they traded the yearly supplies of grain that were needed for the tribe, because, as "free Fan tse" the Dankar market was closed to them and they do not have a Hsiß-dia there and can only enter the city secretly and in small groups. These 30 are old acquaintances of ours. They were the same on whom the Wanschdäch' Tschabtscha tribe had played such a nasty trick in the fall.

Anyone who wants to become familiar with the creeps need only travel with a caravan in East Tibet. Already on the way to Tschabtscha our nights were very uncomfortable. Sometimes the dogs would not settle down for hours and kept dashing out into the dark steppe. During our stop-over in Tschabtscha we were dished up a lot of tales of robbers. When I tried to increase my little band for the next few days of the journey, I could not even get five armed Tschabtscha horsemen. They felt that five was too few and too weak a band for the return journey. So on January 26 I continued with my little group. At first we followed the large road that leads along the southern slope of the mountains to the Dabassu Nor. We had ridden about four hours when I saw a dot in the distance through my glasses. A very queer apparition was moving toward us. In the dancing,

area; the Hu lao Ho River must here wind its way largely through narrow ravines of granite and gneiss. However, even here most of the mountains consisted of red loam of amazingly large proportions. 133

The farther south I came, the richer became the soil. A day's journey north of Tsinchow, kao liang, rice, and cotton appeared and these fields interchanged with endless stretches of persimmon trees the sweet fruit of which hung fiery red on the bare, leafless branches, and presented a picture which we so often see on the colored prints of Japanese painters and which seem so unreal to us. Unfortunately, I was obliged to carry out my long endurance rides in the south during almost steady rains. 241

I found the city of Tsinchow (1,130 meters above sea level) very different from the rest of the Kansu cities; I saw practically no house in ruins. Most of the buildings are made of brick and stand in the midst of gardens and thousands of fruit trees. The city has a little more than 50,000 inhabitants, among them 4,000 Mohammedans. Here, too, however, the merchants complained of the inconsiderateness of the administration which was constantly creating unfair taxes and new difficulties for trade, so that a great many hangs which arranged transports to Han tschung fu and Szechwan, had to close up in the last few years. But even so the city is slowly growing. The houses are squeezed into five separate walls and even outside the walls there are living quarters and this makes a picture that is entirely absent in northern Kansu. In ancient times the city was called Tscheng schi hsien and the first emperor of the Tang dynasty was said to come from here. Not far to the north on a mountain lie the loess ruins of almost completely disintegrated remains of walls from the Han period like the walls of ancient Teutonic times, in which Duke Wei hsiao gun was said to have lived for a time as an independent ruler (25-58 A.D.). Today the plow leads over the site. The bad Fan li hoa is also supposed to have been born not much farther from the city in the present-day Fan kia tsch'eng, and the inhabitants maintained in all seriousness that within the district, in the market town of Be yang Chu, the descendants of the family of Ming emperors live under the assumed name of Tschang, formerly Tsche. 361

The city owes a large part of its fresh appearance to the fact that it happened to escape the Mohammedan disorders as well as the incendiaries of the Tai /326/ ping era. At that time the battles reached as far as Tsing ngan hsien and the latter as well as Tsing schui hsien in the north and Hui hsien in the south, all three of which

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, [178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- [596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this [614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of [619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and [701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and [622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of [554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- [634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of [242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their 177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, [634] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present [242] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to S N a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change [361] their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N 829 III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
873 *563 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

829 563

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realisation of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to
[177] improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
[177] nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
*668 region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the
[433] country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the
[242] introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[918] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate [474] greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen

*668 *175 241 312 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

S 592 0.58 acres per capita as against 0.68 in China Proper. It is
241 difficult to obtain a picture of the land tenure system because of
422 the lack of data. But according to a field survey referred to by Owen Lattimore covering sixty-five households in two villages in the Khotan oasis, the smallest farm was 1.08 acres and the
S largest farm was eight acres. A further breakdown revealed that
(184) rich peasants in this group had average holdings of eleven acres, middle peasant 5.7, and the poor peasants 2.8 acres. In the area where this survey was conducted, it seems that the farms of the poor were too small for the efficient use of draft animals and there was the problem of efficiently employing, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family. (Pivot of Asia, p. 169.)

S 4. Forestry
311 There is forest land in the rich Ili valley but it is questionable
313 whether much timber can be exploited without serious damage to the soil. Since much of Sinkiang is desert and wasteland there are few forest reserves; out of the total Sinkiang area only about five per cent is forest land.

C. Kansu, Shensi, Ninghsia, and Chinghai

N 1. The setting
133 J. L. Buck refers to this part of the Northwest as the spring
134 wheat and winter wheat-millet area. In the spring wheat area
(243) (northern Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi) high hills, small mountains, and narrow irrigated valleys characterize the best agricultural land. But along the great wall in Shensi, Ninghsia and Kansu are many undulating sand dunes extending from ten to seventy miles both northward and southward. When the Mongols occupied this region, these dunes were covered with grass and shrubs, but where the Chinese settled here, they cultivated the slightly more fertile land in the depressions between the dunes; once the grass was destroyed the winds blew the sand so as to make farming impossible and other nearby good soil was covered with the blowing sand. Grass in such land can seldom be resodded, and it is thus that land once useful, at least for pasture, is now entirely destroyed.

N The winter wheat-millet area (southern Kansu, Ninghsia, and
133 Shensi) extends over a great part of a loess-covered plateau, a
134 high, dissected peneplain, carved largely from red or purple sholes
243 and conglomerates, covered with deposits, largely lacustrine, and blanketed by wind-blown dust, known as loess, which varies in thickness from about twenty to more than 150 meters. The fields in this region are very irregular and small, and most of the surface is so eroded that cultivation is difficult and much terracing is necessary.

N The climate is cold, dry, and windy in winter. The typical
132 precipitation is low, about fourteen inches, and exceedingly

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed. 133 487

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River. [243]

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to 487 579

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [361]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [491]

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361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 243 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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487 From Fenghsiang to Yao Chou by this route is a distance of about 510 li, and thence to Yenan another 530 li.

133 Leaving Fenghsiang Fu by the East Gate the trail soon turns off the main road to the N.E. and runs across the plain for 20 li to the foot of the hills. Crossing a spur a few hundred feet high the path then descends into the ravine of a stream which is followed up for two hours' march to the hamlet of K'angchia Ho. The surrounding mountains are all of loess terraced for the cultivation of wheat and maize, [243] with the scattered inhabitants living mostly in caves. In this neighbourhood we came across some chikor of exception-136 ally large size (the handsome red-legged partridge of North China), the only occasion on which I have seen them in the loess. These birds are called *Shih Chi* (stone fowl) in the mountains of Northern Chihli, where they are common, frequenting bare stony slopes. They are found in large coveys, which seldom fail to make their presence known by their characteristic call; but they are most difficult to shoot, as they are inveterate runners, always up hill, and, being very strong, carry a great deal of shot; the only way to get them is to descend on them from above. They are excellent eating, but not so good as the little brown partridge with a black patch on the breast, also fairly common in the mountains of the North. Throughout our journeys in Shensi and Kansu, however, we saw very few partridges compared to pheasants.

487 From K'angchia Ho the trail runs up a branch of the stream to the N.E. for a few li and then strikes up the hill 133 side, and following a ridge between two ravines ascends gradually to reach a pass (4300 feet), the boundary between Fenghsiang and Linyu districts. There is much uncultivated land on these mountains, the grass-grown terraces gradually becoming obliterated; this is a common sight throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, and together with the many ruined villages points to a decrease in population, supposed to be due to the ravages of the great Mahomedan rebellion of fifty years ago, but perhaps also due to a gradual desiccation of this region. All around are loess ridges and ravines in bewildering confusion; but there appears to be a sort of watershed trending S.E., a range which is known further east as the Ch'i Shan. From the pass there is no immediate

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487 through which the path descends to reach the township of
133 Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

243 The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The
464 crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands,
438 harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

487 From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction
133 across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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but here and there the remains of old terraces, evidently abandoned for many years, are noticeable. Descending from the pass this curious zone of comparatively rich vegetation is soon left behind and one approaches Yenan by a desolate looking valley between hills of sandy, barren loess. The [243] crops are miserable in the extreme, and consist mostly of millet, little or no wheat being grown. Three to four hours' march down this valley brought us to the gates of Yenan Fu.

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CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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669 Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-
563 chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

487 From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west,
133 reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang
[243] side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a
312 highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow 634
River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not 563
far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across 487
undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 487
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tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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502 were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.
439 In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice
222 root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this
133 is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

361 Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River
243 in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic.
439 Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

T 756 Tibetans are said to have a good remedy for the latter. They are said to induce a sort of protective disease in their animals so that their animals do not contract the diseases as often or as severely. They kill young, sick animals when they are in the recuperative stage and feed their meat and blood to well animals. After this the latter are said to be sick for almost a week and eat nothing, but afterward they are immune, the mamba said. This "medicine" is largely bought from the Ngolok by the Koko Nor Tibetans and Mongols. But by the time it reaches the north it is usually spoiled and then it is reportedly not very efficacious. /345/

C ●243 563 On July 14 we reached Ikhe gol. Here, at 3,185 meters, we came upon barley fields which the Barun Mongols had planted. I had also seen some in the lower Yogh'ore Valley. They were capable of being irrigated but looked extremely poor. I never again saw such uncared-for fields. The Mongols maintain that they are able to cultivate the same field only every six years. Then only do they plow their fields and sow thinly between the huge clods of earth, without harrowing or fertilizing. The weeds which grow up during the long period when the fields lie fallow are almost never removed, so that it was difficult for me to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated acres. The Ts'aidam Mongols are surely the laziest farmers in the world. For this reason they are obliged to get the largest part of their barley supply in Dankar.

C 133 From our camp along the Ikhe Gol we soon came out of the mountains. But we were obliged to march from morning till night in order to find a new pasture for our animals. The way led over a desert of stones, over the Piedmont gravel, the schala (Mongolian) of the Tsaidam Basin. The edge of the mountains, from which the Tibetan highland descends into the Tsaidam Plain, runs west-northwest to east-southeast. The declivity consists of completely barren, savagely cut-up crests which, toward the north, sink into the yellowish, weather-beaten dust and gravel of the schala. The latter is only very sparsely covered with desert plants, with tamarisks and other low shrubs. The bullocks reluctantly and very laboriously stamped over the sharp-edged stones of the ground. (Plate LXXVII). The farther west I came, the drier became the character of the landscape, and the more signs of vegetation disappeared. With every step it became more like a desert. For a long time now there had been no more small woods in the border-mountains, and the grass patches also dwindled noticeably.

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile, 133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiangt'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to [244] preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tatung River is crossed by [491] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of [361] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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244 water melon, here grown to perfection, not the insipid watery pulp it is in many provinces, but a huge mass of juicy fruit of the most delicate flavour; and the *ta kua*, a tasteless variety fed to sheep and goats, and grown for its seeds. We were told that there is only one other melon which can compete with those of Lanchou for juiciness and delicacy of flavour, and that is the *Hami kua*, from Hami in Turkestan.

487 Our round tou of North-Western Kansu, *via* Liangchou, Chenfan, Êpo, and Hsining, a distance of about 700 miles, had occupied a little more than a month.

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609 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left
576 the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

797 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the
212 Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at
871 his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

241 THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also to be bought, as this district[1], unlike many others, produces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

shied in terror at something none of us could see, but which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel. For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation, and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of five magnificent black vultures caught our attention. They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines :

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow ;
> Midday to morn onward we go ;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow ;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know ;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low !'

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a 'thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written :

> 'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back
> at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[486] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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000 through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

133 The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running [245] from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just 136 over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

[361] Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but [712] stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous 622 farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, 361 and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All • 245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene 776 was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth 782 day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lungtu—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kan'tsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world.

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668

A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera- 476 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm 433 implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be 241 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, 311 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of 185 the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of *668 irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and 311 planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is 185 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the *668 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang 288 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this 439 way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-suffici- [248] ent in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

*668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to
669 have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
578 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now,
248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
• 248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
31 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found tnat the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
494 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[496] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[494] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[496] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 • 248 [458] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the
133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of
[248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the
[438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 249 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing [248] plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of the largest and most important cities in the province, though
438 this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the • 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very 244
good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also [248] [286]
to be bought, as this district[1], unlike many others, produces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when 316
burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used 491
alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the 172
ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

1 [Kaotai -- Analyst]

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175 settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of 721 conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has survived many vicissitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

249 The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial 361
governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa 487
respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. 133
The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan com- [563]
munity with two mosques. In the woods one will often see 249
heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a 438
vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much 262
esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance 487
of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, 133
occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T. T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

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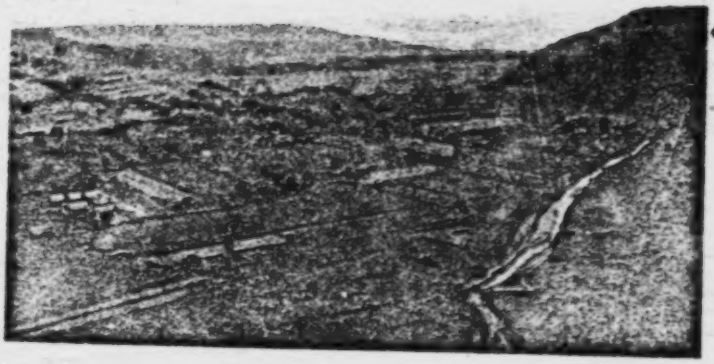
PLATE XIX

491

STONE CAUSEWAY ACROSS LOESS RIFT, E. SHENSI

249



INDIGO FIELDS IN IRRIGATED LOESS VALLEY NEAR HANCH'ENG

[FACING p. 84]

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being the most isolated post occupied by the mission; Ninghsia is probably the worst off in this respect; but in any of them years may go by without the resident missionary seeing a strange European face. The Catholics are strong in the neighbourhood, having a large establishment with a bishop at a village called Chenchia Chuang, 20 li to the west.

The Liangchou neighbourhood used to be famous for its poppies, the opium being considered the best native drug produced in China. The success of China's measures for the suppression of poppy cultivation has been one of the most striking events in her recent history. In 1907 the policy of total suppression within ten years was adopted amidst general scepticism on the part of most foreigners and many Chinese. It was generally felt that this policy would be but another instance of the maxim *Yu Ming Wu Shih* (Theory but not Practice), so deeply engrained in Chinese official life. The ten years have now elapsed, and though cultivation may not be completely extinct in wild mountain districts and amongst the semi-independent tribes of the west and south-west, yet one may travel for months through the plains and valleys of provinces such as Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, where most of the native opium consumed in North China used to be produced, and never see a single poppy plant. Conclusive evidence of the success of the suppressive measures is to be found in the fact that in the former poppy-growing areas of Shensi and Kansu, where opium could be bought locally ten years ago for 100 cash an ounce, the price has now risen to about 12,000 cash an ounce. Further the success which has been attained, has been accomplished in face of great obstacles, such as the revolution, after which there was a general recrudescence of cultivation, and the subsequent rebellions; in every case where there was a general collapse of local government and law and order the people immediately returned to their poppy cultivation. Yunnan and Shensi have probably been the worst offenders and the slowest to achieve comparatively complete suppression, owing in the first case to the tribes, and in the second to the brigands. The stimulus exercised by the Treaties with Great Britain of 1907 and 1911, under which the import of Indian opium was to cease if China could succeed in putting her own house in order with regard

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cultivating a small patch of ground. The women wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent. 563

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription. 249 437 000

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter 493 322

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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised 798
attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kan- 249
chow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of 798
enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown 651
any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers 624
as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction 798
increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak 624
vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are improbable if only because, according to the census of 1910, all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and according to the census of 1831 the whole district had only 468,000 souls. 361

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields irrigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practically only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see 249 439

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat, etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color. There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones. In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up as unprofitable more than 20 years ago. 288

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several 501

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and a few oil lamps in the main street. A dao tai li had made himself very unpopular with the population two years before because he wanted to force them to sweep the streets and because he numbered the houses. He aroused superstitious fear in doing so and it almost came to open rebellion. 178

Following the broad fertile valley of the Hsi Ho, one travels from Tsinchow at first for a few hours between rice fields and persimmon trees beneath which poppies are grown - Tsinchow was, before the war on opium, /327/ the center of opium-growing. In the afternoon we crossed over in a ferry to the northern shore of the Wei Ho (1,120 meters above sea level). Only a poor foot-path follows the course of the Wei River, and this serves the small amount of local traffic. The main road, a mule track leads over Tsing schui hsien with about 3,000 inhabitants (1) and 15 li from there to the east I 487 [349]

1. A day's journey farther to the north is the important and busy spot of Tschwang kia tschwan under the jurisdiction of the Tsing schui mandarin, in which only Hui hui live and in which the chief ahun of the entire region has his residence.

In the Tsing schui district I saw for the last time a veiled Chinese woman. The custom that a young woman wears a black face veil in the first years of her marriage if she shows herself in public, is as frequent in the district of Tsinchow as in that of Hsining fu. [562]

came out of the loess-covered clay mountains of the Tsinchow basin into granite and entered a tangled and lonely wooded mountain range which is connected with the Liu pan Shan and the mountain of Kung dung Shan (40 li southwest of Ping liang fu) to which pilgrimages are made. We soon lost our way completely in the ravines, had a wet bivouac in the woods and did not get to the large mule track and across the highest point on it, the Da kwan Shan pass (2,250 meters), for two days. From this high point we looked south across long, equally high ridges to the peaks, already snow-capped, of the Tsin lung range, while in the east we already saw the low-lying loess of the lower Wei Valley basin. I was now only a few hours from the commercial city of Lung tschou which is still 980 meters high, and soon one admires from below the mountain wall which extends in almost meridional direction from Tsin ling Shan to the Lo Shan, Niu tou Shan and Ala Shan and separates the present-day province of

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
564 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
571 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
262 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
184 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet
556 cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with
[556] sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The
[193] robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way
[184] of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go ong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a N [727] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N [177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. [272] The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food S are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton 563 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef 262 for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and [272] millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at N least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the var- [146] ious food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. S N [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines :

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow ;
> Midday to morn onward we go ;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow ;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know ;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low ! '

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a ' thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written :

> 'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back
> at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[480] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards,
[669] one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

● 252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

N.W. China AFN
Kalmyk

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en- [423]
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792]
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[432] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 The Communist Period

47 The Communist government has paid special attention to developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order *175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

1. Shensi

*668 The most important industrial development in Shensi under *175 the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an 288 August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded *668 the following factories in Shensi:

*175 1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty (386) different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

(256) 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

(395) 3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

(339) 4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

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5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

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2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com-
[433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

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The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The
[377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou,
[258] which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent;
[316] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's
[316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that
[382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

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There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides,
[491] mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

/Salars/

563 794 177 18 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical [144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing [262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their [292] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge [293] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the 563 794 795 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be [346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

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A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a 'time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
[651] the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
[167] asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich merchants who have authority in political and economic matters, but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade. There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here generations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine furnishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy merchants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses. But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
• 262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits, fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted vegetables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

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Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

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b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S N /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

563 291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, S N [292] with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369] In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N d. Occupation

563 463 Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262 Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784 Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N a. Group spirit

563 186 183 The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196] This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N b. Concept of charity

563 183 779 431 Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
[291] inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[177] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
262 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
184 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
556 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
[556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

[556] No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
[184] The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those
798 who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gam-
[262] bling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 785 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 796 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 788 798 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 874 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this 743 provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

+ 563 Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, • 262 the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

*563 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan
• 262 adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage
[273] is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

*563 B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans
164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even
[751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infec-
[758] tions. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a N [787] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, N be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any [177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 [272] A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton S 563 262 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef [272] for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at [252] least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 [146] B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. S N [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial 361
governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa 487
respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the 133
hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan com- [563]
munity with two mosques. In the woods one will often see 249
heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a 438
vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much 262
esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance 487
of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li 133
to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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361 Fop'ing, formerly a T'ing and now a third class Hsien, is a tiny place, a mere walled hamlet, containing only twenty or thirty families, and is probably about the smallest and most miserable of all the Hsien cities in China Proper. It lies in a cultivated valley, on the headwaters of a stream which apparently flows west and then south to join the Han near Ch'engku. This valley, over 6000 feet above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by [241] lofty mountains; it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop [242] in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanchung plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including T'aipai Shan in the N.W. corner. The post of magistrate is naturally not sought after. The Chinese consider Fop'ing a "dreadfully bitter" place (*k'u ti hen*), since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies; but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday.

136 We stayed a couple of days at Fop'ing, during which it rained in the valley and snowed on T'aipai and the higher ranges. The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them,[1] partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in many regions. I have only one complaint to make against

271 Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

due south for 15 li and then branches off up a side ravine to the S.W., another road continuing south up the main valley towards Hui Hsien. After an hour or two's march up this ravine the trail ascends a low pass, crosses a small valley, and immediately rises again to cross another low pass, whence it descends to the village of Kaomo Chen in the valley of a streamlet flowing from west to east. We were delayed in Kaomo Chen for half a day by our mule train following the wrong path, and its poverty was evidenced by the fact that we could get nothing but unleavened cakes of maize to eat, the most unpalatable form of nourishment I have ever had to put up with in China, though very often the only food of the people in mountainous country. From here the trail ascends by easy gradients to a pass in the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide, a climb of less than an hour over grassy slopes devoid of trees, and then descends steeply to a valley running south-west The track follows down this stream for 20 li to the village of Lochia P'u, where it debouches into a broad and fertile valley, bounded by low cultivated hills of loess, the stream flowing from east to west. This stream is one of the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang, which flows through Szechuan to Chungking, and it is remarkable to find so much loess south of the divide. The latter formation may also be seen on the headwaters of the Shensi branch of the Chialing Chiang round Feng Hsien on the Hsian Chengtu road.

From Lochia P'u there is a remarkably good road down the open loess valley for two hours' march to the walled village of Yen Kuan, where there are said to be salt wells. The magistrate of Hsiho Hsien met us here, as we had entered his district; he said that a road branches off at this point to Hsiho and Chieh Chou and so to Szechuan. From Yen Kuan the road continues down the valley until within 20 li of Li Hsien, where it crosses a spur to avoid some gorges, and the loess formation comes to an end. Li Hsien is a picturesque little city lying hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan in a country of narrow fertile valleys, whose streams all go to form the headwaters of the Kansu branch of the Chialing Chiang. From here to Min Chou our route followed an unfrequented trail which penetrated the Ch'inling Shan in the most curious way,

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563 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the 516 Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky 133 gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [772] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

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we began to view the incoming winter, under present conditions, with a certain amount of anxiety. Seeing therefore that our life must necessarily be somewhat rigorous, we added a layer of camel's hair to our already wadded Chinese garments, and thus equipped we were subsequently enabled to meet temperatures registering fifteen degrees Fahrenheit below zero.

During this first winter we were fortunate in securing from a Moslem farmer excellent milk, but food supplies in these localities are very variable, not only from city to city, but from year to year ; and after a few months, cattle disease carried off most of the cows, so our dairy supply failed completely. Mutton, yak beef and pork could be bought, but all were of a poor quality. Vegetables, however, were excellent and eggs plentiful. Our daily dinner was a Chinese meal of rice or macaroni, but for several months of each year no fat of any kind was obtainable for cooking purposes, with the exception of linseed-oil, which is commonly used by Kansu people ; unfortunately, in spite of every effort, we were never able to accustom ourselves to the strong taste, nor eat it without revulsion. Our winter preparations also included a large quantity of wheat, which we ourselves ground as needed, and which gave us a good store of bran with which to fill large baskets of eggs, this being the only way to prevent their freezing.

Our first expedition was taken before the winter closed in, when travelling would be too hard. It took the form of a trip to the fortress of Kiayükwan, which was only twenty miles distant. The road was over a barren and stony waste, leading slightly uphill, so that the journey took six and a half hours to perform. It was a dismal landscape, though the Richthofen Range looked magnificent with snow to its very base, and we also crossed a good many beautifully clear streams on

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [824] which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. [137] Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

361 On the loess was tall, thick grass. But there was no running water anywhere. A few Tibetan tent communities lay scattered in between the loess deposits, taking advantage of the frequent spring snows.
T 262 They belonged to the Gomi Tibetans. On the day before our arrival one of their yak had slipped on a steep slope in grazing and had fallen
C 262 into the abyss and broken its neck. The owners were poor people and hard hit by the loss of the animal. But the Tibetans never use the meat of animals killed by an accident. They say that it pleased God to kill the animal, therefore it is not right for man to use the meat. My Mohammedans, too, would have nothing to do with the meat, for it was not kosher. The Chinese, on the other hand, laughed at the silly Tibetans, fetched half the ox from down in the hole and cooked and fried the meat all night long and the next day the donkeys of the soldiers had an added heavy burden to carry. In spite of their poverty, the Tibetans did not even take the skin off the animal, but let the soldiers have even that, although the yak skin was worth a seventh of the entire value of the animal.

T 233 On April 26 we first retraced our steps and then went south of the Bayan Nor to the west. The lake is very appropriately given the Mongolian epithet bayan, meaning the "rich one." There is an abundance of grass here and thousands of sheep and cattle grazed in the /292/ vicinity of it. These pastures once belonged to one of the squadrons of the Khoit Mongols and today to the Tschamri Tibet-
T 792 ans who have their own chieftain and are quite independent of other tribes. They have 340-350 tents. Farther west in a valley of the South Koko Nor Mountains they own a monastery. Besides the Buddha images, the spirit of the Amne Sertschen, the mountain peak that rose before me on the morning after the attack, is worshipped here.
C 631 The monastery belongs to the Gelugba. Wherever the Mongols used to be the rulers, the "yellow ones" are today the undisputed saviors. For it is the Koko Nor Mongols who are responsible for present-day significance of the Gelugba sect and the Dalai Lama. But there are only miserable remnants left of the once powerful patrons; only a great many place names and names of mountains were left over from the Mongolian period and adopted into Tibetan. The Mongols once lorded it here as did the Germans knights in Courland and Esthonia; for several hundreds of years the Tibetans were bondsmen to them. The Mongols were the civilizers here. Under their rule there was more order; they lived in the land and had an interest in it. Now conditions are intolerable. Chinese politics in Tibet are based on the

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278 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning
437 of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

824 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for
386 medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of
262 another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as
000 my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our
133 day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
[181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
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b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
• 264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
• 264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
262 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
184 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
556 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with
[556] sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[193] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
[184] The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the
574 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert"
411 opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle, a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently espoused His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

● 264 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty
351 wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

shrubs. It was too bad that at the time of my visit the water was 264●
completely covered with a thick crust of ice. But we foreigners [351]
were very much surprised to find such an idyllically quiet and beautiful spot in the middle of this crowded, noisy city, and I was told that this garden had been built more than 100 years ago. We sat in it for three hours, wrapped in our winter overcoats, ten of us around a large round table, and were served countless dishes. The dishes stood on the table for only a few minutes and always only one at a time, otherwise they would have turned ice-cold. With each new course everyone dipped into the common pot in the middle of the table with his chopsticks which, according to custom, he had first licked clean, then rummaged around in it like all the others to find a nice piece which he placed on the little porcelain spoon of his neighbor, amid many compliments, as well as on the little silver plate the size of a dollar, which even at the most luxurious feasts in China takes the place of our plate. Meanwhile, the icy cold caused one's fingers to grow stiff and made it more difficult to manipulate the thin chopsticks. There were two open pans filled with coals beside the table, over which one could warm one's hands, but soon the Chinese as well as the Europeans timidly drew their hands into the fur sleeves of their winter clothes and even the best eaters let the dishes pass in review, most of which were good only on the surface and underneath consisted of less tasty filling, for example a thick raw turnip and such things. Conversation and drinking became the main thing toward the end and, as usual at such dinners, everyone was still waiting for the rice. A Chinese dinner consists only of hors d'oeuvres, so to speak. The main food, even at the largest feasts, even when a dinner takes three hours to serve, consists of steamed rice which is offered at the very end. Each guest is given a few bowls full of this and after that he immediately departs. /155/

Once when I asked the fan tai how it happened that Tung fu ooo
hsiang could still keep so many soldiers for himself, he immediately denied this fact and answered: "Tung fu hsiang is dead, he is positively dead!" And the Mohammedans in Da miao and the mandarin in Tsing yüan were all said to have lied. An official in the foreign office told me later that the Tsing yüan hsien should have known that under no circumstances must it be admitted that Tung fu hsiang still has soldiers; his confirming it could cost him his position if I reported him.

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782 he purified the animal. Then the horns and ears were sprinkled with water until the animal shook itself, a sign that the gods accepted it as a sacrifice. Then it was handed over to the Mohammedans. To complete the offering, the Fan tse Me threw clotted scraps of blood into the air with the ladle when the animal was being dismembered. If I had not had any Mohammedans with me, the men from Kue de would have killed the animal according to the Tibetan custom, they would have slowly strangled it with a rope pulled over its nostrils. When the animal was cut up, it did not take long before the sacrificial lamb was converted into blood sausages and sausages for frying.

782 264 It was dark when the meal was served. A ewer of horse-milk brandy had been bought in the neighboring yurt for the occasion. The sky had become more and more overcast, there was only a little light from the resinous cedar wood, and in numerous tents and yurts in the valley friendly fires beckoned. When we had dined Tsch'eng got up and gave a speech, using many high-flown words and similes, and saying that Sung had now paid his wether and that now no one could accuse him of having infected us with his disease up in the highlands. Then the men sang their melodious songs into the night.

782 539 They sang melancholy Mongolian songs and light Tibetan couplets:

"Alachimo! Maiden!
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from yonder shore,
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from the hither side,
Like a bridge with golden arches, heaven has united us with cords of gold," (1)

1. In the dialect of the Koko Nor Tibetans:
Tschü par re sege re
Tso tschü re sege re
Sang song be re se sa tsu tsa re
Li dyen dyi sege tenn da re.

or, a song teasing his beloved:

"Alachimo! Maiden!
I have a cap of fox fur and a cap of lamb's wool.
If I do not wear the fox fur cap but the lamb's wool cap I am just as happy.
I have a long sword and I have a short sword.
Whether I wear the long sword or the short sword in my belt,

[text continues on p. 569]

000 to the dogs and the vultures and you will be eternally damned." - "We do not know what happens after death. The ahun says one thing and the lama says something else. I can make a good living here now. If I return to China, I shall be able to enjoy meat only as ts'ai - as a supplementary dish - whereas here it has become a chief article of my diet. Besides, I have to pay good money for the little meat and flour I get in China, and obtain the money by working hard for it. Here I do not need any money," argued the pseudo-Mongol.

My servant Han accomplished nothing. The next morning the relationship between the two brothers was so strained that it seemed to me high time for them to part.

264 576 When the flour was finally ground and while I was taking my leave of the dsassak, I was invited to enter the reception room for a final drink of schnapps. A remarkably dark-skinned bondsman, a young Tibetan from the region south of Lhasa, entered with a stone-ware jug. He bent his right knee and bowed low before me, and with the ring finger of my right hand I had to touch a bit of butter that was stuck to the edge of the jug and to the stopper which consisted of a piece of wood. I had to smear a little of this butter on my forehead while the young chap held the thumb of his right hand against my forehead. After he had bowed before me, the young man made his bow in front of the dsassak, the wife of the dsassak, the lama (1) and finally in front of the small son, offering each of

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1. Geslong lamas from the Galdan lamasery near Lhasa are always sent to the banner leaders of the Dam Mongols for a period of three years to act as high priests, advisers and shepherds of souls, so to speak. Their chief duty is to lead the ceremony for the dead.

them in turn the closed ewer with the little ball of butter, whereupon each person took some of the butter with his ring-finger and murmured some prayers. Only after he had gone around the circle was the flask opened and some of its contents poured into a cup. Again, a piece of butter adhered to the cup and again the servant handed each one the cup and each person made a libation into all four directions with his fourth finger. Only after that was each person, with the exception of the lama, given some of the schnapps.

576 After that, in accordance with the custom of the country, I delivered a long panegyric on the hospitality of the dsassak who replied

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

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In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

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d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

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Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

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Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

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a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

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This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

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b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.

796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

543 Our meals were somewhat of a problem in this happy
265 valley.[1] Each party brought its own picnic-basket, and the food-vendors only supplied titbits such as lumps of fat fried pork, apricot tea, and fermented rice-water.
000 Our bag of bread was already finished, and the only food our men could make was flour mixed with oil, pulled out into long strips, nipped into small chunks, and boiled in water, and this meal we shared with them once a day, but still found ourselves craving for some form of bread. We were greatly delighted, therefore, when a little girl appeared with a home-steamed roll in her hand, and said: 'I have no money, but will you give me a gospel in exchange for this?' Finding that we were willing to do so, bread and new-laid eggs were afterwards frequently brought by children.

In spite of considerable forethought we had left Suchow for this long trip with a but poorly furnished store-box. Months before, we had written in several directions for needed supplies, but owing to the disturbed condition of China, all had failed us, and we were thankful to have enough tea in hand to allow ourselves a fresh brew once a day. Of the certainty of our daily ration we had no question, but beyond this many luxuries were supplied through the kindness of casual acquaintances. The old guardian at the Temple of the Red Hill, after we had sat and talked awhile with him, brought us back through his garden, and cut the best of his vegetables for us, while 'Lydia' also came down with a present of rice steamed with jujube fruit. On one occasion a resourceful student went out foraging for food and brought us back a dozen new-laid pheasants' eggs.

361 To the direct north lay a place called Hwahaitz, an extensive oasis covered with large farms. Since our

000 1 [Near Chikinpu at a fair—Analyst]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, 669 are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in many regions. I have only one complaint to make against

271 Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a N [787] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, N be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any [199] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. [272] The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food S are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton 563 262 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef [272] for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at N least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cook- [252] ing preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

S 563 Most of the people do not know the different values of the var- [146] ious food products. Although many might wish to improve their S daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. N [751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

563 European scholars have maintained that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their 262 food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the 516 Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-133 covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [712] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
177 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[272] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[273] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
794 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
[798] caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[346] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
[562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
794 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
795 division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

791 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

791 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[293] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage [273] is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

*563 164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, [758] this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infections. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

N.w. China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty [1260-1368] and still continues.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[293] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[296] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods
[787] of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/.

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 [701] [352] [276] The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable coverlets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 [186] While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 441 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[70] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
185 during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[806] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
64 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally. [276]

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [361] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports [438] consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773
sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491
incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485
Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture; no opening had been left for a window; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276 •
ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

276 conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

735 The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he sought shelter and died. The gathering which we witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

735 595

797 For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

5: Tafel--302 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ 1
N. W. China AF13

forth from their hips, either sideways or forward and backward or even diagonally, according to the available space, always with an ingratiating smile - I was getting quite dizzy from it all. Now they became animated. The spell was broken. Drinking games were begun. Everyone wanted to tell an amusing story. Funny riddles and witty sayings were brought up as well as caustic stories of how mandarin so-and-so made a fool of his superiors and subordinates and directed a golden spring onto his acres. Even after the meal was over the party did not break up immediately, as is customary and even good form after a more formal dinner. In the adjoining room Japanese cigarettes and tobacco pipes as well as rice wine were offered and in one corner on a kang where the host slept there was a place for opium-lovers. As usual the pipes had already been prepared by the servants. The opium was first offered to each one in turn, and to me first because I was the guest of honor. I, of course, politely declined. I would not even have known for sure how to go about smoking opium, for it is an art. But the second in order, the colonel, then the major, and on down the line to the lieutenants with the charred soles, all of them lay down one after another on the kang which was covered with the most elegant knotted rug from Turkistan and heated from underneath with horse dung, lifted up the richly ornamented opium pipe with both hands and, with a silent nod, as though inviting the other guests and the host, took a few puffs and handed the pipe to the next person. Thereupon the smokers, wittier and more animated, again took part in the general conversation.

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/183/ CHAPTER V

To the Koko Nor

T 79

In a small valley meadow a few hours south of the city of Dankar I had bought eight yaks from Tibetans of Tombum da who had come to Dankar to carry on trade. With these eight yaks and five mounted servants whom I had armed, as well as a few pack ponies, I left Dankar on January 11, accompanied also by a sergeant with a few soldiers. Ten kilometers farther west I passed the last frontier guards (Plate XXXIX) and before nightfall I came to the Gomba soma monastery (Chinese: hsin se, meaning "new monastery"). By journeying via Gomba soma, I was on the military road to the north

5: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF 13

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

N. in China AF 13

[276] It is also well known, of course,
525 that relatively few Chinese are able to withstand certain temptations, that they can easily be persuaded to the excessive use of stimulants. Countless millions of Chinese succumbed to opium and every visitor to China, even those who have seen only a few coastal towns, is struck by the astonishing number of gambling games that exist. Everywhere there are countless professional gamblers and in most cities there are special places where these gamblers meet. In Wei yüan bu this place was a large open garden. This was sought out above all by countless Chinese from Hsining fu and by Mohammedans of the vicinity. There were almost always more than one hundred players to be seen there. They sat in a circle on the ground, squatting on their heels, kneeling or with legs tucked under. They played go pai, a cross between our cards and dominoes, in which betting is part of the game itself. Among other games there was also one money game often played which corresponded to our "heads and tails."

The amount of money that changed hands was enormous, especially if one takes into account the currency prevailing there. Many a peasant and day laborer who entered the fair grounds with his entire year's earning in his pockets, left it a beggar, after having gambled away even his holiday clothes. No wonder that heads grew hot and hands trembled with excitement.

525 On one of the first days when I visited the gambling place one
158 of the Mohammedans who the summer before had carried on the dangerous occupation of gold-washing, far in the interior of Tibet, had just lost his entire yield amounting to 40 taels. As soon as his money was gone he began ranting blasphemously. At first his words made sense, but soon he had /254/ talked himself into such a passion that he began hitting the by-standers senselessly. At the very first blows the Chinese cried: "He has gone mad!" and before he could do any serious harm he lay bound on the ground. The diagnosis which the Chinese had made so surprisingly quickly, proved to be correct. I sent to my pharmacy in order to give the man a sedative. But before it arrived - a half day after the attack - he died in the arms of the ahun and his father who, in despair, had scratched his own face bloody. Two similar cases occurred during the fair. They reminded me of the well-known cases of Malayans running amok. Mr. Ridley told me later on that such seizures are remarkably frequent in and around Hsining among Dungan as well as Chinese. He attributed the phenomenon to the high altitude.

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 200
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs
were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and
the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes
with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [563]
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon
we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara
khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay
at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese
mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this
godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except
for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the
caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows
and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little
profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen,
for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully
[after leaving Ts'ien hu tsch'eng— Analyst]

000 over with hoar frost. The valley of Schara khoto was enveloped in thick white clouds of fog. Only the low pass in the southwest, which separated us from the open Tibetan steppes, from Kou wei, from "outside the gates of the kingdom," it alone lay open and free. From there a stiff, cold wind blew down upon us and made the morning even more uncomfortable. Snow lay round about. It crunched under our steps. Only stones and a few grass tips rose above the white covering, for trees are entirely absent in the valley of Schara khoto and only a few bushes remained on isolated, steep northerly slopes. Even here at Schara khoto I was already surrounded by the barren, wild and magnificent spectacle of the high plateau which again and again entices me with its elemental power (Plate LVIII).

In order to spare my caravan as much as possible I had rented four additional Tibetans and forty yak oxen from the vicinity of Schara khoto for the first few days; four strong, tall chaps who leapt about with their restive, sharp-horned cattle. It was a pleasure to watch them. In a jiffy the animals were loaded. One of the men began humming some insignificant, meaningless words of four syllables and in the rapid rhythm of these syllables the packs were tied to the saddles. During their work the chaps had let their fur coats slip down over their shoulders, their tanned bodies were exposed to the icy wind and weather. They were Fan tse true of the Ts'ao ti.

701 Shortly after seven o'clock we set out in five large groups. Behind
276 each group rode a few drivers with reserve horses and a few mules. The ten men belonging to the captain of Schara khoto kept to themselves. They alone went on foot and wore sandals. They carried a large red flag as well as two small donkeys shivering with cold, which were carrying their huge but ragged tent, cooking pots, a few fork guns and swords. The group of soldiers looked pitifully miserable and more like marauders than like an imperial escort just leaving its garrison. Each one of these heroes, of course, carried his opium, and all of them were so dependent on this elixir of life that they had to stop every two hours en route and lie down on the steppes in order to smoke a few puffs, otherwise their legs would have given way. Surely, all that can be expected of a troop in good fighting trim! In Kansu it was difficult to find people who did not smoke opium. A great deal of it was grown in this province and the price was extraordinarily low, so that everyone here could afford this luxury. In selecting my servants and the people accompanying my actual caravan I had the greatest difficulty finding non-smokers.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381
Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277 •
industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and 438
that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635
period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the [669]
province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a 665
number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[172] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[172] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
*563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S turbed, disease follows.
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These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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seeds of rhubarb in case I found any. 137

In the 13th century, already, Marco Polo reports that rhubarb was gathered in the Koko Nor region and from there sent to the rest of the world. In our time Prschewalski brought back bulbs and seeds as well as dried plants from the Koko Nor on his Tibetan journey in the years 1870-1873, and after that the Koko Nor rhubarb was classified as Rheum palmatum L. var. tanguticum Maximowicz. But in the course of the years the specimens grown from Prschewalski's seeds in the botanical gardens of St. Petersburg, Bern, etc., changed so much and became so similar to our ordinary Rheum palmatum hortorum, moreover, such a large number of new species have been said to be the original plant of the medicinal remedy we use, that the question of its origin still seems unsolved.

Thus, I was very pleased to be able to send Professor Tschirch an envelope containing rhubarb seeds which I had myself gathered in the woods between the rocks near Dulan gomba (37° northern latitude, 98°, 40' longitude east of Greenwich), and that from these seeds, in defiance of all primitive methods of transportation, young plants came up in the Bern Botanical Garden, a year later and long before I left Tibet, which helped solve the problem conclusively. In the Schweizerische Wochenschrift für Chemie und Pharmazie, 1910, number 19, Professor Tschirch reports that from the seeds I sent him Rheum palmatum L. var. β-tanguticum Maxim. developed, in fact, that this species is so different from Rheum palmatum, that he feels inclined to classify it as a different species, as Rheum tanguticum.

Rheum palmatum is confined to Northeast Tibet, to the highlands of the Nan Shan and Koko Nor, whereas the very different Rheum officinale occurs in the more moist south and southeast of the Tibetan mountains. Hand in hand with the variety of species and climate goes the /342/ method of treatment of the bulbs once they are dug out. In Szechwan and South Tibet the root must often be artificially dried in ovens because the summers are too wet. In the north, at Koko Nor, the people who gather rhubarb take the greatest care to dry the bulbs in 278 324

5: .Tafel--573 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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the air and even without sun. The Koko Nor rhubarb is bought up by the merchants from the neighboring province of Shensi. For this reason it gets into the hands of Europeans mostly under the name of Shensi- (pronounced: Shansi-) rhubarb. There is also Szechwan, Shanghai-, and Canton-rhubarb, all drug-names which have been introduced by European export firms on the coast or on the Russian border.

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/342/ Dankar and Hsining (1) as well as Suchow are the places

1. At the time of my journey Hsining exported 1,000 and 1,200 picul.

where the merchants from the Chinese lowland, the "Shensi- and Canton guests," take the medicinal plant from the rhubarb-gatherers of the Koko Nor in November and December. These merchants are almost exclusively Kansu Mohammedans who set out in groups of 30 to 40, under the leadership of a master. In this way 400 to 500 men journey annually from the valleys of the Hsining prefecture in order to hunt for rhubarb. These leaders are small, independent employers who take the risk of a journey into dangerous Tibet. They pay their men two to three taels a month with free maintenance. In order to be assured in advance of a certain price for their goods and not be subject to too much subsequent speculation, the merchants of the lowland usually bear the cost of the equipment and the rather expensive licenses which may be bought from the amban yamen and also from the individual native chieftains. All my Mohammedan servants had already been in the Ts'ao ti digging for rhubarb. The chief harvest time is September when the small fruit is ripe. Then the rhizomes are less juicy. Of ten pounds of freshly-dug roots, about seven pounds remain after they are dried. In July, on the other hand, they are so spongy that only three pounds remain out of ten pounds, and the efficacious ingredients are not present in such large amounts as in the fall. In the winter and as long as the plant has no leaves, the rhizome is considered "empty."

The gatherers dig out the rhubarb very carelessly. They pull all the larger stalks, those that are more than five or six years old, out of the earth and drag them along with roots attached to the camp sites. There the ring-shaped stricture where the plant part goes over into the rhizome is cut; then the rhizomes are peeled, all the hair

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roots are cut off with a knife, as well as all the old leaves, everything that is, as the people say, "black." Thereupon the clean, wet pieces of root a few inches long are pierced with an awl and strung up on strings to dry in the air. Careful drying is of the utmost importance for the quality and the price. The bulbs may never be exposed to the sun. Thus, they are carefully hung up between the branches of cedar trees (there are no houses or roofs in this region) and where there are gaps in the branches these are filled in with twigs. If the sun dries the roots they are said to become black and the Chinese buyers will not take them or only at much lower prices. The buyers at the Dankar market cut them open in order to see whether they have any black spots. /343/ (1) Only pieces that are yellowish-

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1. See in this connection: A Tschirch: "Studien über den Rhabarber und seine Stammpflanze" in Festschrift für Professor Ritter, Vienna 1904, and the report based on my personal observation: A. Tschirch, Arch. d. Pharm., 1907, p. 680 and Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chemie und Pharm. 1910, no. 12, "Zwei interessante Pflanzen des Berner Botan. Gartens," with a good illustration of Rheum tanguticum which was grown from the seed I gathered at the border of Tsaidam (near Dulan gomba). - Further, see C.C. Hosseus, Osterr. botan. Zeitschr. 1911, no. 12, "Die Stammpflanze des offiziellen Rhabarbers"; Arch. d. Pharm. 1911. p. 419, "Rheum palm., die Stammpflanze," Südd. Apoth.-Ztg. p. 239.

The pieces, which are peeled on the spot, are examined in Dankar and cleaned again, then packed in boxes which are sealed with oiled paper. All the exporters of medicinal rhubarb in Shanghai say that it is extremely hygroscopic. It must be very carefully handled in the moist coastal climate. There it is often re-dried in order to keep it from getting moldy, but then it often loses its quality. The so-called Muscovite rhubarb which comes over the Russian-Mongolian border and via Kiakhta travels through a drier climate and is therefore justifiably considered better, aside from the fact that it derives from North Tibet, that is, from the Rheum palmatum which contains 2.8 to 4 percent oxymethylanthrachinonen.

red all the way through bring a good price in Dankar. Twelve to

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278 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning
437 of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

824 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for
386 medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of
262 another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as
000 my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our
133 day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 (433) pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in (433) Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

(433) The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in (433) Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in (491) Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 picuis, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 289 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [289] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [289] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 The town is beautifully placed and abundantly
[285] watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where
788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 239 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a N S 463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S (286) (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output S N (433) in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S (323) (433) (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, N (433) it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
334 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
•286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also to be bought, as this district[1], unlike many others, produces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
334 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
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491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the 241 Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera- 476 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining 433 these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be 311 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, 185 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of *668 the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and 185 planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is *668 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the 288 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang 439 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this [248] way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

INDUSTRY

A The Pre-Communist Period

*175 47 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 • 288 474 [471] The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the [471] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC [483] $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 [471] ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yü-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

N
*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
• 288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

N In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[421] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000
[433] worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry
*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry
392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty gianing machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

47 The Communist government has paid special attention to developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order *175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 The most important industrial development in Shensi under the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an 288 August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded *668 the following factories in Shensi:

*175 1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty [386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

[395] 3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

[339] 4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

(c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

(d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

(4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 picuis, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

(5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

(6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

(7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

(8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

(9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

(10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

I: Washington .S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yümen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps; and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

2: Teichman G-8 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in

271 many regions. I have only one complaint to make against Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are improbable if only because, according to the census of 1910, all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and according to the census of 1832 the whole district had only 468,000 souls. 361

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields irrigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practically only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see 249 439

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat, etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color. There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones. In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up as unprofitable more than 20 years ago. 288

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several 501

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
(433) Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
(433) Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

(433) The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
(433) Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

• 289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
(491) Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 327 399 399 256 288 399 239 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N 121 178 463 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [288] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

N [433] (b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

(c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

(d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

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(8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

(9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

(10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used.

S 563 262 184

In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S
N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
[292] with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayingthat "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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979
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/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling
342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/The Tibetans/

*563 264 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 524 262 184 556 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

• 291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with [556] sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots [556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 302 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way [184] of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [m]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings. [291]

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grasslands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsuppo.ted by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most
634 others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

5: Tafel--262 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.Co.China AF13

Plate XXXVI.

/facing 161/

291

The hsien of Hsining with his brother and son.

712

On the city wall of Ho tschou. (Outside the wall may be seen the towers of two mosques.)

000 then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tombu mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 291 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all sat in the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocketbook. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone wore his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fox fur under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our [354] feet with their felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor. 574 521 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes of two of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly being charred. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might say something unpleasant and whether they were sure no one would feel hurt about it. He addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally ting let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoulder. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who need /182/ worry about derision. The stiff wax-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p.302]

5. Tafel--419 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 Ajl Tibet

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 50,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

regard the old Chinese assertion that Hsi Hsia was a "Tanggut kingdom" and Tibetan as conclusive. (With the word "Tanggut" the Mongols of Koko Nor mean only Tibetans nowadays, but it is not known since when this has been done.) 563 175

/249/ The thing that strikes a stranger most when he comes to Wei yüan bu and to these Tu ren is the dress and the head-wear of the feminine population. Even in these regions in which the eye is certainly used to many daring color combinations, the feminine mode of Wei yüan bu is conspicuous for its particularly bright colors (Plate LII). The Tu ren women wear one or two cotton jackets next to their bodies, and these, just as with the Chinese, take the place of our chemise; they also wear two pairs of trousers which are rather wide and open at the bottom and not tied at the ankles as is the case with the men. The one pair is bright red, the other indigo. Over this they wear a rose red skirt which, however, is made more like a long apron and is split in the middle from top to bottom; in other words an article of clothing with no visible function. Over this is worn the most important part of the dress, a Tibetan caftan which is closed at the side and reaches about down to the calves. /250/ This caftan is sewn out of blue cotton material and in the winter when it is very cold it is padded. At the hips it is held together by a red wool belt from which hang three towels, a green one, a white one and a red one. But this by no means satisfies the clothing need and above all the love of color of the Tu ren women. The upper part of their bodies is also covered with a blue cotton jacket with wide sleeves which are sewn together with horizontal strips of green, red and blue cloth and on which are fastened black, yellow, etc., ribbons and bands. On their feet they wear cloth boots that are colorfully stitched all over and the legs of which reach to the calves. And on their head sits a fashion structure of the most grotesque forms and proportions. It consists of a more or less large hood, depending on the tribe and the valley around Wei yüan bu from which the person comes, with huge orange-colored tassels, with a center piece resembling a saddle from which hang brass buckles that widen out at the bottom (Plate LV). Altogether there are thirteen variations of this headgear. As a non-professional in hat styles, I noted particularly three kinds which I collected and photographed. Among the Tu gu h'ung women the headdress consists of a metal trident which sticks out from their blue-black hair, and 563 291

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

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Kalmyk

Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty 563
granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate 233
LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by an emissary of the dsassak (banner-leader) of Barun who presented me with a khadar and requested me to visit the dsassak in the plain, in Barun Kurä, where he was staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I had been warned on all sides not to go down into the hot, mosquito-filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outlet of which stood our

1. Ulässutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166, however, is of a different opinion.

previous camp. The region offered little that was attractive or inviting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere, and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in the mountains was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts of grass only above 3,700 meters. Far back in the valley we came upon about twenty yurts of the Barun nomads. I decided to stay here and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The bullocks were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were ready to fetch them, we found only their footprints together with those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They had been stolen and I never saw them again.

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told [illegible], dsassak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dsassak of Barun 643
visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted 291
courier came dashing up, behind him came the dsassak in the midst of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall, an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100 centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted awkwardly from his horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He, as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gaily-colored caftan, except

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
732 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschurra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

1 [ie., of Barun.-Anai,ct]

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
[792] together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Hot'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[292] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

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N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious ritual. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 88 [302] [292] [594] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [675] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such mani-
[428] festations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

779 c. Fasting (Ṣaum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[302] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the terri-
[292] tory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster. 731

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent. 491 741 731

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead. 797

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected 583 [292] [533] 485 563 783

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [177]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings. [291]

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
262 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
184 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
556 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
[556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

[556] No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
• 302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
[184] The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious ritual. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 881 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [675] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so [783] also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the [302] head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the terri- [292] tory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simultaneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID. 788

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many Kanchow women. Not content with being under a vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles. 262 785 796 [536] 796 302

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descriptions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of 796 265

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen 74L
of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302] •
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
142 gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

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Kalmyk

563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
302 and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[785] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens ap-
[789] proached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual 233
hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were [136] extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by 487
easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings 133
one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Ŏbaw) is a small walled village and 361
former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the 241
necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, 233
seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter 381
(wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when 886
n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be 303
profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border 487
(though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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in one small village and must pay their hereditary ruler an annual head tax from that one place and, in disputes, must take refuge from his tribunal.

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One striking peculiarity of the Tao tschou Chinese women is the way their feet are bound. The great toe is bent up vertically whereas the rest of the toes are as usual bent under the sole of the foot (Plate LXX). Thus the foot is not shortened as much as in the usual form of crippling; but inasmuch as the foot must be crippled throughout North and West China, and the country people, especially, cling obstinately to the old custom, this less severe fashion developed when women evidently sought to make walking easier for themselves. In the ever-changing struggles between Mohammedans and Chinese the defeated side originally always had to sacrifice all their women to the rage of the victors. They lost their mothers and daughters. With the 3-inch feet developed by the ordinary method of binding, the women never escaped; after a few lis their little feet were completely chafed and the poor things could only crawl on their knees. With the new way of foot-binding, which must have been prevalent for at least four generation, the Tao tschou women can march as well as their Hsining sisters who merely curl their smaller toes under but even so achieve a tolerably trim little foot! This Tao tschou makeshift is also worn day and night beginning with the eighth year. The strips of cloth which bend the toes are never taken off, but only changed and, as always, even husbands are not permitted to see the naked foot of their wives. A woman would be mortified to death. Even I was not permitted to see the feet shown on the photographs in nature. The owners of the feet made the pictures themselves with my camera. Only in front of this dead object and for a bribe did two little women who were poor as beggars dare to expose themselves.

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My portrayal of East Tibet would not have been complete if I had not concluded my journey by visiting the political center of the north, Labrang /307/ or Lawrang, the Gomba of the Mongol king Hwang Ho nan chün wang, head of Amdo, the most successful rival of Gum bum. The distance thither is figured at four ts'an lu (days' journey) from Batser (Tao tschou); the road goes northwest and again through Tibetan country, through Amdo, that is, the "low country" of Tibet which consists of moderately high mountains with broad valleys which permit extensive barley cultivation and present valley

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Crippled feet according to the Tao tschou fashion with the great toe bent upward.

Foot of a 19-year-old. Foot of a woman of 60.

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Fashions of the women of Dschoni.

II Front Back

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 197 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 649 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 649 [202] 000 Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

377 653 and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land [311] [503] in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

135 2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

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161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

N
161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[131] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[169] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

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S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a partial and temporary solution.

N 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
• 311 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River
185 Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

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S
433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

241 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate pro-
• 311 vinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm house-
131 holds, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey,
423 p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon
31 the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High
133 elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farm-
132 ing. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing: if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent
241 of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in
133 a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are
134 so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

• 241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

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236 (T. H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
433

Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
• 311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying HsU, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
[435] tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for
[433] their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of
433 resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

241 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were
433 emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241
*668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest,
[423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the
241 Northwest, p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land
*668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul-
494 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera-
496 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining
433 these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be
241 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams,
311 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of
185 the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of
*668 irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and
311 planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is
185 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the
*668 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang
288 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this
439 way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-suffici-
[248] ent in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found tnat the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.
[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

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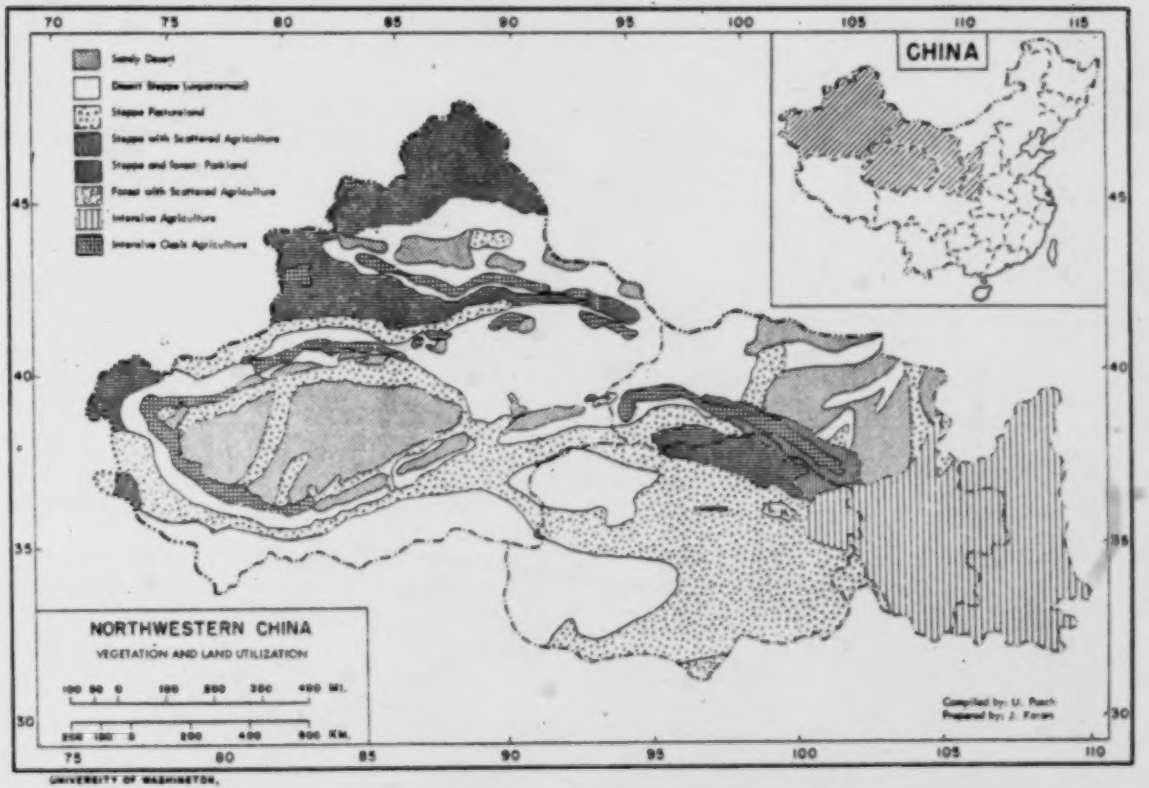

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
625 and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited
311 moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
433 Under land reform in Sinkiang, on the average, 2.5 mou were
S distributed per person. (PD. August 28, 1954). According to
[161] the 1953 census - Sinkiang has a population of 4,873,608.
That means the average acreage per head would about 4.5
mou instead of 2.5. Taking this as a basis, the estimated
110,000,000 mou of possibly extended land for cultivation
can accommodate nearly another fifty million people; that
S will be ten times larger than its present population.

N Land reclamation by the development of irrigation in
311 Chinghai province and former Ninghsia along the Kansu
312 Corridor is not as promising as in Sinkiang and the mid-
185 Yellow River drainage area of Shensi and Kansu, because
of the limited amount of snow over the nearby high mountains.
Another three million people (twice its present population)
would be the most that Chinahai could support by land reclamation for agriculture and pastoral development.

Summing up all the possibilities, an approximate total of another fifty-five million people which is nearly one and a half times the amount of its present total population can be supported at the present standard of living by the development of irrigation in land reclamation in the whole Northwest Region
N of China. According to the 1953 Census, the Northwest has
[161] a total population of 35,359,525 with an annual natural increase at a rate of twenty per thousand as the Chinese Communists claim. That means an addition of more than 700,000 people are added by natural increase each year. In approximately seventy years, another fifty-five million people will be added to its present population by natural increase only. But in view of an annual natural increase of nearly twelve million for the whole population of China, the Northwest can be used as a reservoir for the nation for a period of only four years. Therefore the Northwest is extremely limited as a population outlet for China. And the conversion of 110 million mou into arable land in Sinkiang is itself a gigantic task to fulfill; and conservancy of soil and water can hardly cope with the natural increase in population. Land reclamation in the Northwest should be regarded as a means of improving the living standards of the people rather than as an outlet for any further increase of the population.

/The Chinese/

N
*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
364 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
S
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
• [312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N
*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165] and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
[844] and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
S
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
N deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under
[165] control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
N of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the
744 Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
• 312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed by this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored
134 chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess
plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high
plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of
the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under
recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture
Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ning-
hsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi pro-
duce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because
the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi
along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce
good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and mil-
let. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where
there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained
by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible
in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small per-
centage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey
of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of
the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of
irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land
and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction
of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise
again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic
plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short
grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is charac-
terized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the
vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills
and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert
area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along
the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in
this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and
a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed
under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of
organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for
plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertil-
izer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant
residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate [474] greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, 669 are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt
312 of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

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000 stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent
502 three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test
136 of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited
312 and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

312 Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours
133 to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated
361 strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

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Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

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our sins to God, and ask Him to incline the heart of the Mandarin to restore the water to this district. Meanwhile, let everyone of you fetch his own spade, and supply my men and myself with tools, and we will see what can be done by clearing the canal in preparation for the water for which we have just been praying.' In an hour's time the preacher and men, having thrown off their coats, were digging hard, and repairing the channel. Two days later, Dr. Kao received a summons from the Civil Magistrate of Kanchow, requiring his medical assistance. Before he left the Yamen, the Mandarin said: 'What is this I hear about you and your men, digging out an irrigation-canal at Hehcheng—Black City? I really think something ought to be done for those people over there; as soon as I am rid of this illness, I will enquire into the matter.'

A few days later the water which so long had been withheld poured down the canal, and a new life began for the inhabitants of Black City.

On the occasion of our visit, they had just reaped their first harvest, and some were eating wheaten-bread for the first time in two years. Their homes were almost denuded of the necessities of existence. When we entered many of the barest farms, the women dared not descend from the *kang* to receive us, their rags only covering their nakedness while sitting huddled together, and girls of eleven years of age went about entirely unclothed. Yet even in this poverty-stricken place gifts of food were brought us daily—a few eggs; a bowl of green wheat steamed till the grains burst; a handful of garlic picked wild in the fields, or a bunch of the desert-grown, edible plant (Nostoc commune flagelliforme) known as 'hair-grass,' from its likeness to black human hair;—all these things and many others were presented to us in token of friendship and goodwill.

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these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a [7/2] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. [312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months.

361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first 346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the 342 number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

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The appearance of the town[1] is not very different from others of the Gobi border, except for its unusual gate, of which the inhabitants are almost unduly proud. It stands in a well-watered belt, and the land is cultivated right up to the city wall. We reached it through a sea of mud, as irrigation was in progress, and in accordance with the careless custom of the Kansu agriculturalist the stream, not being required on the land, had been turned off and allowed to flow down the main road. 361 312

We spent several busy, happy days there, as the people were particularly interested and listened willingly. On the morning of our departure, as we left the inn, an old woman pulled one of us by the sleeve in a mysterious manner, and whispered: 'A word about those things that have been lost!' We wondered, what things? Could it be that she had information of our own lost parcel of books, and a sheepskin coat dropped by one of the carters? Seeing our look of interest, the old crone was emboldened to go on with her story. 'You are "Holy Women"; you know secret things, hidden things, things that we cannot divine. Will you, please, tell me before you go, *the name of the thief who stole my cow?*' 000

Thirty-five miles further on is Pulungki, a city that once must have held at least fifty thousand inhabitants, but which now is nothing but scattered ruins, a few poor inns, and an encircling wall of immense area. During the next few nights we counted ten more deserted towns and villages, and no words can adequately convey the extraordinary sensations evoked by crossing in the moonlight, or in the uncertain pallor of dawn, these abodes of the past, whose deserted streets are sometimes still clearly defined, and where abandoned houses, with yawning doorways, stand tenantless on either side. From dateless ages the Gobi Desert has approached 361 133

[1] [Yimen -- Analyst]

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

491 shied in terror at something none of us could see, but
133 which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel. For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation, and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered
244 land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do
312 not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the
[133] watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of
136 five magnificent black vultures caught our attention. They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz--Analyst]

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~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 24
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132]
night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136]
which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

The days spent there were very hot and tiring, but eminently worth while.

CHAPTER XXXI

JADE GATE TO ANSI

To get away from Hwahaitz proved a more arduous business than reaching it had been, and fifty miles of the dreary Gobi still stretched between us and the town of Yümen—Jade Gate—which was our next objective. In the whole of these fifty miles there was only one spot where water was obtainable, and this was merely a brackish spring near to a hut in which lived an old couple. We left Hwahaitz at 4 p.m. on a very hot day, but after sunset it turned bitterly cold. At 2 a.m. we reached the hut, where, having rolled ourselves in a coverlet, we lay down on the sand, but by 4 a.m. the wearisome spectacle of the sun staring at us over the rim of the world, fetched us reluctantly back to our wanderings. By 3 p.m. we joyfully sighted the distinctive tower of Jade Gate, and a more exhausted, travel-worn party seldom entered its portals, but as this was our third visit to Yümen there were plenty of friends to greet us. The gay little town was now looking its best, the opium fields were in bud, the wheat was green, while the freshness of early summer was still upon the foliage. We spent some days in the city, and discovered that a few changes had taken place since our last visit. The Mandarin, with whose wife we had been friendly, had left, and his successor had modernised the entrance of the Yamen. A decoration of crossed flags ornamented the main entrance, over which a clock face was painted, the hands pointing as usual to

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~~Sinkiang AL-1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines :

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow ;
> Midday to morn onward we go ;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow ;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know ;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low ! '

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a ' thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written :

> ' Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[486] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the 494
rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, 491
and the caravans which normally move up and down
this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we 133
passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green 312
grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first 485
gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

312 485 his own room and cared for him, and the subsequent doings of the day for the remainder of the party are best described in the words of the diary, written at the time: 'Ate, slept, got up, and ate again; then back to bed for the night.'

312 The oasis of Petuntz—'White Tower'—formed a green patch in the arid surroundings. A delightful-[24] looking stream gushed from the cliff and ran into a tiny canal which watered a patch of wheat and a small field of the opium-poppy in full bloom, which raised in us the hope for vegetables, but we found the water to be too alkaline to permit their growth. This property of the water we had, however, already discovered for ourselves, for our first instinct on arrival had been to run to the crystal spring and drink deeply from it; it was, however, a most disappointing experiment, so that here we had to take our first lesson in self-control as regards drinking, for the advice of experienced travellers is: 'Where the water is brackish, drink the least possible, as the more you drink the more parched will be your mouth!' It was now we learnt the bitter lesson that that delicious beverage known to us as 'tea' became in these places only a noxious infusion of tannin which left our lips dry, cracked and black. We found the only palatable way of dealing with desert water was to boil dough-strings in it, the flour and water absorbing the salts. We also, as well as all other caravans, carried certain drugs to administer to the mules as required, serious illness being frequently caused by their inability to assimilate the unaccustomed qualities of the water, human beings, however, as well as beasts who spend long periods in these parts, become at length accustomed to it, and cease to notice its bitterness.

494 The life of the few families forming these settlements

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi Desert.
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

[FOLDED MAP (A)]

[end map]

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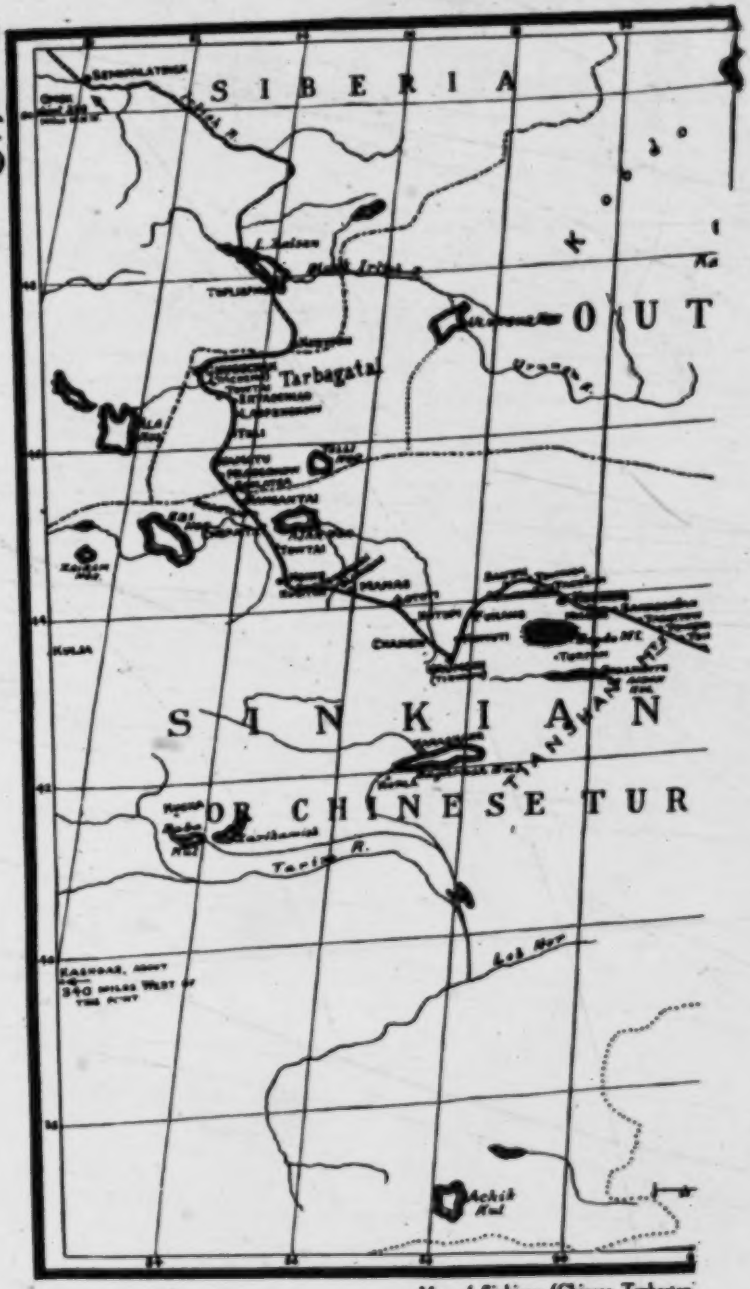

Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan)
THE HEAVY LINE

[FOLDED MAP (B)]

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

FOLDED (L)

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cade route across the Gobi Desert
THE WESTERN

[FOLDED MAP (D)]

000 In the night of 29 to 30 January we watched an eclipse of the moon, which turned out to be a beautiful spectacle in the clear winter air at an altitude of 3,900 meters. Even at the height of the eclipse the lunar disk remained clearly visible and the steppe was so bright that I could recognize everything at 100 meters distance, although objects looked colorless and quivering. Along the upper part of the
• 312 Da ho ba River traces of rectangular earthworks are to be found. One of them, strangely enough, lies on the right side of the river, so that it is turned away from the impediment formed by the river. Somewhat farther upstream, on the left side of the valley, are remnants of irrigation systems, ditches and dikes, which, in the opinion of the Dankar men, are left over from Dandsin dsei (i.e. the rebel Lobzang Dandsin, see Vol. I, pp. 312 and 313). I suspect that the Chinese garrison stationed in the nearby earth works built these irrigation systems and that they stem from the time of the colonization efforts of the General of the Guards Ta ai (see Vol. II, pp. 20 and 95), in other words, from the year 1730. The strange thing is that agriculture could be carried on here at an altitude of 3,700 meters in a region where nowadays no one would think of planting fields and where even cattle raising is only temporarily possible.

000 We traveled higher and higher. We kept to the K'am road because we knew of no other route. We now covered the distance in one day for which we would have required two and one-half to three days three years before. I was pleased that my careful and circumspect preparation of the caravan prevented me from losing a single animal, and since I did not have to spend my time preparing maps, I had leisure for hunting. To be sure, there was not much to be bagged. My booty consisted of Dseren-antilopes, hares, foxes and hens. Kulane (kyang) were also plentiful, but very timid, even though we would not think of hunting them. /104/

Nowhere in the entire tala and several days' journeys to the south was there a spot of snow to be seen, except on the highest peaks over 4,600 meters, so that the animals had a bad time. Brown winter grass is meager food for animals like mine who, after a scant intake of food for fattening, must day after day climb paths that scarcely deserve the name, over the highest cliffs and passes. At night we chained the tortured creatures two by two in iron couplings, because of robbers, and the key to these couplings I kept in my pocket. During the day there were always only a few hours left for grazing. But one thing was important and helped me succeed: there were no swamps anywhere, nor those bottomless mires on the slopes and in the

236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
433

Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from
[423] the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers individually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
137 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*175 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
*668 parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest
[423] rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*175 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
*668 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases
433 in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[470] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from
[199] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
[199] nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
*668 region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing
[433] the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the
[242] introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[518] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 • 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 185 433 [241] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be [313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing

*668 185 [474] [241] the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

000 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of
[313] 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
311

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 3~~

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so extensive a town could have been recaptured by the Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable underground water supply, since groves of fine trees border it, among which was a large-leafed willow growing to the size and shape of an English oak. The villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us that by this means they produced a very useful tree, having the quick-growing properties of the willow together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it, and its population bore the impress of yet another winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil production was never large due to shipping and transportation difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

N 316

S N 315 Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

[654]

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

S N 316

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

N 135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

S 135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition , some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

N S 135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang. N [131] [161] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

N S 1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

• 315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones N S of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from [439] America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

N 315 S [315] new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent S 315 paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. [648] [433] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

[131] The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province, roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from [648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavoragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table 1.) 3/4

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones [133] and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations,

3/4. [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the
[133] source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of
[648] geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structure will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to
433 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955. its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

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315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansu province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.) 1 A

S
315 Oil Development in Sinkiang:
[135] To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40); near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-tan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
S
[133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1, [See p. 128--Analyst]
A

N
• 315 oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June,
654 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum
N production are discovered.

315 Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing structures have been increasingly revealed.

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[654] Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they
N have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin.
[654] Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

N b. Coal

135 Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if
S claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted).
[135] With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

TABLE I. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Shensi Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Yung-ping, 57 km. NW of Yen-ch'ang	1914-16	667	small	36.57 x 109.57
Yen-ch'ang 158.3 meters west of city's West Gate	1907-36	83-923	1-6 bbls/day	36.30 x 110.08
Fu-shih (Yenan) 4 km. NE of Fu-shih	1914-16	1,000	only show	35.31 x 108.86
Chung-pu 25 km. WSW of Huang-ling (Chung-pu)	1914-16	833 - 1,182	only show	35.12 x 109.03
Tung-kuan 22 km. NW of Tung-kuan	1914-16	933	no data	29.17 x 106.35

TABLE II. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Kansu Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Lao-chun-miao, Chiu-ch'uan county, 70 km. W of Chiu-ch'uan city	1943		776,076 bbls in 1942	39.46 x 97.47
Tun-huang 20 km. NW of Tun-huang city.	1943	100-475		40.19 x 94.32
Shih-you-ho SW of Yü-men	1937	492 ft. to 656 ft.	20 bbls/day 35 bbls/day	39.46 x 97.33
	1944	1,400 ft.	10,000 bbls/day	
	1944	1,313 ft.		
Yü-men, near city	1944		4,000,000 gal in 1946 from the Yü-men Field	40.15 x 97.13

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

47 The Communist government has paid special attention to developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order *175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 288 The most important industrial development in Shensi under the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1956, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

*668 In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded the following factories in Shensi:

*175 1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty [386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

[395] 3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

[339] 4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on Augus. 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com-[433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [258] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when [316] fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

*668 *175 315 316 There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides, [491] mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

N and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white
473 flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper
289 is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Ssechwan, Hankow and
[439] Anhwei.

(c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed
N [433] mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

(d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed
S [433] mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

(4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made
N 463 in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in
322 Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated
433 as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 picuis, (2) sieves,
132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small
bamboo baskets, 27,000.

(5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made
N 463 in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung,
433 and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone
[294] exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

(6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near
N [412] Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual
output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

(7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi,
N [285] Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual out-
put exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

(8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in
N [412] the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng
and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000
pieces.

(9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and
N [326] Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual out-
[415] put is about 76,000 counts.

(10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts
S 463 in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by
286 sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of
[433] that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to
[439] India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally
or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

*668 For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated
433 on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the
[288] cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the
[315] oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic
S point of view, these developments are not unnatural because
668 Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and
433 the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.
[288] While the present industrial development in the Northwest
[315] may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yümen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

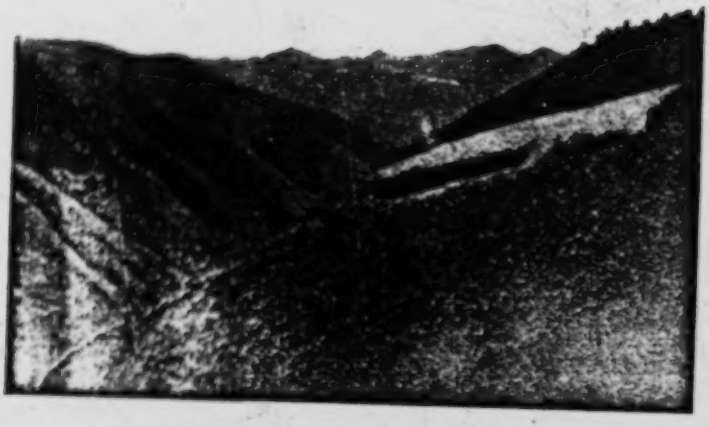
*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 *piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest*, preface, Sian, 1951).

PLATE XVIII

• 315

OIL WELL AT YENCH'ANG



IN THE MOUNTAINS OF E. SHENSI

[FACING P. 71]

N
135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu
N during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells
[315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil
[489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation
[499] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N
315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce
N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent
• 316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent
N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology
315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are
[654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new
S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal
N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in
316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

S
316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

Coal Mining and Its Production:

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316 While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a sixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But
N
[655] since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these
N
[466] mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal by mule coolie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

S
316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome. Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lüeh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The N 316 total annual production is less than 2,000 tons. [433]

In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and N [433] Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yüan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The S 316 iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also repoyted at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is S 327 producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [398] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine [392] tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N 135 With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found useful. (See Tables V and VI.)

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter 1. [See p. 131--Analyst]

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135 has a reserve of 700,000 metric tons. Pozdneev, D. M., mentions that nickel exists in Sinkiang in his Ocherki Stran Dal'nego Vostoka (Essays on Far Eastern Countries), pp. 164-66, but no further data are available.

3. Non-ferrous metals

Among the non-ferrous metals of northwest China Copper, gold, S platinum, silver, aluminum, lead and zinc are relatively 316 important. The air approach to the Koz-tokai mining area of [508] the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Company is a vast snowbound area on the eastern side of the Altai Range on the Sino-Soviet S border. A smooth highway runs from the airfield to the mining [491] town. (Urumchi, Uighur, Feb. 1, 1955, 1150 GMT. -B. cited by FBIS, No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S a. Copper:

N Rich copper deposits have been found in Shensi, Kansu, and 135 Sinkiang. In addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, has been discovered in south Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have additional rich bornite deposits. Sinkiang also has considerable copper ore deposits of high quality. It is the most important non-ferrous metal resource of the province. It is found in the Ili river valley, in the northern foothills of the Tien-shan and in the S Pamir Mountains, near Kashgar. The copper ore mined near N Kashgar is reported to have a content of thirty to forty percent 316 pure copper and the deposits spread over 600 square miles. The copper ore mined near Kashgar contains thirty-five percent iron and sulfur. That mined at K'ang-shan, Pai-cheng, Urumchi, I-ning, and Sui-ting is also notable. Since native methods are inefficient, some mines originally worked were forced to close, i.e., those near Urumchi, Kashgar and west of Ili. Many other local deposits are known. Before World War II the copper output in Sinkiang was 150 tons a year. In 1930 a state copper melting factory was put into operation in Kashgar which, in addition to processing copper ore, also minted copper coins. The following two tables indicate the distribution of copper mines of Sinkiang and the copper ore deposits of Northwest China in general (Tables VII and VIII.)[1]

S b. Gold and Platinum:

135 Gold is particularly rich in Sinkiang. It is widely spread, stretching from the Altai on the north to the Kunlun-Altyn-tagh mountains in the far south.

The names of Altai and Altyn Tagh Mountains mean gold in the Mongolian language. Nuggets weighing as much as forty-four ounces have been found here. Pigeon-egg sized nuggets are also found. Platinum is reputed to exist in the Altai mountains too. Rich gold mines are found in the vicinity of Khotan, S 316 Karagaitash, Sorghal, Keriya (Yü-tien) Cherchen, Yarkand,

1. [See p. 182-- Analyst]

S 316 and Karashar. Both placer and lode or vein gold are mined.
Placer gold is mined in the Ili River, the Kashgar River,
S [804] Alintu River, etc. From 100 poods of ore, two to three zolot-
[433] niks of gold are obtained (one pood : 16.38 kg. and one zolotnik:
ninety-sixth part of a former Russian pound). One lode mine
is said to have 1.6 ounces a ton. Placer gold is also found in
Chinghai. Gold has been exploited systematically in both
primitive and modern ways. Where water is available, gold is
obtained by washing; where water is not available, by sifting
the dirt in wind. The yearly gold output of the province is said
to total 100,000 ounces. Gold mining operation in the Altai
mountains has been on the increase since 1917 when some 10,000
miners extracted gold valued at over 60,000 taels. In 1942
S [439] thousands of mines were said to be operating in the district
though most of the gold mined is reported to have gone to
Soviet Russia. It is claimed that in the Altai Hou-kou field, a
two and a half pound gold nugget was mined. Cherchen (Chieh-
mo) and Keriya (Yü-tien) are the richest gold deposits of
southern Sinkiang. It is said that gold is so plentiful in Sin-
kiang that all Moslem families have their own caches hidden
N away. Gold is panned at irregular intervals from the Hsi-ning
• 316 and Ta-tung rivers and their tributaries in Kansu province.
(See Table IX.)

S c. Silver and Lead: Lead is most extensively distributed in
135 Sinkiang; it is next only to copper in its wide spread.

Silver-lead ore is located in Burlutugai, near the Sairam
Lake north of Kucheng and some other places. Lead content
in the ore is up to thirty percent. Mining is carried on very
S [316] primitively. Lead mining has been carried on at Wu-shih,
Yenki, Wusu, Paicheng, and Kashih. At present, only the
deposits at the last two places are being worked. Output is
very low because of the backward working methods. Silver is
much in evidence at Khotan and Karashar.

d. Aluminum and Bauxite

Rich aluminous ore deposits are located in the north of Kucha
near Baldir, also in the vicinity of Yu-tien (Keriya) and some
other places. In addition, bauxite from which aluminum is
extracted, has been found at Ho-feng (Hishih-Tologai) in
Sinkiang.

N 4. Non-metallic Minerals:
135 The important non-metallic minerals of Northwest China
are salt and gypsum as well as jade and other precious stones.

a. Salt and gypsum.

Ninghsia of Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang are extraordinarily
rich in salt. The numerous lakes and dried up lake basins provide
the basic sodium salt. In eastern Alashan of former Ninghsia
province, the Kilantai and the Charatai Dagasu are the most

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

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135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is

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339 being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

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316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

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135 Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

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131 A. Introduction

161 The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2 Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com- [433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, [258] which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [316] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

*668 *175 315 316 There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides, [491] mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

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CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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135 just outside the South Gate of the little city of Yench'ang
316 Hsien, two marches east of Yenan, and about 1906 two wells were sunk on the spot with the assistance of Japanese engineers and Japanese machinery.

Some seven years later the Standard Oil Company of New York conceived the idea of exploiting the supposed oil deposits of North China and negotiated a co-operative agreement with the Chinese Government, which was signed in February 1914, to the following effect.

316 The Standard Oil Company was to send experts to
471 examine the supposed oil fields in Northern Shensi and Northern Chihli, the expenses of the survey being borne jointly by the Company and the Chinese Government. If the reports of these experts proved favourable, a Sino-American Company was to be formed, which should begin operations within six months of the completion of the survey. Capitalisation of the Company to be 55 per cent. Standard Oil, and 37½ per cent. Chinese Government (the latter being presented with their shares by the Company in exchange for the concession); and 7½ per cent. optional for the Chinese Government to purchase at par. Any increase in capital to be on the same terms, and the management to be Sino-American in the same proportion. The Chinese Government undertook that the exploitation of the oil fields named should be given exclusively to the Standard Oil Company, and that no concession whatsoever for oil-bearing properties in China should be given to any other foreigner until the results of the Company's operations should be apparent to the Chinese Government and the Standard Oil Company, which period should not exceed one year from the date of signing the contract. The agreement to last for sixty years, during which time the Chinese Government would not allow any other foreigners to produce oil in the districts named. In the event of the districts in question (apparently Yenan and Yench'ang in Shensi and Jehol in Chihli) proving worthless, any other districts in Shensi and Chihli to be substituted therefore. Concessions to be granted for the necessary railways and pipe-lines. The Chinese Government to arrange matters with the landowners. The acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the Standard Oil Company to be entirely dependent on the result of the examination by experts.

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The above is taken from the newspapers published at the time and may or may not be correct. The remaining facts regarding the history of the enterprise are given from conversations with local Chinese on the subject, and also may or may not accurately represent what occurred. 316 471

Anyone acquainted with the vastness of the trade in petroleum, imported from the East Indies by a British Company and from the United States by an American Company, which has come into existence of recent years in China, and the remarkable manner in which this oil penetrates to all but the most distant portions of the country in spite of transport difficulties and likin exactions, will realise what a magnificent proposition this agreement would have been for the Standard Oil Company had the enterprise succeeded; but it is also obvious that it would have been equally of enormous advantage and profit to the Chinese Government, since without foreign assistance the Chinese are at present as incapable of developing such a proposition as they are of building a railway to the moon.

An inspection of the Jehol oilfields in Northern Chihli proved them worthless, but the report of the two geologists sent to Shensi appears to have been favourable, and a careful survey was then made of the whole of the supposed oilfield. A large staff of geologists, engineers, and drillers was subsequently imported, together with quantities of bulky drilling machinery. The transport of the latter from railhead in Honan through the wilds of Northern Shensi to Yenan and Yench'ang entailed difficulties which seemed insuperable, but was nevertheless successfully accomplished by means of American energy, ability, and driving power. When we passed through Central Shensi on our way to Kansu two years previously, the transport of this machinery, which was just then being undertaken, and the adventures which befell it *en route*, seemed the sole topic of conversation and the only subject of interest in the province. We now saw portions of the same huge pieces of machinery lying apparently useless and abandoned in these wild and inaccessible regions. [135]

During 1915 wells were sunk near Yenan and Yench'ang, and also apparently in Ansai, Yichün and Chungpu districts in accordance with the hopes held out by the survey; but

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316 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside
471 of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people
[492] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang
and to work our way thence somehow or other back to
133 Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling. 487 133

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 60 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu; here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suitê, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east. [361] [85]

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'o, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit 316 361

is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil.

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CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots.
316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol
563 tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents
523 of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally
634 occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzü the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is [316] carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation, carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding 502 the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids, however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral 136 (or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could have shot any number from the raft, but it would have been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally 133 a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Ssu, a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert [232] hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

From Wufang Ssu the river flows east and north-east again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge, with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached. Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich [312] fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated

stretches.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very 244
good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also
to be bought, as this district[1], unlike many others, pro- [248]
duces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and [286]
weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also
supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when 316
burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off
intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used 491
alternately according to the season of the year; we
took on this occasion the upper one following the foot
of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases,
tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with
small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and
firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the 172
ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement,
dating from the time when North-West Kansu was
under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition
has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo,
probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the
fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had
yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay
walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended
area once inhabited, but now the only building not
completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one
room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was
an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage,
and no carter spends the night there willingly. We
had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early
in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho. 651 185 [346]

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [436] [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a 574 524 574

133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibel chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibel is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives, they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 485 712 Up on the top of the Siansibel Pass we came upon the large caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 316 The descent south from the Siansibel Pass is extremely gentle. Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

Formerly as many as 2,000 gold washers traveled to the Gorgi Ravines summer after summer and into the mountains which bordered the southern part of the steppe that lay before us. Most of these gold washers were, like my H'an, people from the so-called "Small Society" (Hsian /308/ kiao), that is, Mohammedans. Meanwhile thousands of them have perished, losing their lives in the Mohammedan rebellion. But at that time, when the gold-washing regions were visited in the greatest numbers - around the 1870s - the government kept ten soldiers in each of the loam fortresses on the road, for their protection, and from each gold washer the mandarins collected two mace per season for licenses. Hundreds of small employers instigated these expeditions and came here with people from their village and their neighborhood. The region is considered one of the richest in gold in the entire Hsining district. But one day - it must have been in the year 1889 - Ngolok-Tibetans came riding up in great numbers from the south, fell upon the unarmed gold washers, took their food supplies which they had laboriously dragged up from their home in the Hsining Valley, and thus forced them to beat a hasty retreat along with the Chinese soldiers. Since that time the soldiers have never again taken up their posts here and only small bands of particularly audacious gold seekers dare to work the Gorgi Ravines, and for this they pay high taxes to the Tibetan tribes living in the vicinity.

At the time of my visit the local landowners, two tribes who have their pastures on the southern edge of the steppe and at the mouth of the Gorgi ravines - in the northern part of the steppe there are few good pastures - were bitter enemies. Disputes over a matter of inheritance had resulted in wars that had been going on for years and cost a great deal of blood-shed. A young Tibetan who had been adopted by a childless couple, had lost his step-father in a smallpox epidemic when he was still a boy. His step-mother took another man into her tent soon after the death of her husband, and when the step-mother died this man refused to give up the property. Meanwhile the young man had reached the age of 20, and when he had in vain brought suit before the chieftain, he resorted to self-defense, attacked the man's tent with the help of some of his contemporaries and some blood relations, drove away the man's herds and took possession of the tent and its contents. Since that time the tribe has been divided into two factions. The two hostile territories are separated by the Da ho ba (Chinese) or the Hongan Chu (Tibetan), a torrential mountain brook which flows through the steppe in a deep channel. Most of the battles took place in its narrow ravine. On the steep slope along the road we saw the

000 about the camels, nor had they accomplished anything in the Ngolok-Horkurma affair. However, in spite of this, both interpreters were well-satisfied with their dealings and now wanted to travel back to Dankar as quickly as possible. They rode "ula," that is, the natives along the way had to provide horses and guides for them from one tribe to another. They counted on being in Dankar in six days in this fashion. Schü had received a present of a good, young horse from the Ts'ien hu; he sold it to me for an acceptable sum and so I could join the interpreters with two of my servants. I took only a few provisions and my notebooks and map sketches with me; the rest of the baggage and the remaining servants were to wait for the Wang ka. Just as we were riding off, Tsch'eng and Me whom I had, according to their wish, paid and discharged the week before, came to me weeping and complained that the two interpreters had taken 10 taels away from them because they were carrying on business in Tibet without a license. Tsch'eng had in the meantime collected money from the Nian in payment of old debts for boots. There was of course /77/ nothing for me to do but take on their fine. In Dulan se the two interpreters had also demanded a male donkey from a pen-sa (borax) digger who had come from Kurluk and also had no passport. (1) The

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1. From the region of the Kurluk- (Kurlik-) Mongols, five days' journey north of the Kurlik Nor, 8,000 Chinese pounds of pen-sa, unpurified borax (tala in Tibetan and Mongolian) are annually exported. Again it is principally Dungani who work the borax pits. It is processed in Dankar. In its purified state only about 2,000 catties are left over.

poor devil had nothing else that was worth taking along. Among the rest of the animals that they were dragging along I also discovered an old acquaintance: the horse with spavin, that I had ridden on my way from Dalan Turgan. The person from whom they got that could only be grateful to them. It was a dignified, but strangely assorted cavalcade with which I set out from Dulan se.

133 At first we followed the valley of the Dulan River upward for a few hours, then we crossed a flat pass that was nevertheless 3,615 meters high, over to the Tala depression. The broad, treeless, yellowish green Tala plain stretched endlessly to the east. On the north it was bordered by grassy hills, but on the south there towered a snow-covered wall of mountains with wild, jagged peaks of tremendous size.

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487 Shensi from Kansu. I had come down another level into the lowland, a formation of land which our map had not yet indicated. Down in the province of Shensi I again stood on my familiar Shensi-Ordos clod of earth. Here, too, at Lung tschou, the Chinese have since olden [316] times worked coal pits which yielded good coal. But because the roads are too poor, the coal is sent only for a distance of a two-days' journey, beyond Kien yang hsien.

[597] My journey continued without stopping, ever deeper into the rich, the beautiful, the new China. In Kien yang hsien I was invited for supper by two gracious Swedish ladies who were doing quiet missionary work all alone here in this outpost. A further day's march brought me into the city of Feng tsiang fu, and the next day saw me in the city of Ki schan hsien; herewith I had reached the big old Szechwan road. Everywhere there were magnificent hotels by the side of the road. Large carts loaded with snowy cotton were heading into the cities. In one day I road through half a dozen chief cities of districts. At Sien yang hsien for the last time we crossed the Wei Ho which at that city is muddy and thick and only 360 meters above sea level. Here the Szechwan road on which I traveled at the end and the cart road to Lanchow fu unite. There are seven large ferries to take care of the heavy traffic during the high waters in summer, while every winter a trestle bridge is built. Round about on the flat hills are old earth mounds which have been the burial places for countless emperors of the old dynasties, those of Hsingan fu, the Tschang ngan of old.

000 /328/ Ever since I had left Lanchow fu I was goaded on by the fear that on account of my detour I might arrive in Hsingan fu later than my carts and chests and that my property might get lost if there was no one to receive it at its place of destination. But now, after much telegraphing back and forth, it turned out that they had not even left Lanchow fu. Again my mind had not worked sufficiently in the manner of the Chinese merchants. It had occurred to some clever individual to use my shipment in order to smuggle a few boxes of water-pipe tobacco through the customs. But it had been done too boldly and so everything, my chests as well as the tobacco chests, were confiscated. Finally Mr. Shields was called in by the draymen to help because he had recommended the hang to me. When he came to the custom station the officials and soldiers were rummaging, amid pouring rain, among the bird skins, butterflies and the various oddities. Without Mr. Shields' help I would again have had to undertake the month-long trek to Lanchow in order to get my belongings.

N 135 famous salt basins in Northwest China. The latter is thirty-five miles in circumference and covered with a layer of fine salt two to six feet thick.

The Kilantai salt, commonly known as red salt, exports from T'eng-kou on the Yellow River to the markets of Shensi and Kansu (Ninghsia) each year, besides large amounts of salt.

The gypsum reserves have not been estimated by the geological survey of China, so no figures are available. The Northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are the principal producers. The Taklak gypsum deposit in S [135] Wen-su-hsien (41.19 by 79.50), Sinkiang, has been surveyed; with a ten meter thick bed, it is estimated the deposit contains more than 100,000,000 tons. Another gypsum bed at Pai-ch'eng, Kucha (41.45 by 83.04), with a five-foot bed, is estimated to contain 11,000,000 metric tons. A gypsum bed twenty meters thick at Ha-chia-tsun (36.17 by 63.33) in Yung-teng-hsien (36.44 by 103.24), Kansu province, was estimated to contain 500,000,000 metric tons of gypsum. A gypsum bed at Hsi-ning-hsien (36.37 by 101.49), Chinghai province, covers fifty square kilometers with the gypsum bed running from ten to thirty meters.

(See Tables X and XI.)

N 317 b. Borax:

Borax is produced in Chinghai province by gathering the top soil near saline lakes or dried-up lake basins, the "Tsaidams." The salts are boiled, and the liquid is evaporated. These crude salts are sent to Huang-yüan-hsien (36.42 by 101.13) for refining and separation of the borax. Raw materials are gathered in Tsaidam Basin, at K'o-erh-ko (36.35 by 100.12) and other places.

Amonium chloride is often found as a residue where Jurassic coal beds have burned out the coal seams. At Ko-hsi-erh-ta-ko and Sa-mu-chi-ta-ko in Kucha county (41.45 by 83.04), Sinkiang, S [317] ammonium chloride is dug and sold to silver workers for welding; the amount is small. At the Wu-chi-kou coal mine S [433] (39.01 by 106.03) Ping-lo-hsien, Ninghsia, production is over ten kilograms of ammonium chloride a year. Production can be increased if demand is warranted.

c. Jade and other precious Stones.

S 135 Jade and precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, topaz, jasper, sapphires and emeralds are found and produced in Sinkiang, particularly along the Kunlun mountains in the southern S [439] part of the province. They are imported via Yümen (which literally means Jade Gate) at the extreme northwest of the Kansu corridor, to the rest of China.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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TABLE X. Distribution of Salt and its Production in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in 1942 and 1943 (Production in metric tons) Source: Stephens, Harre E. : N. W. salt, American Embassy, Lanchow, Kansu, China, Jan. 29, 1945)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 Production	Total	1943 Prod.	Total
Ninghsia	Tsa-han-chih (Lake).	38.20x104.42	39,040		30,244	
	Ho-twen-chih "	39.24x104.40	9,400		12,381	
	Ya-pu-lai "		10,500		5,600	
	Chi-lan-tai "	39.40x105.43	16,200		2,089	
	Hui-on-pu (Earth)	37.28x106.41	175		750	
	Tung-hu-chih (Lake)	37.40x104.55	700		460	
	Ba-in-chih (Earth)(?)	38.18x104.15	35		254	
	Hung-yen-chih "	38.02x104.58	155		16	
				77,105		51,978
Kansu	Hsi-feng-chen(Lake)	35.45x107.28	2,700		5,004	
	Tsao-shan-chen "	35.20x107.59	1,500		2,712	
	Kao-tai (earth)	39.21x99.58	2,800		2,055	
	Chang-hsien "	34.38x104.40	1,400		1,076	
	Su-mu-shan "	38.30x103.20	500		815	
	Tang-chia-hai "(?)		330		453	
	Kan-yen-chih "		200		417	
	Yen-kuan "	34.18x105.19	420		393	
	Pai-tun-tzu "	37.30x104.05	750		367	
	Hsiao-hung-kou "	36.43x105.26	160		351	
	Ma-lien-ch'uan "	41.10 x94.47	425		347	
	Ma-chia-T'sun	36.18x103.30	430		233	
	Lin-hsia	35.34x103.14	135		215	
	Hsia-ho (Lake)	35.12x102.30	20		174	
	La-pai (Earth)		290		112	

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 39.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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forth in full cry, driving each camel to its own load, 000
which was promptly secured, to the accompaniment of groans and grunts from that morose animal.

As the disc of the sun fell behind the skyline the cavalcade moved off southwards; fainter and fainter came back the sound of the sonorous bells, and at last the long caravan disappeared into the dim, purple distance.

It is on the occasion of such an encounter that the missionary feels keenly how much he owes to the work of the Bible and Tract Societies. This scholarly man had been delighted to accept, not only well-bound and well-printed copies of the Gospels, but a whole sheaf of leaflets, each one of which presented some side of Christian truth in an intelligent and literary form. No experience in life affords a better opportunity for facing spiritual issues than does the enforced quiet of a long journey, for this student had already been fifty days travelling by night and resting by day, amid the vast silence and space of the desert, and many more such stages lay ahead, giving him time for deep, concentrated thought.

By means of that mysterious sixth sense the Chinese use for picking up secret information, our carter met us on our return to the temple with the news that a robbery was expected to-night in Camel-Town, and consequently we must forthwith depart. 'The mules are already harnessed,' he said. 'Those two men are up to mischief, and we must be clear of this place before dark!' Realising that all argument was useless, and that our fatigue must be overcome, we had to embark anew on a long night-stage, without the slightest chance of sleep being possible.

Three stages from Suchow, we passed a hamlet which 317 ●
takes its name from a salt lake lying about a mile

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1) farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

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N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

•322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [443] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees 346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery 723 on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

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cartload of loess soil, and at last proceed with the putting of our house in order. A fireplace built entirely of mud-bricks, into which a grating of half-a-dozen iron bars was fixed, made a very satisfactory cooking-stove, and a paraffin-oil tin let into the back served as a boiler. We also set up an iron stove we had brought with us, at great labour and expense, but which proved to be not only an immense comfort but an absolutely vital necessity, when the real depth of winter came upon us.

We visited several carpenters' shops in the hope of finding ready-made furniture, such as a table, bench, or stool, but the only articles for sale were, in every case, nothing but coffins. Red, black, blue, varnished or unvarnished coffins were temptingly ranged before us, but for the living nought! Fortunately, however, our kind landlord came to the rescue by lending us a table and three stools, while the coffin-shop supplied us with as many planks as we required. These, supported on bricks and packing-cases, made the dresser, bookcase, writing-table and beds. A side-shelter was next transformed into a sleeping apartment for our women students, and thus, all being in order, we fondly imagined ourselves comfortably settled, but the neighbours shook their heads sagely, saying: 'Wait till the winds come!'

Our happy illusions were soon dispelled, for one night, not long after, we were suddenly awakened by the alarming roar of a tremendous gale, shaking the boughs of the poplar-trees and stripping off every leaf that remained. This preliminary onslaught was then quickly followed by an unearthly yell as the whole force of the tempest descended upon the city, carrying with it volumes of sand that whipped and cut against our pavilion like a volley of musketry. Without a moment's interruption the gusts swept in through the

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cultivating a small patch of ground. The women 563
wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent.

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay 249
between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry 437
poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to 000
Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription.

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. 493
Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient 322
supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

S 392 493 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S 329 398 399 256 288 399 239 439 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 121 178 463 463 5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S [284] (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces, in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ningheia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output N [433] is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

487 133 [316] [323] 312 361 [P. 123]

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found (578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

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S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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494 few moments Dr. Kao swung himself from the saddle, and advanced to meet us with cordial and cheering words. He turned from us to the carter, who, with an abashed grin, acknowledged his presence.

'Hello, Old Sheep!' he exclaimed. 'You out of jail again? That last trip of yours turned out badly.' Then turning to us he said: 'This carter has just finished his third term of imprisonment for destruction of travellers' property, through carelessness. Whatever induced you to hire him? He'll never get in to-night. But we must do so.'

361 A few swift orders were then given, and the second
133 horseman galloped back to the city for help. Mean-
494 while as many of the party as could be crowded into our own small cart drove on, while the rest proceeded on foot. The soil formation in and around Kanchow is peculiar. The city is built on a crust of earth covering underground springs. During the period when the water is still frozen the place stands firm, though buildings are thrown out of the perpendicular, but during the spring months the earth trembles and yields under the slightest pressure. On this occasion a thaw had set in, and water was welling up from below the surface, so that the condition of the roads baffles description. We picked our way cautiously over this swampy, unstable district, and where rivers intersected our path, the cart was obliged to take us over in relays. Horsemen now appeared coming to our rescue with galloping steeds, two saddled for riding and two more ready to be hitched to the carts. These fine horses, we were told, belonged to a Mongol Prince, who was staying in Doctor Kao's house.

326 It was long after sunset when we entered the great gates of Kanchow city. We passed through between the flaring smithies which always ply their trade in the

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neighbourhood of the inns, and threading the dark streets with their many turnings, where the dim roofs of temples could just be distinguished, we at last alighted at the door of a large compound, closely shut in behind high walls. 326

In a few minutes we were seated before a delicious meal and a longed-for cup of tea, in a room which to some might have seemed bare, but which to us presented the very acme of comfort, for we had been travelling for eighteen hours in the teeth of a bitter North-Easter, with no food but cold dough-cakes fried in pungent, linseed oil, and we were broken with fatigue. It was after midnight before we laid our weary heads upon our pillows. We had left Hwochow in June; it was now March, and we had already come about 1,500 miles since leaving the railhead. 797

CHAPTER VI

A CHIEFTAIN OF THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS

SHORTLY after dawn, we were conscious of the peculiar sense of Sabbath-quiet that permeates a Christian community, which, of course, is alone in recognising the Lord's Day in a heathen land. Everyone on the compound though he may own but one garment, is expected to wear it newly-washed and clean. Every room and courtyard has been swept and tidied up, and from sunrise the sound of singing is heard. On this day also every carpenter or mason employed is given his day's wages, although no work is done by him.

This was a red-letter day for the Kanchow Church; indeed, far more so than we were at first in a position to 000

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
572 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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axles, since the gauge required for the desert is a foot wider than than that used in the provinces of North China. 485 326

The first night was spent in a very cold, damp, north room of a noisy, dirty and crowded inn. The next day, however, we secured the use of a small private court, containing an apartment with a tiny kitchen, where our servant was able to prepare the meals. This small court had been built by a Kashgar merchant, whose business necessitated frequent journeys to Suchow, Hankow and Peking. A few years previously, a deal in business involved him in a transaction through which he incurred the displeasure of a high official, the result being that he was placed under arrest, and forced to reside in that portion of a Chinese prison corresponding to the old English 'Debtors' Gaol.' No trial had taken place, and consequently no judgment had ever been passed on him. Any representations that he might make had been bandied from court to court, as each successive official refused either to investigate the case, or to take any action which might bring upon himself the wrath of some other notable, from whom depended the tenure of his own office. When we reached Suchow, Mr. Li's imprisonment, now ancient history, was merely nominal, and he was free to come and go at pleasure, provided he did not leave the precincts of the town. He was one of our first visitors, and we found him to be a man of alert mentality, and of great knowledge of the world. His morals and general outlook were those of Islam, to which he had added under the stress of trouble the Chinese vice of opium-smoking. He seemed, however, much pleased that we should be occupying his premises, and urged us not to hesitate to report to him if the manager failed to make us as comfortable as possible. 681

The news of our arrival spread rapidly through the 000

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

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135 C. Minerals of Secondary Importance.

Many other minerals, both metallic and non-metallic, have been discovered in the Northwest, particularly in Sinkiang. Among the metallic ones are antimony, zinc, tin, mercury, pyrite, etc. Among the non-metals are magnesite, graphite, sulfur, arsenic, nitrate, asbestos, alum, asphalt, ozocerite, marble, limestone for cement making, etc.

N
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316 Since mining operations have not yet begun in most cases, it is impossible to predict whether these will prove to be worthwhile, with the exception of magnesite and limestone for cement making.

N
135 1. Magnesite and Cement making:

Large deposits of magnesite are found at Tzu-hu county (38.50 by 105.32) of former Ninghsia province, with a reserve

N estimated at 38,000,000 tons. A modern cement plant is
339 being built in Kansu province. The cement plant will be the first of its kind in thisprovince, and it will be able to meet local demands for cement. Housing for the workers, an extension railway line and a long distance telephone linking up the site were completed at the end of 1954. (FBIS. No. 25, Feb. 4, 1955).

S
316 2. Pyrite and Sulfur

Production of sulfur is reported in the vicinity of Khotan,

N Sinkiang. A pyrite deposit is also reported in the Tsai-ku
135 area of Shensi province at the junction of the districts of P'u-cheng, Pai'shui, and Cheng-cheng (or about 35.03 by 109.33). The field is 3.5 miles square, extending on both sides of the Lo-ho River, with veins one to two feet thick. Reserves were given as 4,000,000 tons with a sulfur content probably reaching fifty-three percent, making it the best in the world. (Ref. Industrial Monthly, June 1, 1944, Sian). This may be the same as the Han-chiao-ho field. As China turns to industrialization, the demand for sulfur and sulfuric acid will increase.

3. Asphalt and Ozocerite

In the region of Lake Ayar, large deposits of asphalt and ozocerite are found, but so far they have not been worked.

4. Graphite

Graphite is found at Mei-hsien (34.18 by 107.43) in Shensi province.

III. Population

S
N A. Introduction

The Northwest Region covers the provinces of Shensi, Kansu
131 (including Ninghsia), Chinghai, and the newly established Sinkiang
161 Uighur Autonomous Region in the former Sinkiang Province. Sinkiang alone is larger in area than France, Germany, and

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

The Communist government has paid special attention to
47 developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order
*175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 The most important industrial development in Shensi under
288 the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded
*668 the following factories in Shensi:
*175

1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty
[386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing
[395] Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in
[339] April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

N.W. China AF13

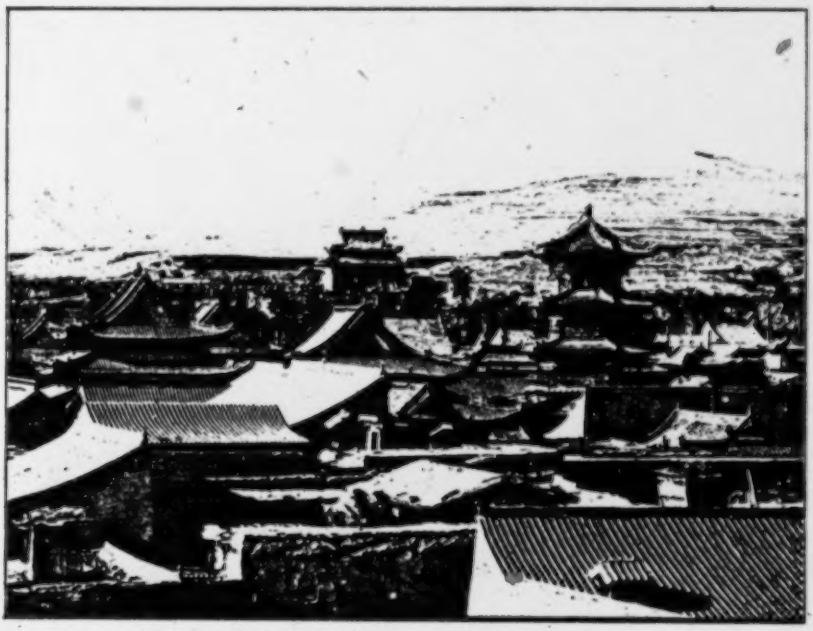
Plate LXIX.

/facing p. 305/

000

My dinner party near Rao gomba. (Tschomo tscho, Brdyal, Tsung ye, the Läwa guide, the two Tschangla guides.)

346
341



Large mosque and minaret in Tao tschou.

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most S N [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] [426] [476] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 971 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [992] [994] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

• 342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowhers in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351) which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
(342) house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
(621) the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614) bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

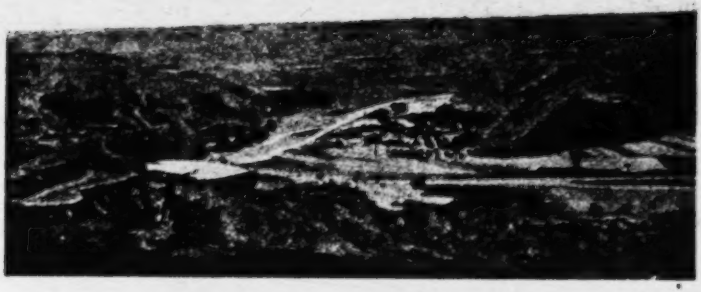
The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
(532) stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
(172) figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
(511) upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XVI

133



LO RIVER IN A VALLEY IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

361
342

CAVE VILLAGE IN SEMI-DESERT COUNTRY NEAR YENAN

[FACING p. 65]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low 487
pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley
trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another 133
pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min
Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point
Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends
steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues
north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy
hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several [364]
Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao
Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I
ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the
Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us
in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered
to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which
is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are
nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen 342
of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere
where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high
standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house
I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and
stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which
we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled
with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged 487
from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots 133
were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and
dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the
boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border
of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it 233
all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one
enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains
(elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak,
sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents
of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba.
These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese 133
as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and
west, and always one ascends to them through a region of 563
broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu
up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli
or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots.
316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

• 342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen
563 in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally
563 occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating
634 northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XXXIX

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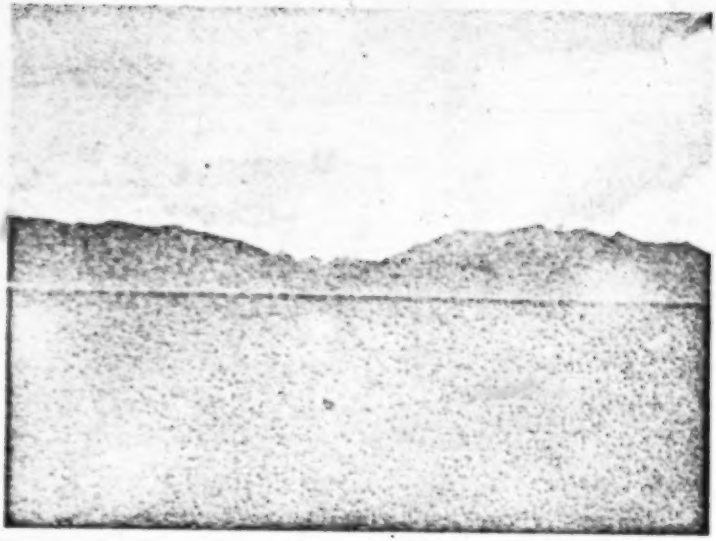
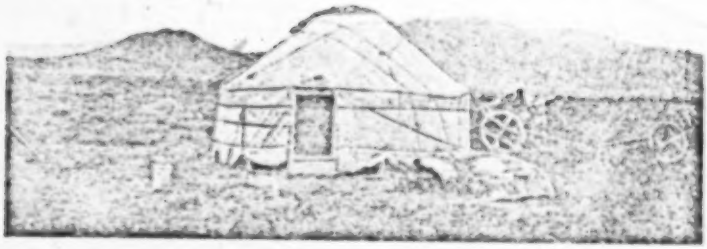


GRASS PRAIRIE (11,000 FEET) NEAR YUNGAN

342



MONGOL TENT

[FACING p. 170]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; this range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a [7/2] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. [312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. 361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first 346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the • 342 gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

1 T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

797
342.

Our expectation was not in vain, for only a few days later Dr. Kao informed us he had been approached by one of the leading gentlemen of Suchow, with the suggestion that he should rent his vacant house for the Bible-School premises, and also he had added the polite words, that it would give him the greatest pleasure if the three ladies would occupy the pavilion standing in his flower-garden, and which was now quite empty. It sounded rather like a fairy-tale, somewhat too good to be true; nevertheless, a few days later we moved our belongings bodily to Chang-si-yeh's attractive property.

On the west side of the roadway that traversed it were the two Bible-School courtyards; one filled with living-rooms, while the other contained a spacious hall, suitable for the Class-Room and the Sunday services. The third courtyard was only waste ground, but our students soon levelled and planted it out as a vegetable garden; here, also, the preaching-tent was pitched. On the east side was the entrance to Mr. Chang's own private house, and through this we passed into a charming flower-garden, backed by an orchard. Under the cloudless October sky, the autumn-tinted fruit-trees looked very lovely, and we felt the lines had indeed fallen for us in pleasant places. An ornamental building of carved wood faced the parterre, and if the structure was somewhat flimsy (being mainly composed of delicate fretwork and white paper), it yet commanded a delightfully sunny aspect, and a glorious view of the snow-capped Tibetan mountains, some rising to 15,000 feet. The single room within was of considerable size, and held two recessed *kangs*. The central portion we immediately arranged as our dining and guest-receiving room, while each end was furnished to suggest a bed-study-sitting-room.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

797 The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there
342 was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

776 It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
142 gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebelliions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

subjects of Lu tu se who has his residence on the lower Da tung 563
River in Lien tschen. If one passes through a Tu ren village of this 342
kind, there is little noteworthy to be seen on an ordinary day. The houses are the same stamped-loam, flat-roofed dwellings that the Kansu Chinese build. At most /247/ we note that the women in these towns wear their feet only lightly bound or not at all.

At the present time the Tu ren speak mostly Chinese, but they 563
have also kept alive a language of their own which only they under- 197
stand. It is not written and consists of many dialects. I was repeatedly told that almost no one is familiar with Mongolian writing. Seven-tenths of the Tu ren language in the vicinity of Wei yüan'bu is made up of Mongolian words, the remaining three-tenths has many peculiarities, probably of Turkish origin, but also contains Tibetan and Chinese words. (1)

1. The following sample may already show that the language is related to the Mongolian:

1	-	niga	11	-	haran nigä
2	-	her	20	-	horun
3	-	herän	30	-	h'otschin
4	-	deren	40	-	tetschinn
5	-	t'awen	50	-	t'a yin
6	-	dyürgon	60	-	tscheran
7	-	dölon	70	-	dalan
8	-	nimen	80	-	wayen
9	-	schetsin	90	-	yeren
10	-	haran	100	-	negadyon

I - bu (wu)
you - tschi
he - tie
There is no plural pronoun.

man - de dyekon
woman - wereken
child - mola beli
Mohammedan - h'ui h ui
Chinese - h'ara tschitad
Gumbum - sgumbun
woman's coiffure - nudar
camel - temien

5: Tafel--437 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.w. China AF 13

Plate LVIII.

/256B/
133
342

Camp in the Schara khoto Valley, view to the north.

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
792 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
●342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschurra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1] [i.e., of Barun.—Analyst]

586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

843 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up
●342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's
574 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

6: Tafel--524 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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N.W. China AF

Plate LXXV.

/facing 321/

342

Loess-cave farm house near Feng tsiang fu, Shensi.

491

Homeward bound. (My wagon on the great plain within sight of the city gate of Kai feng fu.)

N.W. China AFO

701
712

In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

[714]

Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attache of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable
361 number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of
[344] room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

/Salars/

563 794 177 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical [144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing [262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their [272] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge [273] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be [346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
62 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.

[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"

[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no

[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 747 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the
563 Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the
[197] Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of cor-
[142] rupt Turkish.

N The Salars live in Hsin-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the
795 Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found
[361] on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to
N the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this re-
[669] spect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against
[793] the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated
[177] many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not
[212] burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

• 346 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and ad-
778 ministrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

346 778 (eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

778 [764] The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

778 823 Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only [788] depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most [346] of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

728 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
716 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

• 346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

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CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shensi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising in places to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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PLATE XVII

133

DIVIDE BETWEEN THE LO HO AND YEN SHUI NEAR YENAN

346

CAVE TEMPLES IN SANDSTONE CLIFF OPPOSITE YENAN

[FALING p. 70]

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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487 a railway following the main road (which could avoid the more formidable Feng Ling by a détour down the Tung 133 valley and up the tributary to Liufeng Kuan) would presumably require a long tunnel, and would meet with many more difficulties following down the gorge to Liupa [346] and beyond. Some five li below the pass lies the Changliang Miao, beautifully situated at the junction of two wooded ravines, where we passed the night. This is one of the finest temples in China, built, I believe, in the Han Dynasty, and is well known amongst the Chinese; one would have liked to remain there a week.

361 From Changliang Miao (also known as Miao T'aitzu) the path runs down a winding gorge for the rest of the way to Liupa, a distance of 40 li. The latter, formerly a T'ing, and now a third class Hsien, is a picturesque little place, almost filling a narrow valley hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan, its situation exactly resembling that of Huayang further east on the road to Fop'ing. The city is practically empty, the life of the place being concentrated in a suburb outside the south-east wall.

From Liupa to Paoch'eng in the Han valley plain is a 487 distance of about 180 li, which can be covered in two long marches, the trail running all the way down a winding gorge, 133 occasionally cutting off corners by crossing low spurs. The going is most of the way very rough and rocky. Some three hours' march below Liupa the stream joins another much larger one flowing down from the southern slopes of T'aipai Shan, called the Pao Shui; up this stream lies a very rough trail to Mei Hsien in the Wei valley, crossing a shoulder of T'aipai Shan by a high pass. Several villages living on the traffic of this great highway are passed in the gorge, T'ieh-fotien, Matao Yi (the half-way stage), Erhshihli P'u, and Ch'ingch'iao Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. As one approaches the plain, the gorge, instead of opening out, becomes narrower, the cliffs more precipitous, and the track more rocky; and just when the weary traveller is beginning to look forward to the end of the stage, the gorge becomes impassable, and the path ascends for several hundreds of feet by flights of irregular stone steps, winds round the top of a spur, the Chit'ou Kuan, and drops straight down on to Paoch'eng Hsien, lying on the edge of the Han valley plain.

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over
133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends
[361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out
[346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsuppo.ted by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques
346 are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [443] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees • 346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery 723 on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

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these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

When not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

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which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

[1] T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

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346 flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the
778 garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china
figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight
532 Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but
776 now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of
[177] an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

792 Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

•346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
572 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to 494
a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst
indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, 484
we discovered that we were expected at this house;
and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his
friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the
mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers
ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper;
'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my
nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen)
'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now
take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this
season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this
rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted
the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to
see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a
snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two 361
hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in 166
Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-
watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, 346
is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple 177
frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of
Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had 532
strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu.
The dome of the tower is said to have originally been
covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the
Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in
turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently
whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals 796
in honour of their respective gods, and we were in 776
Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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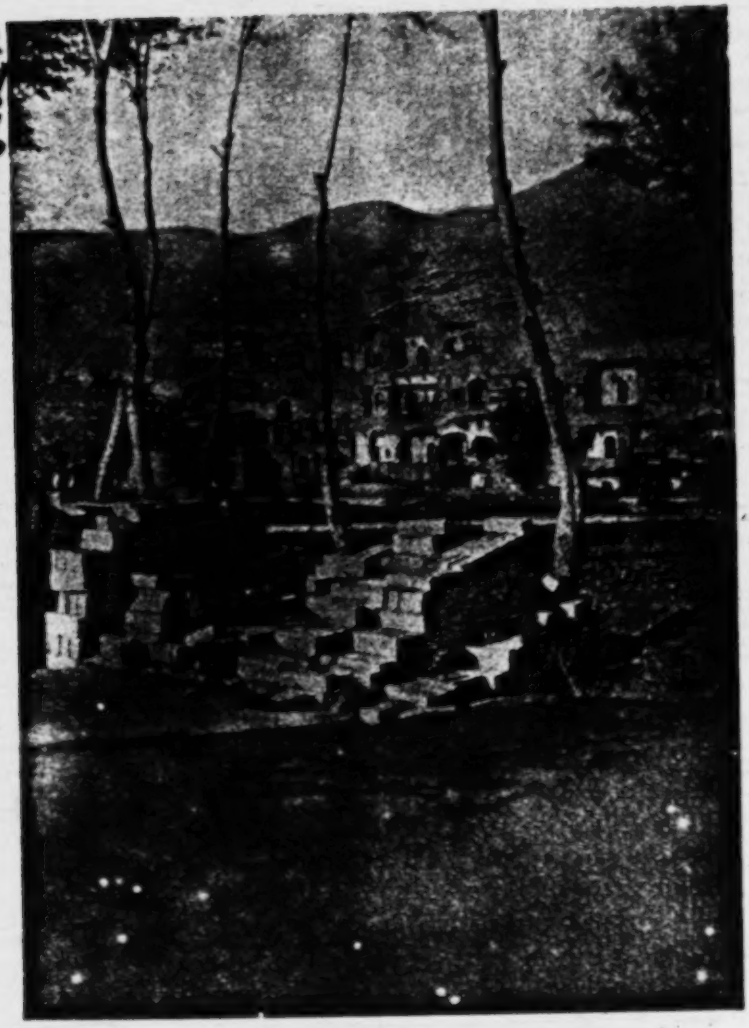

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS.

"Many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below."

To face page 134.

[FACING p. 134]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou*.' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

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On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
346 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second,
532 which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Moham- 563
medans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. [346
Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their 631
country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün-hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
778 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

5. Tafel--353 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet

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Plate XLVII

/208C/

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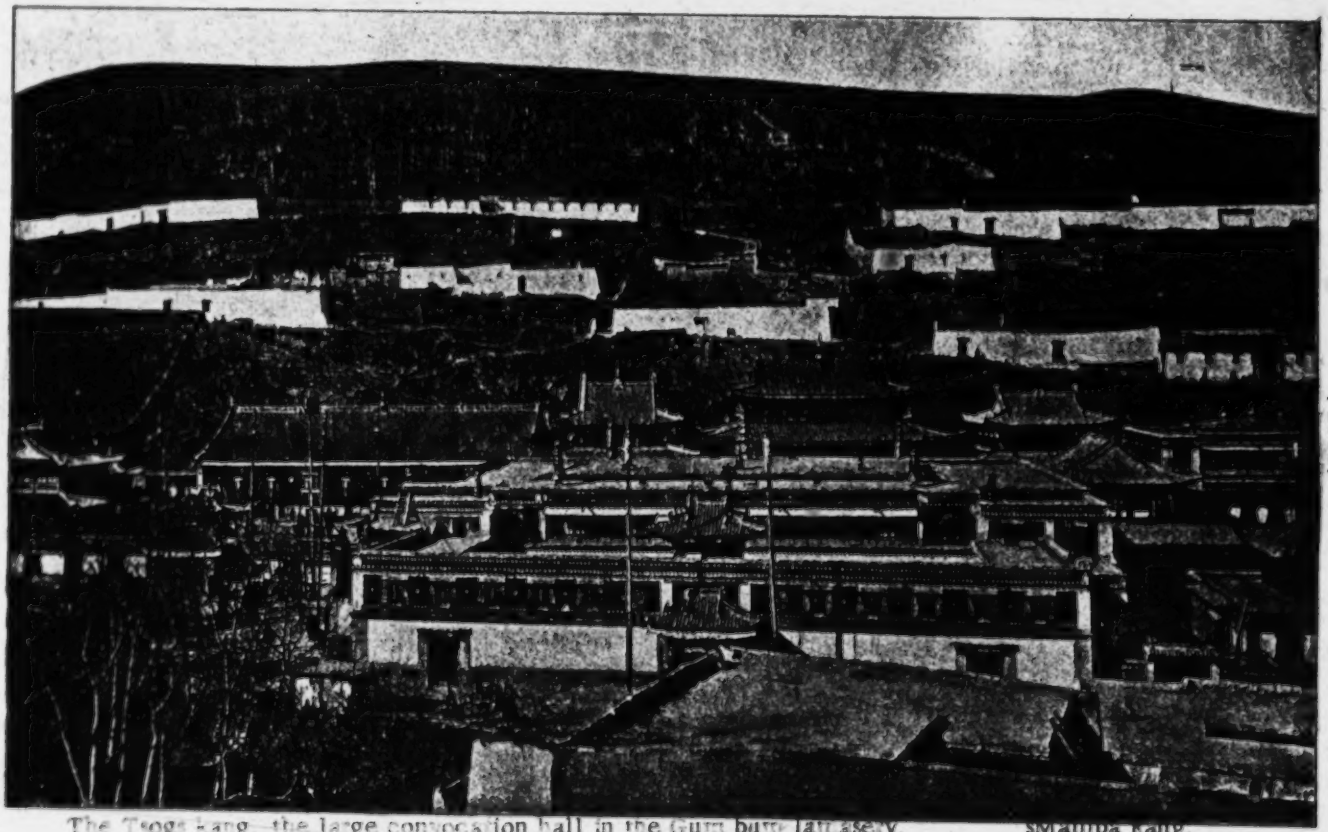

The Tsogs kang, the large convocation hall in the Gum bum lamasery.
Dance court.
Mask for the butter pictures.

sManba kang.
Tea kitchen.

5: Tafel--355 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJI Tibet
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Plate XLVIII

/facing p. 209/

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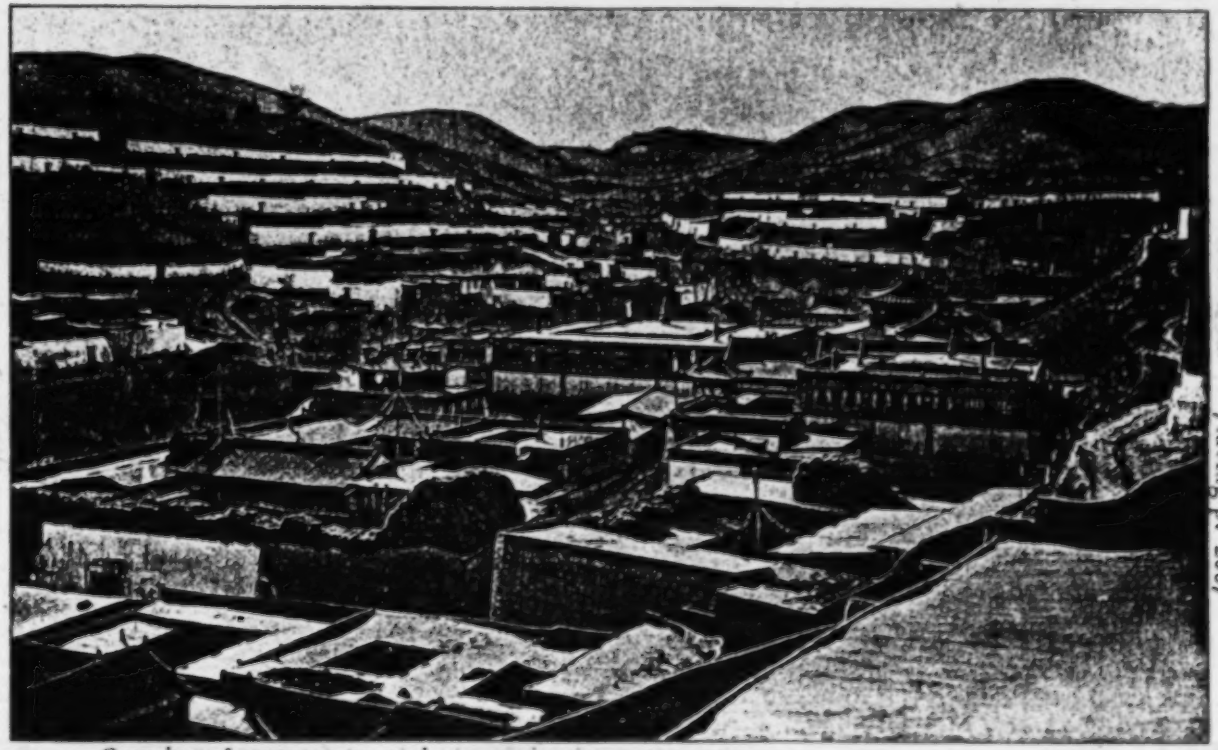

Gum bum Lamatery (partial view from the [illegible]).
Private dwelling.
Large ap[illegible] building.
[illegible] Temple with the Gold Roof.
Temple of the medicine Buddhas.

N.W. China AF 13
Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is
eaten throughout West China

N.W. China AFN
Kalmyk

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulaseta Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en- [423]
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792]
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

792 lamas gathered in it, in order to read the Kandyur. (Plate LXXIX).
346 Beside the yurt there were deep holes dug, in which bucketsful of tea and thick, glutinous barley soup were cooked for the lamas and the many visitors who came for these prayer recitations.

000 Among the visitors was Dowe who had accompanied Rockhill to K'am in 1889. His eye disease which had set in shortly after his journey with Rockhill had in the meantime become so bad that he was almost blind. Two men who accompanied Kozlov on his journey to K'am also visited me and offered me their services. But they demanded such a high salary that I was unable to take them along. They boastfully told of the attack on Kozlov's caravan not far from Tsiamdo, in which 32 Tibetans were supposed to have fallen, and they spoke as though they had been the deliverers. (1) In the year

1. See in this connection, Kozlov, Mongolia i Kam. St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. II.

1909 this same courtyard of the Barun dsassak /351/ formed the base of Colonel Kozlov's expedition. Two Cossacks guarded the camel caravan while Kozlov journeyed to K'am. The traces of this expedition were still clearly visible. In the room next to the reception-room the dsassak showed me, with a shake of his head, the place where the large Russian stove which the Cossacks built, had stood. Even the wooden tower for meteorological observations was still intact. These people were unable to rest for a minute, the dsassak observed, and in their feverish activity they opened the large well shaft in the courtyard. (1) However, today this well yields only

1. I was told apropos of the attack on the two Cossacks, that they had seen ghosts one night and shot blindly into the darkness. But there was no enemy. Perhaps the Mongols themselves wanted to steal?

brackish, polluted water. One finds good, salt-free drinking water only a good quarter-hour from Kurä. A solitary rooster had meanwhile made his home in the wooden meteorological tower. The dsassak had brought him along only as an alarm-clock in the morning. He and his fellow-tribesmen, like the Tibetans, never ate eggs. So the hens had been left behind in China. (2)

643

2. The banner of the Barun dsassak has only one squadron

Plate LXIX.

N.W. China AF13

/facing p. 305/

000

My dinner party near Rao gomba. (Tschomo tscho, Brdyal, Tsung ye, the Läwa guide, the two Tschangla guides.)

•346
341

Large mosque and minaret in Tao tschou.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

231 The western districts of Central Shensi through which we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are [485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
971 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
SN caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwellings

342 171 Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques

S N 563 346 resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212] Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N b. Food

563 262 184 Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used.

S 563 262 184 In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252 Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291 The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
• [351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[192] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

157 Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

• 351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China A F13
~~Sinkiang A1-2~~

702

as a soldier, and afterwards, leaving will be desertion.'

'I am in the employ of the Lady Missionaries. They are quitting the country soon, but I must stay with them as long as they need me.'

'That is quite right,' said the sergeant. 'Go back and talk it over with them, and,' he added, 'if there are any more young Christian men in the Church who want to enlist, tell them to come along, they are the kind of men we want.'

'Welcome Home,' who had sallied forth with the bearing of a simple young farmer, returned to us an hour later with the deportment, gestures and style of an accomplished orderly. He greeted us from the back of the breakfast table with a military salute, and clicked his heels whenever we spoke to him. The joy of realising he was to be one of Feng's men endued him with an enthusiasm that transformed him. At the appointed time we released him to fulfil his engagement, and three days later, as we were driving to a farewell luncheon party, we passed the drill-ground where recruits were learning the goose-step. 'Welcome Home' caught sight of us, turned his head and smiled rapturously, whereupon the corporal's iron hand smote him on the shoulder, and he stood once more at attention. The next day he called in company with a 'centurion,' who informed us that there was every prospect of our late cook quickly securing a commission. 'In this army,' he said, 'we are like one big family, and we look to Marshal Feng as children to a father.'

351

The last few days were busy with meeting social claims. Various members of the Christian circle begged us to take one more meal with them before we left. The ladies of our landlord's family entertained us in the summer-house of a flower-garden. It was the season when the fragrant tree-peony is in bloom, and

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AL 1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's [824]
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [137]
which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the 574 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert" 411 opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle, a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently espoused His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

264 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty, 351 wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

shrubs. It was too bad that at the time of my visit the water was 264
completely covered with a thick crust of ice. But we foreigners [351]
were very much surprised to find such an idyllically quiet and beautiful spot in the middle of this crowded, noisy city, and I was told that this garden had been built more than 100 years ago. We sat in it for three hours, wrapped in our winter overcoats, ten of us around a large round table, and were served countless dishes. The dishes stood on the table for only a few minutes and always only one at a time, otherwise they would have turned ice-cold. With each new course everyone dipped into the common pot in the middle of the table with his chopsticks which, according to custom, he had first licked clean, then rummaged around in it like all the others to find a nice piece which he placed on the little porcelain spoon of his neighbor, amid many compliments, as well as on the little silver plate the size of a dollar, which even at the most luxurious feasts in China takes the place of our plate. Meanwhile, the icy cold caused one's fingers to grow stiff and made it more difficult to manipulate the thin chopsticks. There were two open pans filled with coals beside the table, over which one could warm one's hands, but soon the Chinese as well as the Europeans timidly drew their hands into the fur sleeves of their winter clothes and even the best eater let the dishes pass in review, most of which were good only on the surface and underneath consisted of less tasty filling, for example a thick raw turnip and such things. Conversation and drinking became the main thing toward the end and, as usual at such dinners, everyone was still waiting for the rice. A Chinese dinner consists only of hors d'oeuvres, so to speak. The main food, even at the largest feasts, even when a dinner takes three hours to serve, consists of steamed rice which is offered at the very end. Each guest is given a few bowls full of this and after that he immediately departs. /155/

Once when I asked the fan tai how it happened that Tung fu 000
hsiang could still keep so many soldiers for himself, he immediately denied this fact and answered: "Tung fu hsiang is dead, he is positively dead!" And the Mohammedans in Da miao and the mandarin in Tsing yüan were all said to have lied. An official in the foreign office told me later that the Tsing yüan hsien should have known that under no circumstances must it be admitted that Tung fu hsiang still has soldiers; his confirming it could cost him his position if I reported him.

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

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S N [792] [794]

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2. Patterns of living

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*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [791]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings. [291]

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: [186] "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, 426 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

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797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre-
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 [285] The town is beautifully placed and abundantly watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where 788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious atmosphere created was always most irksome to us, feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different construction from those we had met with elsewhere, this being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn, or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded, and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

free spot to be found. We were soon tired of searching and so we 485
set up our tent in a quiet corner and drove the ponies into an empty, unclaimed courtyard, of which there are a great many since the last Mohammedan rebellion. We set up the tent in order to "make the face attractive," as the Chinese say and so that people would not say: the European lay down in the street. But the wind kept blowing the tent down and so we lay in the open street after all; on top of everything, the temperature was 20°.

In the early morning we then found an inn (Plate XXXVIII). We were even obliged to call it a good one because the doors could be locked, but of course the guest had to bring his own lock. I immediately handed out a list of the things we still needed. Even tall Tschang hurried forth to do errands, although it would perhaps be more accurate to say he deigned to set out in order to look for things. He always undertook only those commissions that gave promise of the most profit for himself. Another servant repaired the windows of my room so well with tissue paper that the smoke from the wood fire which was lit on the floor of my room, presumably to warm me, made the tears run down my cheeks. Thus, the rare advantage of a 354 ●
hotel room with a door that locked was rather illusory. In the end it 132
was better to warm one's hands at a blazing wood fire in an open court. In Dankar there is /177/ neither coal nor charcoal to be had, I might almost say, a proof of the fact that one is no longer in China. I need not say that nobody knows how to build a stove. The people of Dankar, Hsining and other places in highland China and Tibet have the sun to keep them warm in winter. Every day, even in December and January, women and children can be seen in a sheltered corner beside a wall, going about their usual business. Even though the air is several degrees below freezing, the sun is so warm that one does not feel the cold. Little children play out of doors from early morning on, dressed in only a short jacket with perhaps sock-like shoes on their little feet. But you never hear them complain about the cold. If you enter a yamen, you see the secretaries carrying their tables and chairs out of their offices and painting at their legal documents in the warmth of the sun.

At noon I had a call from the ting of Dankar, a friendly, middle- 579
aged gentleman from South China. The major of the town had called earlier and taken the occasion to offer me for sale a very lean pony. The ting came on behalf of the amban of Hsining in order again to confer with me about my journey to the Koko Nor. The amban I was told, requested me to wait another few weeks until

[text continues on p. 294]

000 then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tombu mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 291 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all satsin the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocketbook. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone wore his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fox fur under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our [354] feet with their felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal-briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor. 574 521 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes of two of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly being charred. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might say something unpleasant and whether they were sure no one would feel hurt about it. He addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally ting let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoulder. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who need /182/ worry about derision. The stiff wax-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p.302]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 •
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions
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233 The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols
[423] shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always
[476] owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century.
K Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still
S
563 shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs
181 who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial
S
563 spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially
181 Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted,
S and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov,
N
563 Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all
181 B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le
971 feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the
114 disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters
N and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

563 Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a mon-
992 astery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its
S Lamaistic academies.
N
563 There are many reasons to believe that the Communist
668 regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the
233 nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the
• [361] nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 36 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
• 361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
36 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

N
361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

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161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in
N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that
[731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake
[165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in
[669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports.
S For example, in regard to the population estimation of
[161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[1]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual
N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia)
S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase
[161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2, [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

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7	Chinese	210	scattered all over Sinkiang, the bulk being in the triangle of Charchlike, Hami and Kuldja
8	Dungans	100	the same as No. 7
9	Olots	15	on the Tekes River and Kashr.
10	Torguts	18	in the Tien-Shan between Kuldja and Karashar, on the tributaries of the Black Irtysh
11	Khoshuts	21	in the Altai in the area of Chuguchak and along the Yuldus River
12	Chakhar	8	in the Borokhoro mountains
13	Urianghai	4	in the Altai, in the area of Chuguchak
14	Russians	15 - 16	live in the cities only, mainly in Kashgar, Yarkend, Urumchi, Chuguchak, Kuldja, Guma, Khotan, Keriya and Qumul
15	Tajiks	9	the main bulk lives at the Sinkiang-Afghanistan border, especially in the towns of Ktash Qurghan and Yanighissar

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B. The Ethnic Groups of Kansu

The main racial group in the province of Kansu is the Chinese who number more than twelve million. Other ethnic groups are the Mongours (Mongols), the Turks (Salars and Sarigh-Uighurs), and finally the Tibetans.

Number	Group	Number of people in thousands	Areas in which they live
1	*Chinese*	10,500	everywhere within the province

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
2	Chinese Mohammedans	1,500	Mostly in the northern and western part of the province
3	Mongours	30	In the area which is enclosed by the Pingfan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River westward of Lanchou
4	Tibetans	40	scattered over the area which is enclosed by the Ping-fan River, Tatung River, Hsining River and the Yellow River
5	Sarigh-Uighur	5	on the northern slopes of the Nanshan, south of Su-chou
6	Mongols (Torguts and Ölöts)	?	The Torguts live in the area west and east of the Edsin gol and north of the line Ansi Su-chou. The Ölots live in the Alashan, north of Kan-chou and Liang-chou and the Chukhushan mountains, also north of the Lu ng-shan.

C. The Ethnic Groups of Chinghai

The main racial groups in the province of Chinghai are the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Chinese Moslems, the Salar Turks, the Mongols (Ölöts from Alashan) and the Mongours or Tu-jen.

No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
1	Chinese	576	Mainly in the southeastern part of Chinghai, also along the Nan-shan mountain region, bordering Kansu and Sinkiang
2	Tibetans	417	In the Kuku-nor area, in the Dang-la mountain range and at the headw ters of the Yellow River

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No.	Group	No. of People (in thousands)	Areas in which they live
3	Chinese Moslems	138	In the capital Hsining (19,000) in the districts of Ta-tung, Huang-chung, Huang-yuan, Min-huo, Hua-lung, Hsun-hua, Meng-yuan, Also in the cities of Ho-chow and Lin-hsia.
4	Salars (Turks)	50	In the area of Hsun-hua, south of the Yellow River, and around Payen-Jung, southeast of Hsining.
5	Mongols	33	In the area north of the Kuku-nor, south and north of the Tsaidam swamps and in the area of the Bayan Kara Shan mountain range.
6	Mongours	72	West of the Kuku-nor in the area of the tributaries of the Ta-tung River, Hsining River. Some of them live south of the Yellow River around Kuei-te.

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokohor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

• 361 *[175] (1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/Chinghai Mongols/

*563 619 • 36 (8) the horde of the Tsinkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the monastery of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no population figure given).

(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few families nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of Tankar;

(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomadizing east of Gungga-nor;

(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 families, nomadizing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families, also nomadizing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families, nomadizing southeast of the Dzun;

(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, about 40 families nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;

(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is composed of a few families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest of Dankar;

(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomadizing around Shara-khoto;

(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northwestward of Kue-te;

(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-ch'eng (no population figure given)

(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the Kurluk Bei-tse.

*563 631 P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersburg, 1906) another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdivides the 24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
   1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
   2) Kökőd Beili, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
   3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
   4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
   5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
   6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
   7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
   8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut Dzasak)
   11) Kurlik Dzasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
   12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
   1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
   2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
   3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
   4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel: ?)
   5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Chabcha Gung)

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explana-
tions for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bükü (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bükü-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bükü -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bükü - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bükü - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bükü - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bükü - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bükü was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bükü who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bükü and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] • [361] N [342] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

000 kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for
[794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. [361] But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit of organization. [162] The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the rcis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. [782] The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 787 782 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 778 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

S 829 668 177 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S 631 554 668 177 829 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N *563 [36] [162] Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

S 563 [361] [162]

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

N *563 829 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

S 563 829

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S 829 justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

N Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[198] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[596] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
[554] the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
N Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
S ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
829 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
563 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
668 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
177 are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[634] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
[242] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
S N their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which
[361] the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans
829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[196] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351) which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
(342) house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
(621) the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614) bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
(532) stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
(172) figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
(511) upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [901] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other 181 towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, 441 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

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From T'ungKuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [712] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin 788 Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

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487 All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with
712 walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

487 Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather
133 difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice
361 fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

487 The next day's march was a long and tiring one called
133 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old.

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea,

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [36]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [491]

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487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the 133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of [248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the [438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan community with two mosques. In the woods one will often see heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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341 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 243 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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361 Fop'ing, formerly a T'ing and now a third class Hsien, is a tiny place, a mere walled hamlet, containing only twenty or thirty families, and is probably about the smallest and most miserable of all the Hsien cities in China Proper. It lies in a cultivated valley, on the headwaters of a stream which apparently flows west and then south to join the Han near Ch'engku. This valley, over 6000 feet above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by [241] lofty mountains; it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop [262] in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanchung plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including T'aipai Shan in the N.W. corner. The post of magistrate is naturally not sought after. The Chinese consider Fop'ing a "dreadfully bitter" place (*k'u ti hen*), since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies; but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday.

136 We stayed a couple of days at Fop'ing, during which it rained in the valley and snowed on T'aipai and the higher ranges. The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains

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plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then 487
dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after 133
an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The 634
latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third [579]
class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens 361
buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, 579
and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of 487
two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of 133
shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

2: Teichman G-5 (1918) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Where the loess has been washed away shales and sandstones are revealed, and often right on the tops of the spurs there are outcroppings of a sort of conglomerate of waterworn pebbles cemented together. The loess mountains in this neighbourhood are little cultivated, being covered with poor-looking pasture, which supports scanty herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Finally there is a descent of a few hundred feet to reach the city of Yungshou Hsien, which lies a little below the crest of the ridge, on the shoulder of a spur up which ascends the Great West Road from the Hsian plains.

Yungshou consists of one street running up the ridge and is merely a walled-in section of the big road; it is a replica of Linyu, with a little more life in it owing to its position on the Kansu highway. We had passed through it two years previously almost to a day on our way to the latter province, the season of the year being the end of May.

Our next objective was the district city of Ch'unhua (locally Shunhua) distant two marches of 90 li each. Leaving Yungshou we followed up the main road for a few li to regain the crest of the range, where I shot some cock pheasants in almost the identical spot as two years before, and then turned eastwards once more along the top of the ridge for 25 li to a cave village. Here the ridge ends in rolling uplands of loess, the beginning, from this side, of the great loess plateau of Western Shensi. The Belgian railway (Lung Hai) from Hsian to Lanchou will, it is said, follow up the Wei River, the line of the cart road being apparently too difficult; an easier route might perhaps be found following up the slope of this plateau through Sanshui district to Ch'ingyang, and thence through Northern Kansu. The upper portions of these rolling plains where we met them are uncultivated and covered with poor sheep pasture, apparently owing to the lack of water, the one great drawback to the loess; and one might imagine oneself on the grasslands of Eastern Mongolia, until, on attempting to cross the plateau in any direction away from the trail, one almost immediately fetches up against a chasm in the loess with perpendicular walls perhaps hundreds of feet deep. Lower down these uplands are one vast cornfield

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to
491 Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally; with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li,
133 to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, except at one point about half-way where it contracts into
361 a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

PLATE XIV

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CITY OF CH'UNHUA FROM THE N.E.

CITY OF CHUNGPU FROM THE E.

[FACING P. 61]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district. 487 133 [36]

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them. [311] 136

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely 579 628

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts. 487

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns. 361 778 769

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids. 487 133 [491] 361

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of 487 133

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
625 and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XVI

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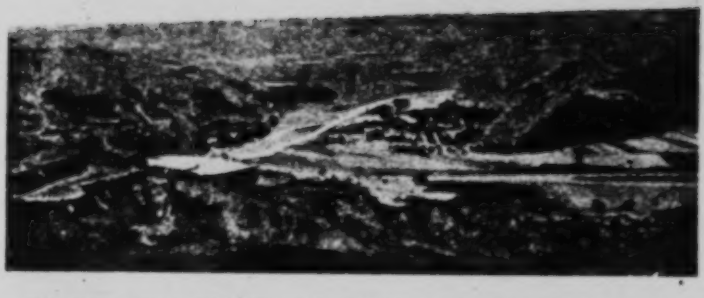

LO RIVER IN A VALLEY IN THE LOESS PLATEAU NEAR FUCHOU

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CAVE VILLAGE IN SEMI-DESERT COUNTRY NEAR YENAN

[FACING p. 65]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER VI

FROM YENAN AND YENCH'ANG THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF EASTERN SHENSI BACK TO HSIAN FU

Yenan—American attempt to exploit the oil deposits of Northern Shensi—Yench'ang—Yich'uan—Brigands and soldiers in Northern Shénsi—Hanch'eng—How to travel in comfort—Hoyang—Ch'engch'eng—P'uch'eng—Fup'ing—Sanyuan—Baptist Mission—Cotton cultivation—Back in Hsian.

YENAN FU, now known as Fushih Hsien, a second class district city, is a large place in area as cities in Northern Shensi go, but is nowadays extremely poor and dilapidated as the result of the constant depredations of brigands in the neighbourhood, most of the shops in the main street being deserted. It is built in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, which it completely fills at this point, and like Fu Chou it has guarded this passage into China against the inroads of the Tartar hordes from the North for thousands of years. On the hill side opposite are some remarkable cave temples of great antiquity, one of them containing innumerable (said to be ten thousand) little figures of Buddha carved out of the sandstone rock. The neighbourhood appears desperately poor and the crops very backward, the little wheat we saw being still green and barely in ear during the first half of June, though the elevation is only about 3000 feet. Northern Shensi and N.E. Kansu appear to be drying up and turning into desert, perhaps owing to the existence of a little-known range of mountains in Shansi, just east of the Yellow River, which, rising ~~in places~~ to a height of over 10,000 feet, must act as a barrier against the moisture-laden winds from the coast. Coal and iron are said to be abundant in the neighbourhood, but lack of means of communication renders them useless except for local consumption. Petroleum is also found in Northern Shensi, and the attempts to exploit these oil deposits have been, apart from rebellions, revolutions, and brigandage the most important events of recent years in this region.

In the past mineral oil used to leak out of the ground

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling. 487 133

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 60 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu; here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suitê, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east. [361] [185]

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'o, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. 316 361

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China Ar...

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
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487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands 133 *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march [491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This [36] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen 388 (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

[361] Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang. 487 133 [634]

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. 361

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng. 487 [491] 133 361

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues. [651]

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of 487 133

2: Teichman G-8 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under
[248] cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of
438 the largest and most important cities in the province, though this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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paved most of the way and comparatively good in Szechuan, 487
but very rough and rocky through the mountains of Shensi. 491
Lying most of the way through Southern Shensi and Szechuan, where paved paths and flights of irregular stone steps are the rule, it is unsuitable for ponies, and it is advisable to take a chair, at any rate from the Han valley onwards. We started with ponies, having used them on all our journeys through the North West, but were compelled to take to chairs when we got into Szechuan, as the steps and paving stones knocked our ponies' feet to pieces. Walking and chairing is a pleasant enough method of travel, but very slow, the rate of progress in the mountains being only about eight li per hour, which makes the stages long.

The Belgians have secured a concession for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan. It is a peculiar line to have chosen and one which will involve considerable engineering difficulties in Shensi and Szechuan. In nine cases out of ten the railway surveyor is unable to find a better trace for a line than that followed by an ancient highway of commerce, but if this railway is to follow the main trail between Hsian and Chengtu, its constructors are going to have a difficult job. The traveller by this road can therefore beguile the monotony of the journey by speculating as to the feasibility or otherwise of constructing a railway along it; it will certainly not be easy to find a less difficult route.

We left Hsian Fu on the 29th of June in a downpour of rain and floundered through the mud across the plain to [361] reach Hsienyang Hsien, fortunately only 50 li away. This city, a poor-looking place in appearance though the centre of a first class district, is built along the northern bank of [491] the Wei River, which is crossed by a cart ferry. It has some importance as being more or less the head of navigation on the Wei River, and as lying at the point where the great highway from Hsian, T'ungkuan, Peking, and the coast bifurcates, one branch continuing N.W. to Kansu and Turkestan, and the other turning W. and S.W. to Szechuan and Tibet. One cannot but speculate on the innumerable travellers who have passed through its miserable little main street, knee-deep in dust or mud, bound on their weary way to the outposts of Chinese rule in the deserts of

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Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li, still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

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Ch'inling Shan, rising like a wall out of the plain to the south of the Wei River, and affording fine views of its culminating point the T'aipai Shan, snow-clad till mid-summer (12,500 feet). The walled village of Hsinglin Chen is passed half-way out, and 15 li further on the valley of a stream from the north is crossed. Finally there is a drop to reach Fufeng Hsien, 60 li from Wukung, and a replica of the latter, lying in precisely the same sort of hollow below the level of the loess at the junction of two valleys from the north and west. 133 487

From Fufeng Hsien to Ch'ishan Hsien is another easy march of 60 li across the uplands, crossing two shallow ravines *en route*, the loess here not being of sufficient thickness to be fissured by the deep rifts and cañons found further north. Ch'ishan lies close under the mountains of the same name, with the loess plain sloping down to the Wei River to the south. The main road here continues west to Fenghsiang, but travellers bound for Szechuan like ourselves, and having no particular concern with the latter place, usually proceed direct to Paochi on the Wei River, a distance of 110 li, which can be covered in a long day's march. Ch'ishan, a second class district city, much resembles Wukung and Fufeng, and seems fairly prosperous for a city of Central Shensi. [361]

The road now runs west and south-west across the loess uplands for about 50 li, and then descends by easy gradients for another 25 li to reach Titien, a village of inns on the Wei River, just beyond the confluence of the latter with the Ch'ien Shui from Ch'ienyang and Lungchou, the passage of which in a flooded state caused us some trouble. On this stretch of road we crossed our previous route from Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu, thus affording an opportunity of checking the route survey, the results of which were not particularly encouraging; but as my instruments consisted of nothing more serious than a prismatic compass, with which I kept up a route survey throughout our journeys, this was perhaps not surprising. From Titien to Paochi the road runs west between the Wei River on the left hand and a high loess bluff on the right. The actual valley plain of the Wei is here quite narrow, as the land on the further bank rises almost immediately to the grim-looking barrier of the [485]

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133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

231 The western districts of Central Shensi through which we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are [485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

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Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W. down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

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487 a railway following the main road (which could avoid the more formidable Feng Ling by a détour down the Tung
133 valley and up the tributary to Liufeng Kuan) would presumably require a long tunnel, and would meet with many more difficulties following down the gorge to Liupa
[346] and beyond. Some five li below the pass lies the Changliang Miao, beautifully situated at the junction of two wooded ravines, where we passed the night. This is one of the finest temples in China, built, I believe, in the Han Dynasty, and is well known amongst the Chinese; one would have liked to remain there a week.

361 From Changliang Miao (also known as Miao T'aitzu) the path runs down a winding gorge for the rest of the way to Liupa, a distance of 40 li. The latter, formerly a T'ing, and now a third class Hsien, is a picturesque little place, almost filling a narrow valley hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan, its situation exactly resembling that of Huayang further east on the road to Fop'ing. The city is practically empty, the life of the place being concentrated in a suburb outside the south-east wall.

487 From Liupa to Paoch'eng in the Han valley plain is a distance of about 180 li, which can be covered in two long
133 marches, the trail running all the way down a winding gorge, occasionally cutting off corners by crossing low spurs. The going is most of the way very rough and rocky. Some three hours' march below Liupa the stream joins another much larger one flowing down from the southern slopes of T'aipai Shan, called the Pao Shui; up this stream lies a very rough trail to Mei Hsien in the Wei valley, crossing a shoulder of T'aipai Shan by a high pass. Several villages living on the traffic of this great highway are passed in the gorge, T'ieh-fotien, Matao Yi (the half-way stage), Erhshihli P'u, and Ch'ingch'iao Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. As one approaches the plain, the gorge, instead of opening out, becomes narrower, the cliffs more precipitous, and the track more rocky; and just when the weary traveller is beginning to look forward to the end of the stage, the gorge becomes impassable, and the path ascends for several hundreds of feet by flights of irregular stone steps, winds round the top of a spur, the Chit'ou Kuan, and drops straight down on to Paoch'eng Hsien, lying on the edge of the Han valley plain.

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Paoch'eng, a second class district city, is the usual little Han valley town with much more life than the northern cities. It is memorable to us because it was there that telegrams were received reporting that General Chang Hsün had abolished the Republic by replacing the child Emperor, Hsuan T'ung, on the throne. One's first thought was that if China survived this supreme act of folly she would be lucky; and yet the next news we received of the situation a few days later was that it was all over, and the country again a Republic. Curiously enough it was the Northern Generals who squashed the incident so promptly and not the regular republicans. Discussing the matter with Chinese later on, one heard the opinion expressed in some quarters that the movement was not so mad as it seemed and that its prompt collapse was due to jealousy amongst the Northern military leaders; for, it was suggested, the Republic, though excellent in theory, is a hopeless proposition today and has proved itself unworkable. Others, on the other hand, maintained that the Republic has come to stay, and that the confusion and troubles of the past six years since the revolution are only its birth throes; in support of which theory the state of England during the years subsequent to the revolution against Charles the First may be adduced, which much resembles the condition of China today. In any case the believers in a constitutional monarchy have, it seems, got to look elsewhere for an Emperor than amongst the members of the Imperial Manchu family, against whom popular feeling is far too strong, and therein lies the great difficulty. It was a coincidence that we received the news of the restoration of the Manchu Emperor while we were in a distant part of Shensi, while the first intelligence regarding Yuan Shih-k'ai's ill-advised monarchical scheme of two years before reached us in the wilds of Kansu. In both cases it seemed that a catastrophe of the first magnitude was impending for the country, and in both cases things soon settled down after a certain amount of desultory fighting between the opposing parties. China is the land of compromise and it is perhaps this inability to settle any issue decisively one way or the other which has been the cause of the internal disturbances of the past six years. So far, whatever the row has been, the power has remained in the

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PLATE XXI

361

CITY OF LIUPA T'ING, S.W. SHENSI

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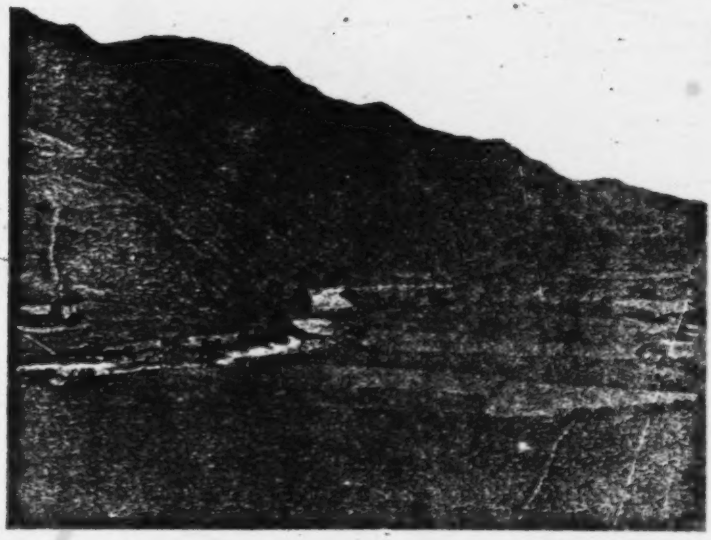

VALLEY IN S.W. SHENSI NEAR SZECHUAN BORDER

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many years in various parts of Shensi, his local knowledge and experience were of the greatest assistance, while his talents ranged from shooting mountain goat in the Ch'inling Shan to the writing of Chinese poetry.

Leaving Chaoch'ang Pa a spur is crossed to avoid a bend in the stream, and the path then runs down the open valley, good going at last after days of rocky scrambles, for 40 li to the village of Shenhsuan Yi, another old posting station and the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Kuangyuan. A little further on down the valley a curious natural phenomenon occurs, the valley coming suddenly to an end, and the stream flowing under a mountain spur through a tunnel in the limestone, to reappear in a deep gorge half a mile further on. The path ascends this spur by flights of stone steps, and then, crossing to the other side of the valley, runs along the mountain side several hundreds of feet above the gorge of the stream for the rest of the way to Ch'aot'ien Chen, a large village lying on the banks of the Chialing Chiang. The latter flows swiftly in a deep gorge in the mountains; and on the practicability of this gorge for railway construction appears to depend the possibility of finding a comparatively easy route for a railway into Szechuan from the Wei valley; for it is by this gorge that the Chialing Chiang pierces all those intricate ranges on the borders of Shensi, Kansu, and Szechuan, containing the head-waters of the Han, which are connected with the Ch'inling Shan in such a manner as to render their passage by a railway elsewhere extremely difficult.

From Ch'aot'ien to Kuangyuan, a distance of 90 li, the path is ledged in one of the cliffs of the gorges of the Chialing Chiang; but it is possible to do this stage by water, and as the magistrate had kindly prepared some boats, we were only too glad at this stage of our long journey to avail ourselves of so restful a method of travel. The river was high and the current very rapid, so that we covered the distance in less than four hours, instead of the nine or ten it would have taken us by road.

Kuangyuan, a second class district city, lies in a small plain formed by the junction of a tributary with the Chialing Chiang. It is considered an important place owing to its position at the point where the big road from the north

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[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
487 from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
133 district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the
[136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn, became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The
[491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge between the two rivers and continues along the summit in a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps, and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing north, up which it continues for another hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large
[361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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487 reach the large village of Wulien Yi, the end of the stage,
133 lying at the junction of two valleys. From Wulien Yi there is a gradual ascent again until the top of another ridge is reached, along which the road winds, past the half-way village of Shangting P'u, and a fine temple in a grove of trees called Ta Miao, until it descends by a long easy gradient to Tzutung Hsien, lying in a rather more open valley sloping S.W. The hills, which grow steadily less formidable as one proceeds south on this road, are now quite low, and the mountains to the N.W. are almost out of sight.

The red basin of Szechuan appears to be an old plateau of red sandstone worn down by the action of water into a maze of hills and valleys in the same way as the loess. This formation is, however, by no means confined to Szechuan, for a vast extent of country, stretching all the way from Honan through Southern Shensi and Kansu to Hsining and the Kokonor, is composed of the same red sandstone, which in the west everywhere forms the southern limit to the loess.

At Tzutung we encountered the old joke of the North Gate closed to keep the rain out and had considerable difficulty in apprising the magistrate of our arrival and effecting an entrance.

Crossing the river outside Tzutung by a fine stone bridge, over which three motor cars might have been driven abreast, though the paved road leading to and from it is only a couple of feet wide, the trail winds westwards through the cultivated red hills to the township of Weich'eng, the end of the stage of 60 li; and on the following day continues through the same country, winding through the hills and following along undulating ridges for 65 li, to reach Mien Chou, now called Mienyang Hsien, a large and crowded first-class district city on the Fu River.

487 We were now practically out of the mountains and not
133 far from the northern end of the Chengtu plain. From Mien Chou the road runs through low hills for 90 li to
361 reach Lochiang Hsien, whence it descends to Têyang Hsien on the plain, and continues through Han Chou and Hsintu Hsien to Chengtu. These district cities, Lochiang, Têyang, Han Chou, and Hsintu are all rich and populous centres, the like of which are not to be found in the whole of Shensi

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over 133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends [361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out [346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

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634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[443] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is 361 half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from 162 a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely 563 scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

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signals could be sent great distances in a very short space of time.

From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage of 60 li, the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then climbs a long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit there is no immediate descent the other side, but the path winds along a high ridge with extensive views over the loess mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to Anting in a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now known as Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the junction of three valleys, and, commanding several roads north, south, east and west, was formerly an important military centre. There is more water available here, and consequently the country is much more fertile and the people quite well off. Loess country in this rainless region is either a desert or a garden according to the amount of water available for irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though the hills become more and more sterile, the irrigated valleys are wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four short stages of about 60 li each. The road runs down the valley past several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of Ts'ank'ou whence it strikes west up a side valley to the posting station of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it ascends a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill to reach the summit of a ridge along which it winds for three to four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to the large market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst fertile irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys. To the south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyond which lie Titao and the T'ao River. From here on to Lanchou the irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly productive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the barren region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan Shan.

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the cultivated valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village and likin station, and the end of the stage. The district city of Chin Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south. Leaving Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony ravine, and after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the Yellow River, which here rolls its turgid waters between precipitous

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granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

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CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

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Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [274] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [36] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports [438] consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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due south for 15 li and then branches off up a side ravine to the S.W., another road continuing south up the main valley towards Hui Hsien. After an hour or two's march up this ravine the trail ascends a low pass, crosses a small valley, and immediately rises again to cross another low pass, whence it descends to the village of Kaomo Chen in the valley of a streamlet flowing from west to east. We were delayed in Kaomo Chen for half a day by our mule train following the wrong path, and its poverty was evidenced by the fact that we could get nothing but unleavened cakes of maize to eat, the most unpalatable form of nourishment I have ever had to put up with in China, though very often the only food of the people in mountainous country. From here the trail ascends by easy gradients to a pass in the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide, a climb of less than an hour over grassy slopes devoid of trees, and then descends steeply to a valley running south-west The track follows down this stream for 20 li to the village of Lochia P'u, where it debouches into a broad and fertile valley, bounded by low cultivated hills of loess, the stream flowing from east to west. This stream is one of the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang, which flows through Szechuan to Chungking, and it is remarkable to find so much loess south of the divide. The latter formation may also be seen on the headwaters of the Shensi branch of the Chialing Chiang round Feng Hsien on the Hsian Chengtu road.

From Lochia P'u there is a remarkably good road down the open loess valley for two hours' march to the walled village of Yen Kuan, where there are said to be salt wells. The magistrate of Hsiho Hsien met us here, as we had entered his district; he said that a road branches off at this point to Hsiho and Chieh Chou and so to Szechuan. From Yen Kuan the road continues down the valley until within 20 li of Li Hsien, where it crosses a spur to avoid some gorges, and the loess formation comes to an end. Li Hsien is a picturesque little city lying hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan in a country of narrow fertile valleys, whose streams all go to form the headwaters of the Kansu branch of the Chialing Chiang. From here to Min Chou our route followed an unfrequented trail which penetrated the Ch'inling Shan in the most curious way,

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
438 suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsikuo, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank
of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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563 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu
609 still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills,
487 crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.
563 Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque
[361] little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence
[792] on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamastery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the
[576] usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be
487 about 8000 feet at Choni.

133 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sungp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley-meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

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Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low 487
pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley
trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another 133
pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min
Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point
Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends
steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues
north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy
hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several [34]
Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao
Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I
ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the
Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us
in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered
to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which
is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are
nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen 342
of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere
where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high
standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house
I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and
stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which
we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled
with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged 487
from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots 133
were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and
dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the
boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border
of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it 233
all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one
enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains
(elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak,
sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents
of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba.
These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese 133
as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and
west, and always one ascends to them through a region of 563
broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu
up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli
or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

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133 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan
563 or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands,
487 passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou
[361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the
792 village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the
[241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We
609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

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valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

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361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of 792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of [373] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Reincarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from [443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are ~~792~~ commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese 438 trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

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484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

202 We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by 487 forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do 563

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [491]

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underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress-farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a
312 highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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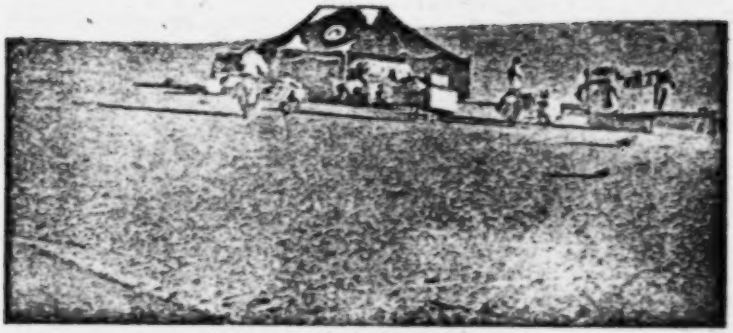
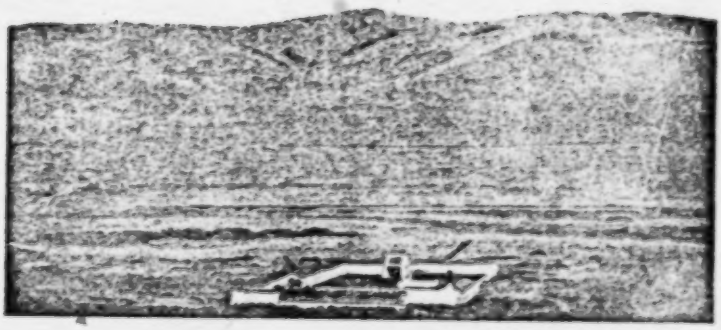
PLATE XXXVII



CAMP IN THE ALASHAN DESERT, NEAR CHENFAN



CHINESE SETTLER'S CATTLE-FARM ON THE GRASS-LANDS

[Facing p. 162]

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634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[134] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual 233
hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were [136] extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings 487 one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass. 133

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and 361 former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the 241 necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, 233 seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter 381 (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up 886 to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be 303 profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border 487 (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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CHAPTER XII

FROM ÊPO SOUTH ACROSS THE KOKONOR GRASS COUNTRY TO HSINING, AND THENCE BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Grass lands and snow mountains—Gold washing—Kokonor Mongols—Yungan—Pei Tatung—Passage of Tatung River and Tapan Shan—Tatung or Maopeisheng—Chinese place-names in foreign guise—Hsinch'eng and a loop of the Great Wall—Hsining—Chinese control over the Kokonor territory—Kansu wool trade—Kansu ponies—Hsining to Lanchou Fu—Aborigines—Defile of Laoya—Sandstone and loess—Copper—Lanchou water melons.

FROM Êpo the trail runs south for three very long stages, each one probably well over 30 miles in length, across the grass country on the Kokonor border. Along this border stretches an old line of walled military posts, Êpo, Yungan, and Pei Tatung, which make up the stages, and the grass lands being otherwise uninhabited except by a few nomads, it is necessary for the traveller unprovided with tents to cover each of these long marches in the day. 487 361 133

Leaving Êpo the track runs south-east up the flat grassy valley, which is dotted with the black tents of Tibetan nomads and countless flocks of sheep. After some hours march the stream is left on the right hand and the path rises gradually to an easy pass 40 li from Êpo. The view from the summit (between 12,000 and 13,000 feet) is the same on both sides, treeless grassy downs and rocky mountains streaked with snow. Immediately to the south-east rises a gigantic snow mountain, being apparently another view of the snow range which we saw south of Kaoku Ch'eng, and which seems to lie immediately behind Liangchou. There appeared to be thousands of feet of snow on this mountain in early August, and its height must be some 18,000 feet or more. This pass, like the Wushao Ling, is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Central Asian basins, and we also gathered from the soldiers who 133 487

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of
133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated
487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the
[241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial
439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey
648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans.
487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into
361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

631 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile, 133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiang-t'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to [244] preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tatung River is crossed by [191] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of [36] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small art it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India.

436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland
133 march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the
[36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

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the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361] bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376] plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

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to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; this range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

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stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

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Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

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502 were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.
439 In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice
222 root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this
133 is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

361 Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River
243 in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic.
439 Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

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796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[361] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town
438 serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new
133 ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed
[485] heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

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can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. 487
Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the 133
Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an un- [361] walled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an [496] important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to [796] Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
334 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

• 361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

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which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

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494 few moments Dr. Kao swung himself from the saddle, and advanced to meet us with cordial and cheering words. He turned from us to the carter, who, with an abashed grin, acknowledged his presence.

'Hello, Old Sheep!' he exclaimed. 'You out of jail again? That last trip of yours turned out badly.' Then turning to us he said: 'This carter has just finished his third term of imprisonment for destruction of travellers' property, through carelessness. Whatever induced you to hire him? He'll never get in to-night. But we must do so.'

361 A few swift orders were then given, and the second
133 horseman galloped back to the city for help. Mean-
494 while as many of the party as could be crowded into our own small cart drove on, while the rest proceeded on foot. The soil formation in and around Kanchow is peculiar. The city is built on a crust of earth covering underground springs. During the period when the water is still frozen the place stands firm, though buildings are thrown out of the perpendicular, but during the spring months the earth trembles and yields under the slightest pressure. On this occasion a thaw had set in, and water was welling up from below the surface, so that the condition of the roads baffles description. We picked our way cautiously over this swampy, unstable district, and where rivers intersected our path, the cart was obliged to take us over in relays. Horsemen now appeared coming to our rescue with galloping steeds, two saddled for riding and two more ready to be hitched to the carts. These fine horses, we were told, belonged to a Mongol Prince, who was staying in Doctor Kao's house.

326 It was long after sunset when we entered the great gates of Kanchow city. We passed through between the flaring smithies which always ply their trade in the

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these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF TEMPLES

241 WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a [7/2] very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. [312] The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. •361 Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first 346 impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the 342 number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

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which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

[1] T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

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000 through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

133 The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running [245] from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just 136 over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

[361] Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but [712] stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous 622 farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

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any transition, from wastes of sand into a fertile zone, in which the city of Linshui stands. We arrived there in the evening, and after supper strolled out through the quiet street to the canal which bordered the watered land. Here we sat on a bank and looked down on what was to us a very beautiful and a very thrilling sight. The plain was wooded, and the early autumn frosts had painted the foliage with gorgeous tints which glowed under the level rays of the setting sun. A winding river showed here and there between the trees, and we knew that, hidden among the groves, lay the city of Suchow, around which our thoughts had centred for so many months, ever since the day at Pingliang when David Törnvall had laid his finger upon the map and said: 'Here is the city which awaits your coming.'

We sat until the sun had set nor did we care to speak, so full was the mind of each, of thought concerning all we had come through, and all that yet lay before us. Gradually the darkness closed in, and by starlight we slowly walked back to the inn, our hearts beating with high courage and great confidence in God our strength and our exceeding joy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPRING OF WINE

ANCIENT Suchow, known as Chiuchüan—the Spring of Wine—has vanished, having been replaced by the present town which has only arisen within recent years. The destruction of the former city being caused by the last great Mohammedan rising in 1862, the new settlers enforced a regulation ordaining that no Moslem should be allowed to reside within the walls, in consequence

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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
872 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

other hand, am under the power of these influences, 776
and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

OUR new home was situated in the best residential 361
quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free 776
from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is: 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large 778
grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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202 responsible for the weight of his pack, and he was overheard to say: 'If it were not for those Christians my load would be light! If I am not carrying books for them, then it is letters; and if they have no letters, then it is books!' The far-distant barking of dogs sometimes warns us of an encampment,[1] and we can just catch the gleam of the fire glowing like a jewel in the velvet darkness. In the daytime the low, sand-coloured tents are indistinguishable from the universal tawny shade of the ground, and being pegged down very low they seem to melt into the general outlines.

361

000 We took the journey very slowly, stopping at each little walled town or village, to hold meetings, visit the homes, and distribute Christian literature. Three days brought us to the city of Chikinpu. Had we been choosing its name, however, we should have called it 'Pain Sec,' in memory of a certain little place in the Rhone Valley, where the bread is said to be made only three times a year. At Chikinpu the date for baking must surely have been near, for the bread we ate was certainly three months old! The kindness and hospitality with which we were received were most refreshing and greatly added to our enjoyment of the trip. Here we also met a gentleman who had been one of the Suchow enquirers, but whose officials duties had now brought him to this far-off spot. Through his courtesy, on arrival we found our inn rooms already engaged, and in one of these the unusual luxury of a table and two chairs. He told us an interesting incident which had naturally much impressed him. Many years previously, in witness of a vow, he had set up a tablet in one of the shrines of a famous rock temple a few miles away from Chikinpu. Quite recently, hearing he was again in the neighbourhood, the priest-in-charge had hurried down in alarm to inform him that the tablet had unaccount-

1 [Between Kiayükuan and Yümen — Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

The appearance of the town[1] is not very different from others of the Gobi border, except for its unusual gate, of which the inhabitants are almost unduly proud. It stands in a well-watered belt, and the land is cultivated right up to the city wall. We reached it through a sea of mud, as irrigation was in progress, and in accordance with the careless custom of the Kansu agriculturalist the stream, not being required on the land, had been turned off and allowed to flow down the main road.

We spent several busy, happy days there, as the people were particularly interested and listened willingly. On the morning of our departure, as we left the inn, an old woman pulled one of us by the sleeve in a mysterious manner, and whispered: 'A word about those things that have been lost!' We wondered, what things? Could it be that she had information of our own lost parcel of books, and a sheepskin coat dropped by one of the carters? Seeing our look of interest, the old crone was emboldened to go on with her story. 'You are "Holy Women"; you know secret things, hidden things, things that we cannot divine. Will you, please, tell me before you go, *the name of the thief who stole my cow?*'

Thirty-five miles further on is Pulungki, a city that once must have held at least fifty thousand inhabitants, but which now is nothing but scattered ruins, a few poor inns, and an encircling wall of immense area. During the next few nights we counted ten more deserted towns and villages, and no words can adequately convey the extraordinary sensations evoked by crossing in the moonlight, or in the uncertain pallor of dawn, these abodes of the past, whose deserted streets are sometimes still clearly defined, and where abandoned houses, with yawning doorways, stand tenantless on either side. From dateless ages the Gobi Desert has approached

[1] [Yümen -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

36 133 with stealthy steps; moving, like some sluggish organism, till with soft, hungry lips it has seized its prey and absorbed it; and then, replete and satisfied, has lain down triumphant. The surrounding scene is of an unspeakably desolate character, reminding one of a landscape in the moon, only that instead of extinct craters, here are dead and forgotten cities, towns, and villages.

173 All sorts of legends are told about this region.[1] Pulungki is said to have been the original Eden of the human race; any amount of buried treasures lie concealed in caves underneath the soil; demons haunt the whole neighbourhood; a hole in the ground with steps leading down may mean a robber's den, or, on the other hand, it may be the entrance to some Arabian Night's grotto, piled with glittering stones!

Circumstantial stories of such discoveries were told us. Men, whose names were known, had dug into such a hoard, and by the flare of torches had actually seen the booty, but when they were just on the point of seizing it, a rush of wings had passed overhead, throwing the searchers violently to the earth, and filling them with such terror that to escape with their lives was all they could hope for. Bats? No, not bats, they were too far in for that; besides, the cave had never been opened within the memory of man! Again, one party of excavators entering the far recesses of another subterranean shaft, had seen, to their amazement, a faint glimmer of light. Drawing near they had found a tiny oil lamp burning—a mere speck of flame, but undoubtedly of human origin, as there was a wick, which wick was fed from some enormous vat of vegetable oil, the supply of which had been sufficient to keep the light going for centuries! And to convince us of the truth of these assertions, we were shown certain remarkable,

[1] [Between Yümen and Tunhuang—Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, 361 and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All 245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene 796 was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth 782 day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

487 494 175

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

361 563 733 563

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 2~~

543 Our meals were somewhat of a problem in this happy
265 valley.[1] Each party brought its own picnic-basket, and the food-vendors only supplied titbits such as lumps of fat fried pork, apricot tea, and fermented rice-water.
000 Our bag of bread was already finished, and the only food our men could make was flour mixed with oil, pulled out into long strips, nipped into small chunks, and boiled in water, and this meal we shared with them once a day, but still found ourselves craving for some form of bread. We were greatly delighted, therefore, when a little girl appeared with a home-steamed roll in her hand, and said: 'I have no money, but will you give me a gospel in exchange for this?' Finding that we were willing to do so, bread and new-laid eggs were afterwards frequently brought by children.

In spite of considerable forethought we had left Suchow for this long trip with a but poorly furnished store-box. Months before, we had written in several directions for needed supplies, but owing to the disturbed condition of China, all had failed us, and we were thankful to have enough tea in hand to allow ourselves a fresh brew once a day. Of the certainty of our daily ration we had no question, but beyond this many luxuries were supplied through the kindness of casual acquaintances. The old guardian at the Temple of the Red Hill, after we had sat and talked awhile with him, brought us back through his garden, and cut the best of his vegetables for us, while 'Lydia' also came down with a present of rice steamed with jujube fruit. On one occasion a resourceful student went out foraging for food and brought us back a dozen new-laid pheasants' eggs.

• 311 To the direct north lay a place called Hwahaitz, an extensive oasis covered with large farms. Since our

000 1 [Near Chikinpu at a fair—Analyst]

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

waddling of a small bear, but in flight they were superb. 136

It was not until after sunset that we drew near the first farm of the Hwahaitz oasis. The Suchow enquirer came out to meet us, and we found a room prepared for our use. The *kang* had been covered with a length of white cloth; a kitchen with firewood was at our disposal, and a meal was being prepared. But we were too tired to sit up and eat it, and securing a cup of tea, we lay down and promptly fell asleep.

We were up early, but not before the crowd had begun to assemble in the courtyard. After a breakfast of pancakes made of flour into which oil had been kneaded, and which we dipped into vinegar, we went out to see the place. The gates of the walled enclosure in which we were staying were already decorated with Christian posters, and the students were out choosing a suitable site for the tent.

The name of the place signifies 'The Flowery Lake.' 133
The lake, however, after which it is named, proved to be 361
but a small pond in which naked children disported 241
themselves, and where the beasts of the local farmers 312
were brought to be watered. The oasis is circular, large, and extremely fertile. The roads were bordered with poplar and willow trees, and the fields were sown with wheat, millet and flax. We followed the high bank of an irrigation canal, and passed the entrances of several large, prosperous and beautiful farmhouses. The locality is very hot by day, but exceedingly cold at [132] night; at sunset the air hummed with mosquitoes, [136] which, however, only lived a couple of hours before succumbing to the night chill.

We returned to find the site chosen, and the tent pitched. Larger crowds gathered even than at Chikinpu, and the sales of gospels were most remarkable.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 572
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed willow grow-
ing to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply [361] [133]
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before.
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang-AI-1~~

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 000
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charm- 491
ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361 ●
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

[1] [Residents of Petuntz -- Analyst]

Inner Mongolia AH 6
N.W. China AF 13

M
133 shore. (1)

1. I often measured the amount of mud present in one cubic meter of water from the Hwang Ho and found that it averaged close to six kilograms; after a day of rain in Bau de tschou I even obtained 6.9 kilograms per cubic meter.

M
578 /146/ I reached Lanchow fu on November 4, after having had to travel on the last day only through the large loess-filled valley basin of this city. On the night before there was a final scene which I shall not withhold from my readers for it seems to me characteristic for the way of living, the thoughts and aspirations of the poor Kansu people. It had grown late by the time we reached the town of Hsiao ho kou. And it had cost me considerable effort to succeed in having a gate opened. When I had finally found shelter at a small inn, a fight broke out which looked serious to me. Women scolded and shouted and two old Chinese fathers pulled each other's pigtails and tried to knock one another down, trampling and kicking. Even though the yard where I had left my animals was only 8 meters by 8 meters large and on each of two sides there was only a low small house of three sections /kien/, yet the hotel was run by two parties. And I had nine animals! The two owners had disagreed as to who was to feed the ninth animal and pocket the small amount of money for straw (about 25 pfennig). When they finally separated, one of them pulled one of my nags over to his side by its halter while the other held on to the animal's tail. No amount of persuasion on my part had any effect and yet I did not care to play the part of Solomon and pronounce judgment!

* * * * * * * * * *

CHAPTER IV

/147/ In Kansu and on the Border of Tibet

C
361 Lanchow fu is the capital of the province of Kansu. And when-
631 ever a man from Kansu told me about his Lanchow fu and all about
491 the cost of flour and bread, tobacco and liquor in the city, he always told of the wonder of the world to be found there, namely, the pontoon bridge across the great Yellow River. "You foreigners surely have nothing like that," I was assured. "There is nothing like it under heaven." [text continues on p. 241]

it under heaven." 361

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where 631

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good. [661]

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to 133 487 527 491

361 363 The city of Lanchow fu does not cover a large area (see my cartographic conclusions Part I, sheet 27). The actual city has narrow streets with an unspeakably worn-down pavement in which whole stone slabs were missing, which no one repaired, so that I always considered it the greatest agony to go riding in one of the two-wheel carriages without springs. However, it was considered good form among the Chinese to make calls inside the city in a carriage. One sat on one's haunches on a thin cushion, tensely clutched the wooden railing on either side of the carriage and looked out on the street through a black, veil-like curtain. One's head was hurled alternately against either sides of the carriage as happens in our country when the coachman, in driving through an entrance gate /151/ awkwardly drives over the curb, except that here, of course, it happened continually. No wonder the Chinese mandarins often felt that 100 strokes of the stick were not enough for a delinquent. Every time one drove out in a carriage, one got 100 such vigorous blows for each 100 meters. At the same time, the streets were so narrow that two carriages could pass one another only with difficulty. (1) Thus it required a great deal of patience to

1. Meanwhile I heard that the government is considering macadamizing the main streets which have heretofore been merely paved. But since the Chinese do not know much about repair, this will improve matters for only a short time, no doubt.

view traffic and venture forth on a pleasure drive.

361 The city is very thickly built up, with very small yards between houses which are all one-storied. Only the various administrative buildings cover larger areas; that of the governor-general and that of the treasurer of the province are surrounded by attractive parks. On the south, east and west of the actual city of Lanchow fu there are large suburbs, also walled, which are covered with houses up to the very last property. Nevertheless, along with various other people who are acquainted with the city, I estimate that it has only 100,000 or at most, 120,000 inhabitants. (2)

2. Kreitner, Im fernen Osten estimates the population at half a million. Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas thinks there are 70,000-80,000; Grenard 76,000; Bell believes there are 40,000 houses; Richard, Comprehensive

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are improbable if only because, according to the census of 1910, all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and according to the census of 1831 the whole district had only 468,000 souls. 361

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields irrigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practically only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see 249 439

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat, etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color. There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones. In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up as unprofitable more than 20 years ago. 288

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several 501

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361 ●
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments; 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely popu- [361]
lated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper. 563
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 579
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had rebelled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

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Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

C 631

into Ngolok country. Thus the ting of Hsün hoa is one of the largest districts in Kansu and in China, but Chinese influence in it is extremely slight.

C T 133 361

My way to Hsün at first led along a little stream on which the city of Ho tschou is situated, up an alluvial valley which is several kilometers wide. For many hours I traveled along it between the mountains of loess. At first the road was alive with many people and horsemen. There were also countless villages, just as China proper, hidden between extensive groups of trees. Out of the thick bluish-white haze of the loess country in which I at first still found myself, gradually rocky and high, snow-covered mountain peaks began to emerge. The mountains around me also became higher, more and more chains rose up out of the loess landscape. In front of me beyond the loess hills of about 2,200 meters altitude, the Tai tse Shan arose steep and bold, and many other chains, all of which again indicated a northwest-southeast strike, followed close behind. I stood at the edge of the Tibetan highlands. The way grew lonelier, villages became scarcer, copses began. The inhabitants looked stranger and were dressed more gaily in each new village, more and more red was worn. Around the dwellings white flags fluttered merrily on tall masts. By the roadside stood brightly-painted houses, monastery buildings and monumental tschorten (stupa); ethnographically-speaking we had also reached Tibet. On the second day beyond Ho tschou I crossed a high pass, the Dar di La(Sinicized: Da tse Shan), 3,490 meters. Countless stones, especially white quartz fragments had been gathered together on the highest point of this pass and formed something that resembled our Alpine "stone man." Out of this pile of stones loomed sticks with many scraps of cloth on which there were inscriptions and with tufts of wool. It was the first Tibetan lab tse or obo (3), a shrine dedicated to the mountain

T 778

3. Pronounced lab tse, written lap rtse (according to Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary). Obo is Mongolian but is used by the border Chinese along with the word schan schen ta (literally: tower of the mountain spirit).

T 291

spirits. We met many Tibetans on that mountain and especially many Tibetan women, on foot and dressed in rags. In spite of the

T 133 In the region of the Hsining River we again traveled between loess-covered red clay mountains to the town of Ping tschung yi and then through the so-called Hsiao hsia (small gorge), both of them places where in the last Mohammedan war there were bloody clashes.

C 797 361 On December 25, I was in the city of Hsining fu. I soon found a pretty, albeit dirty, but at any rate homey inn, and that evening I could already spend with Mr. and Mrs. Ridley, the English missionaries of the China Inland Mission, to whom so many Tibetan travelers are indebted. With two boys of five and three years and their adorable little daughter who was then six months old, the courageous couple were again living all alone among the Chinese in the rude frontier town in which they already in 1895 lived through the terrible four-month siege by the Mohammedans. The last European whom Mr. and Mrs. Ridley had seen, had come through Hsining fu a half year before. I found a large Christmas tree in their simple Chinese house, and on that evening I was even permitted to appear as "Grandfather Christmas" with a long white beard, with a stick and a rod and a well-filled sack, and help give the children the type of Christmas celebrated in their homeland. I would not have dreamed of all this on the night before when in the pitch dark I was still sitting on my pony in a temperature of 15° and in a dry, biting mountain wind, until I finally found a hut on the gates of which we had to knock for a long time before we were admitted.

C 727 Of course, nothing had changed in Hsining fu since I had left it in November 1904 together with Mr. and Mrs. Filchner. Chinese cities probably do not change much anyway. There was meantime only the small war that was taking place on the Hwang Ho below the city of Kue de ting and the city had not yet calmed down during the first few days after my arrival. An anxiously-awaited execution order had just arrived from Peking and, at the imperial command, a few leaders of the hostile party, an aristocratic Salar and a few Tibetan chiefs and lamas were now being beheaded just outside the west gate. This was a big event because of the importance of the persons. Many people had gathered from far and near for this performance and the soldiers who were in charge of the execution were very frightened. They purposely walked back and forth excitedly while the preparations were going on and meanwhile one of them on whom the executioner's sword had heretofore not been seen, knocked off all the heads in such a way that no one could tell who actually did it.

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There is not much to be said about the city of Hsining fu. It is 361
a Chinese city like all the others. And if one wants to be honest, one must admit that in the entire huge Middle Kingdom there is not a single really beautiful private dwelling. Hsining fu has only a "beautiful" city wall; and this is very necessary. As I briefly mentioned before, the city endured a four-month siege as recently as 1895, /170/ and about this Mr. Ridley once reported in detail in an English journal. Because of the lack of wood in the vicinity, the houses are small and low and built largely of dried loam with flat roofs. The number of inhabitants today probably does not quite come to 20,000. (1) Two-thirds of the male population are said to 624

1. Count Széchenyi: 3,000 occupied houses and 35,000 inhabitants; Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas, 1891: 30,000 -40,000 inhabitants. But this was before the last but one rebellion which was particularly bloody. Hedin, Durch Asiens Wüsten, Vol. II mentions 20,000 inhabitants, basing his figure on Ridley's statement; Grenard gives 15,000 inhabitants in the inner city, 10,000 Mohammedans in the suburb; Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, 1884: 60,000 inhabitants; Futterer, Durch Asien, Vol. I, p. 257, 1901: 60,000 inhabitants; therefore also Sievers, Asien, 1904, p. 491: 60,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 60,000 inhabitants: Richard's Geography, Shanghai 1908: 60,000 inhabitants. The number 20,000 was quoted to me in the Hsien yamen, on the basis of the almost annual inquiries officially conducted around New Year. It is interesting to compare these figures with the impressions Tibetans have of the city. Chandra Das in his Contributions on Tibet gives the report of the Panschen Lama of the year 1779. He estimates the number of inhabitants of Hsining to be 300,000. According to the report from the crown of the ministry of the interior dated February 27, 1911, there were 2,032 families counted in the census of 1910, which would equal not even 10,000 souls. However, this figure does not represent the inhabitants of Hsining but the Mongolian banners that come under the Hsining amban.

be employed in the countless official bureaus or are soldiers or secretaries and secretaries' assistants. There is also a prince, a tu

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In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed, The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

[714]

Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

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have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361 has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487 and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133 these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631 springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow 661 fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

000 the arable land and already within the wild Tibeten steppes. Thus, I needed suitable guides, if possible ones who spoke Tibetan. Since I did not intend at first to go far into the Tibetan highland, my previous servants came along also. Fortunately I had quickly found the necessary men whom I still needed.

Already on the day after my arrival in Hsining fu, so-called "long Tschang," smiling modestly and smirking ambiguously, paying me many compliments, had come into my room through a small crack in the door. This man was called Da Tschang or "long Tschang" on our Hwang Ho expedition. He was an intelligent Chinese, 28 years old at the time, and got his name from his 1.80-meter height. He was the son of a petty officer on the Tibetan frontier, who had spent all his money in gambling and making merry. Tschang could read and write fairly well and he was courageous, as I knew for certain from my own experience. He was extremely astute and crafty and had an astonishing gift of speech. He was eminently capable of leading his fellow men by the nose and, if he wanted to, he could always say what people wanted to hear. He was a true child of his race and of his wild, rugged native land. He was a lazy loafer, but also an interesting personality. Although I /175/ knew his faults from other days, I took him into my services; for there was nothing better to be found.

During the first part of January I again journeyed up the Hsining Valley. My old passport had been approved in the yamen. The amban Tsching schu even promised me an escort for my journey to the Koko Nor. The gifts which I sent him were acknowledged by a rather large dinner that was sent to me at my house. For I had been recommended by the fan tai at Lanchow fu. The holder of the office of amban had been in the city only a few weeks. His predecessor, Tschun leang, with whom Filchner and I had conferred, had been obliged to give up the office in great haste the following winter and in the meantime the dao tai of Hsining had filled the empty post. The preceding amban had too blindly thought only of money and had, at the beginning of the afore-mentioned Kue de war, let himself be bribed in a way that was so detrimental to the Chinese prestige among Tibetans and Mohammedans that he had given offense higher up.

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131 When I received the announcement through the hsien of Hsining of the amban's permission to visit the Koko Nor, I had immediately set out in order to complete my outfitting in Dankar ting, the last Chinese city on the border. The way thither has been traveled and

described by many a European. It is the entrance and exit of North Tibet. Huc, Prschewalski, Rockhill, Littledale, Grenard, Hedin, Kozlow, Holderer-Futterer all came through there. 131 361

You leave the city of Hsining through the beautiful west gate. Two kilometers beyond, outside of two fortified encampments, there are a few tower-like earth mounds. The natives tell of them, that they were erected once by a crafty general when a Tibetan army was on the point of laying siege to Hsining, and were covered with countless grain bags filled with sand. The Tibetans, it is said, did not suspect the subterfuge, thought the huge piles were grain sacks, believed the city was much too well-provisioned and retreated. Somewhat farther out from the city, close beside the road, there is a four-sided earth pyramid about 25 meters high, which probably marks an old royal grave; but today no one remembers what this structure of earth once was. (1) 176/ The upper Hsining Valley 361

1. In ancient times the city of Hsining fu was much larger. There are today remains of ancient walls of stamped loess recognizable in the south and east parts of the city. Under these walls appear old, barrel-shaped arches with gray tiles, which were most probably Chinese graves. This old city must have been more than twice the size of present-day Hsining fu; it is said to have existed in the Tang (?) period when the city was called Schan tschou.

Originally the Hsining country, as well as the country around Lanchow fu, belonged to the "Hsi Kiang" (the western Tschiang) who were split up into many tribes. The great Emperor Wu ti (140-86) had the valley of the Hsining River conquered in order to keep in check the barbaric tribes and to protect his newly-opened road to Turfan and Baktrien. Around the year 61 B.C. under Emperor Suan ti, the first colonies of soldiers were established through General Tschao, canals were dug and a permanent settlement by the name of Po (be) Tschiang hsien was built. The city remained united with the kingdom until in 397-399 some general established his own dynasty (Nan leang). Even after this time it was always Chinese until it was conquered by the Tibetans in 762 and fell out of their hands into those of the Hsi Haia kingdom. In the 12th century the city and district /176/ of Hsining belonged alternately to the Hsi Hsia, the Chinese or Tibetans, and more peaceful times came only through Genghis Khan

[text continues on p. 241]

361 and the Mongols because through them the land was united with the kingdom and has remained thus ever since.

continues to be broad and rises evenly. It continues to be monotonous. After a little more than 20 kilometers, one comes to the town of Tschen hai pu, opposite which on the north side of the river lies the town of To ba (pronounced: Do ba) which is also surrounded by high and strong walls. According to the old chronicles, To ba was on several occasions superior commercially to the city of Hsining. In 1895 it was the chief headquarters of the Mohammedan insurrection. And when at that time the Chinese again gained the upper hand, this was the place that continued to be defended for a long time with great tenacity and with the courage of despair. Now To ba lies in ruins. Only a few farmers and small merchants cling to their native soil. The old mosque which Rockhill once visited and which was supposed to have been erected by Emperor Kang hi, has been leveled to the ground.

133 Above these two towns one leaves the rolling hilly country of the Hsining basin. From the treeless, loess-covered clay and sandstone mountains one suddenly comes into a high, stern and wild rocky mountain range consisting of granite and of slate which shows marked folds.

485 I did not reach Dankar (1) until twelve midnight and had the

[103]

1. On maps one often sees the name "Tan kar." The name is pronounced Dankar. This is the Sinicized form of the Mongolian word Dunkur. This latter name applies to the whole district and there is also a small Buddhistic monastery by that name, a day's journey south of the city (see p. 280 ff.).

greatest difficulty finding lodgings even outside the gates in the open suburb. (2) All the inns were crowded with fish dealers who

2. The once flourishing suburb occupied by Mohammedans was treacherously attacked and devastated by the Chinese inhabitants of the city during the great rebellion. Many thousands of Mohammedans were killed.

come up from Lanchow fu in winter time. There was nowhere a

000 The ting told me of his adventures in the grasslands. He kept repeating how glad he had been to get out again alive. It was a dreadful land, this prairie land. He had been obliged to ride through the cold steppes for months on end. It was like winter in the middle of summer. And these bad roads, these storms in the passes! He told of wolves, bears, even tigers, and said that the dogs of the nomads were as large as calves and much wilder and more snappish than raving lions. And then the rivers! He said he had to ride through them on horseback or swim across. When he came to Denang, thousands of heavily armed Ngolok had surrounded him and threatened him. Amid threats they had called out to him: "We Ngolok are as numerous as the stars in the sky; what do you think you can accomplish with 45 men?" He said they had acted like disturbed hornets! The supreme authority of the Chinese emperor was in no wise acknowledged. They even wanted to stamp their riding boots on the imperial seal, which is a sign of the deepest disdain. He had been unable to accomplish a thing and for this reason the expedition even cost him a great deal of money. He lost his own riding horse and many yak who succumbed as a result of great exertions. The Chinese government finally paid part of the damage in order to satisfy the Lhasa Tibetans and above all the monasteries. "You who were born earlier, wait until the amban gives you soldiers to take along. You had better go to the lake in summer," thus spoke the friendly ting mandarin.

I replied, "Your illustrious colleague, the sub-prefect of Hsining, told me that it is impossible to launch a boat on the lake, it won't stay afloat, that a /179/ a ship sinks immediately, and that the waters of the Koko Nor do not have the power to keep a ship afloat."

[823] "Of course, if you must go out on the water and visit the island then you can only go now. I, too, know that the waters of the western sea do not have any supporting power." (1)

1. A superstition to which the Chinese cling tenaciously. There is not a ship to be seen on the entire lake.

"I shall see that you get soldiers during the time of the New Year," concluded the Chinese district chief, picked up the cup of tea which was set before him, noisily sipped a few draughts and took his leave.

361 563 Dankar ting is a city of about 8,000-10,000 inhabitants and an outlying stronghold of Chinese culture which, like the city of

Hsining and To ba, stems from the military colonizations of the Han period. (2) The city is 2,680 meters above sea level. In the 361 563

2. A few lis below the present city of Dankar, at the upper mouth of the valley, there are huge loam walls that might go back to the Tang period.

vicinity barley, oats, and vetch are raised, but no longer much wheat. There are still real Chinese farmers as far up as this, although not very many. With their industry and their stable culture they have spread out wherever the earth promises a yield, especially in the axes of the larger valleys. But in Hsining fu today, i.e., in the district under the Hsining inspector, to which Dankar belongs, all the smaller lateral valleys are inhabited by remnants of non-Chinese peoples. The Mohammedans who have been more than decimated since 1895 are to be found in great numbers only in certain places. One has the impression as though they were once artificially pushed in between the Chinese and Tibetans and as though the Chinese were only now following after. All the Chinese in Hsining fu still maintain that they come from the lowlands, most of them saying that they came from the Nanking region. (3) It is 563 167

3. Kiangsu province; either as military colonists or as exiles.

considered too barbaric to say that one comes from the land itself, just as in the province of Szechwan where the Chinese still assure you that they come from such and such a province but never from Szechwan itself, even though it has 45, in fact some people say 68 million Chinese today. (4)

4. The official count (better, estimate) of the year 1902 reports 68,724,890 inhabitants for Szechwan. Hosie, probably the greatest specialist on that region, estimates the population at 45 million. According to the census of 1911, it probably has 55 million. According to earlier official estimates, Kansu was said to have 10 million inhabitants. According to the census of 1910/11 Kansu has between 3,800,000 and 4,500,000 inhabitants, or 711,000 independent and 195,639 dependent families or households. Thus, according to my calculation, it has 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. 161

361 563 443 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 437 631 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recognized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

5: Tafel--319 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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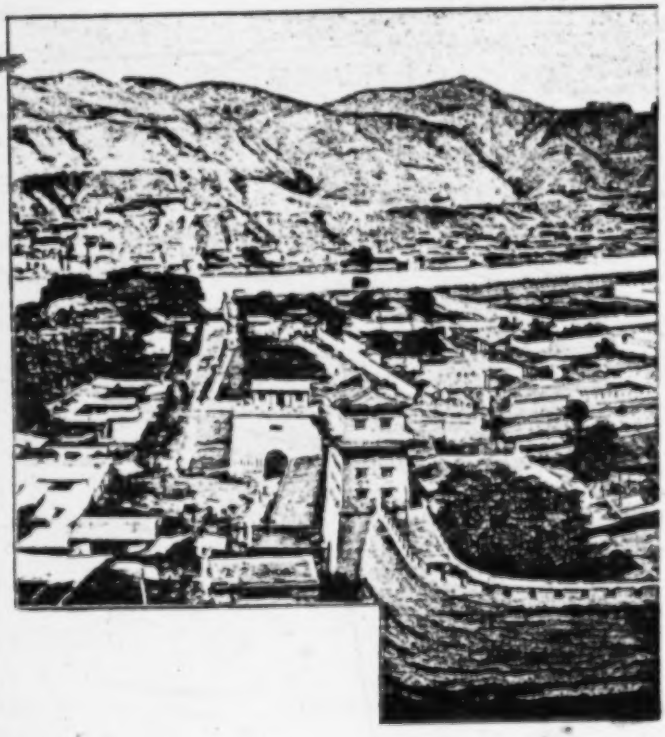
Plate XLIII

/192C (1)/ 361



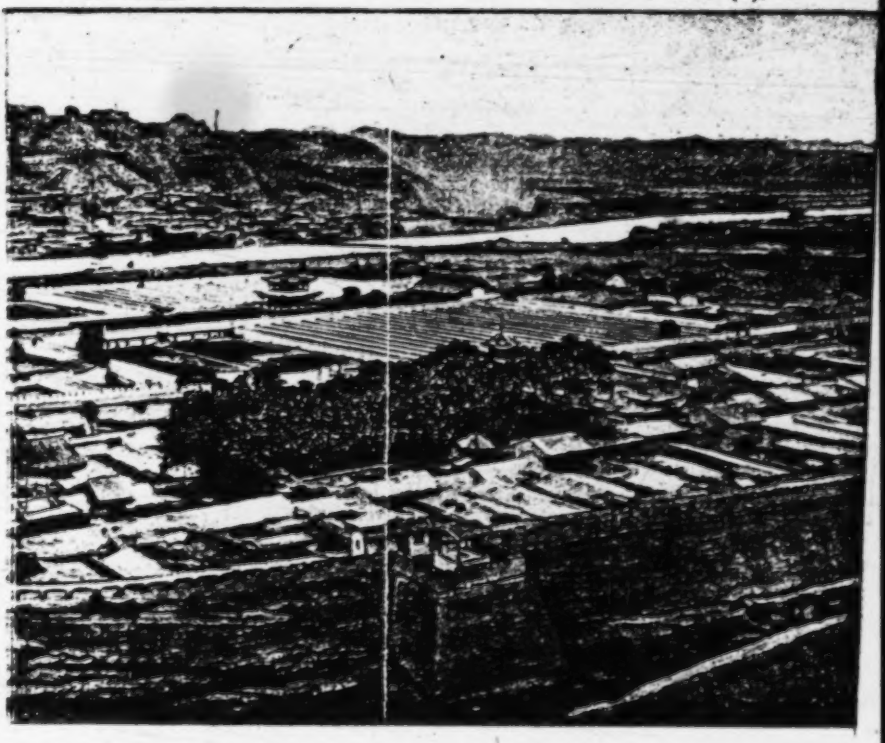
The capital of the province, Lanchow fu, seen from the west.

5: Tafel--320 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.W. China AF13

Plate XLIII /192C (2)/

361



The capital of the province, Lanchow fu, seen from the west.

5. Tafel--321 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

N.C.J. China AFD

361

Plate XLIII

The capital of the province, Lanchow fu, seen from the west.

/19LC (3)/

5: Tafel--322 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet
N.W. China AF13
Plate **XLIII.**

1920 (4)

361

The capital of the province, Lanchow fu, seen from the west.

000 sewed together the two lappets of my skin, right there on the shores of the lake, to my complete satisfaction. Fortunately, it was not a serious injury, only the skin of my head was slashed, the bone and periosteum had only been lightly bruised.

631 361 The rest of the day we traveled in a southeasterly direction, up the valley of the Ara Gol, which rises almost imperceptibly. This valley presumably represents the former drainage basin of the Koko Nor during a previous period of greater moisture when the lake was connected with the present-day Hwang Ho. Toward evening, shortly before twilight, we reached the walls of Tsaghan tscheng (1), i.e.,

1. Tsaghan is Mongolian meaning "white"; tsch'eng, Chinese, means "city." Such malformations occur largely on the Chinese-Tibetan border. The place is also called "ying pan ga tang" and was formerly called "tsaghan tologha."

the "white city," in which Mongolian khans formerly resided, and where later for a long time the Chinese amban of Northeast Tibet had his official seat and his troops. It is supposed to be only 90 or 100 years ago that the yamen there was discontinued and transferred to Hsining. About 35 years ago the last Chinese military camp of Northeast Tibet, which was stationed here, was withdrawn. Since then Tsaghan tsch'eng is deteriorating more and more. Only once a 796 year on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, when the Hsining fu amban is commissioned by the government to attend to the worship of the sea deities of the Koko Nor, new life returns to this town of the steppes. All Mongolian and Tibetan vassals of the region must appear for this festival. The nomad princes then come and live in hundreds of tents. In the middle of the ruins of the city a large felt yurt is set up for the amban. On the afternoon before the holiday the princes present themselves before the amban. Early the next morning the ceremony of worship takes place on a small hill outside the city, from which point one can just make out the surface of the lake on the distant horizon. The amban and the assembled princes fall on their knees, incense sticks are lighted, a piece of yellow silk which says that the emperor offers this sacrifice, is burned and everyone bows to the earth nine times. /204/ Thereupon the amban admonishes all the princes to maintain peace among each other and to remain faithful subjects. Then everyone rapidly disperses. By evening of that day the city of Tsaghan tsch'eng lies as lonely and dead on the steppes as ever before.

5: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF 13

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese [103] call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow."

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few 241
small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

764 day after the death of his father, the son asked me for a small loan and for an advance on my rent.

000 Then, just after the coffin had been carried out of the yard gate amid a large display of fireworks, the twenty-five soldiers of the amban who had left twelve days before for the Koko Nor in order to pursue the Tibetan robbers, arrived and drove my stolen horses and yaks into my courtyard. Even the old bitch I had bought two days before the attack was returned to me. But of my equipment only a few broken saddles and a battered tea kettle and half an ice skate were returned, the rest of the things had found other homes. The soldiers refused to tell me who the robbers had been. All they said was that the culprits were "wild Tibetans from the south." They said that three days before the attack on me a band of about 30 or 40 robbers had attacked and robbed a Tibetan tribe of Koko Nor and stolen 150 horses, but that the tribe pursued and defeated them and the robbers lost their entire booty as well as three men. "You ran into this robber band, sir; they spied on you for two days before they attacked. But your /245/ defense made such an impression on them that they later released the stolen animals. We found your ponies about 10 kilometers from the place where you were attacked, and they were quietly grazing in a valley. We also found three dead men there, unclothed and frozen stiff."

On that same evening the amban sent me a message saying that it was evident the robbers were not men of his tribe, that this winter an unusual number of robbers had come to the lake from the south, and that therefore he could not pursue the matter further.

It is no small matter to keep eight yaks in a large Chinese city. And everyone who knows China will understand that I was not a little frightened when the animals were driven into my dwelling. Many of the citizens had never seen these clumsy black ruminants and so they besieged my inn all day long. It was out of the question for me to keep the animals in the city and when I wanted to sell them the butchers offered me one tael apiece (three marks) because they believed that I would have to get rid of the animals at any price. I therefore hired a man to drive the animals a good day's journey south of Hsining fu and pasture them there in the mountains. The ponies, however, I did not allow out of my sight and took them all with me on my next excursions.

361 I first went to a large fair that is given every year during the
[543] first ten days of the second Chinese month in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu.

N.w. China AF13
Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361 ●

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place. 361 133

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabitants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 families. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administration of the hsien of Hsining. 361 [624] [274] [162] [443]

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty [1260-1368] and still continues. 563 167

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792 The houses are not old; they were built after the great Mohammedan
346 revolution in the 1860s during which time the monastery burned to the ground.

C On the evening of the second day of the journey beyond Wei
361 yüan bu, I had already reached Da tung hsien. I had again come to
701 a purely Chinese city, after having passed only Dungan and Tibetan villages on my way. Da tung hsien is one of the extreme outposts of Chinese colonization, the seat of a district head - the hsien was established only in 1762 - and has a very large garrison. Besides the Chinese soldiers and officials there is also a Tibetan prince stationed here with a band of militia, and not far from the walls Mongols pasture their herds.

C The city is usually called Mo bai tschen by the people, which
361 refers to the old market that belonged to the nomads here. The town is small because only Chinese are permitted to live in it. Adjoining it on the west, however, is an attractive and busy suburb where many Mohammedans do business. In the year 1895 it fell upon evil days. The Mohammedans made every effort to capture the city by undermining the miserable walls and making assaults upon them. It is amazing that the city nevertheless held for four months.

C The following day brought me through uninhabited high mountain
563 country and through snow a foot deep farther west, as far as the Mo-
361 hammedan town of Bamba. I found there only a few miserable huts instead of the thousands of families that once lived here. But it was possible to recognize all the old streets because of the countless ruins, almost level with the ground, which testified only too eloquently of the unspeakable misery, of the destruction of a talented people which, heedlessly, in a state of blind religious fervor, entered into hopeless battle with the Chinese giants. Bamba and the extremely fertile valley 25 miles long of Schang wu tschuan as far as Do ba where it joins the Hsining Valley was one of the centers of the last Mohammedan insurrection. With the capture of Do ba the revolt was quelled. The entire valley now has only 800 families of Hui hui all told. Once (until 1895) Bamba was a great rival of Dankar, today it is dead. Its caravan road which follows the narrow valley northwest up into the Koko Nor steppes is deserted because all trade from here is forbidden by the government. The Mohammedans whose families /256/ were forced to settle here after the Chinese victory (1) must carry on their trade in Dankar and

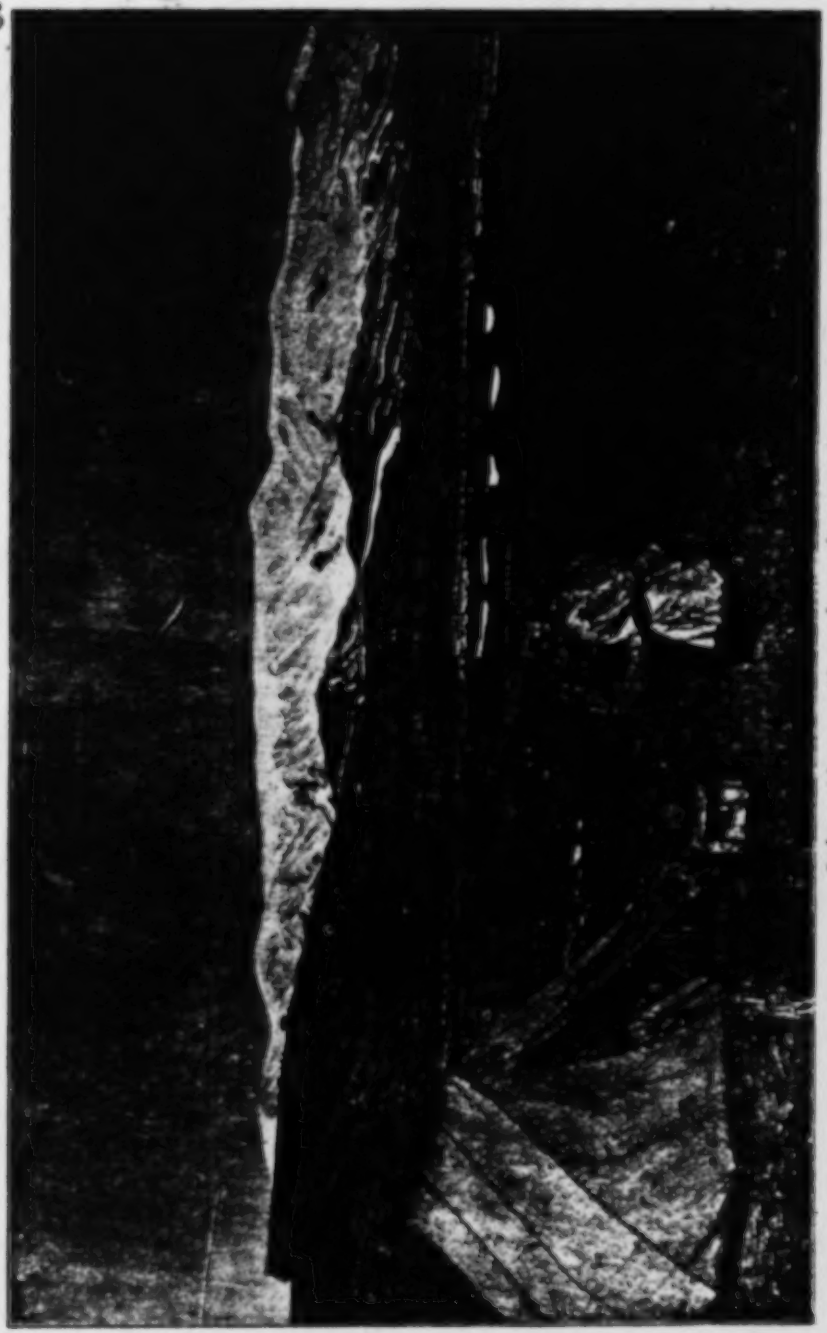
1. In Bamba there are about 100 families of the old sect

[text continues on p.439]

N.W. China AF 13
5: Tafel--436 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

Plate
Tafel LVII.

133
361



Schara khoro. (Seen from the east.)

(236A)

and sixty of the "new" who were forced to settle here. They are still unable to get along among each other. 563 361

Hsining. But there they may only come as transients in order to carry on their business and must live in the suburbs while their families are obliged to remain in Bamba.

I stayed a day in the town and bought mules and horses for my forthcoming new journey. A great many people positively implored me to take them along as servants. There were competent men among them who knew the steppes and could speak Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian and so I took several of them into my service. When the contract was signed by both parties and by witnesses the men asked for the customary advance. 000

"We want to fetch our warm clothing and our felt coats immediately for the journey into the cold steppes. Our things are in the pawn shop in the city of Mo bai tschen," they said.

"But do you have so many debts," I asked, "that you must pawn even your clothes?"

"Heaven forbid! But we have wives and children at home and so it is far better and safer to keep our clothes in the pawn shop."

* * * * * * * * *

/257/ CHAPTER VIII

Departure for the Ts'ao ti

When it is winter in the Central Asiatic plateau it is not only bitter and bitingly cold but a harsh wind sweeps over the land, turning everything rigid and lifeless, so that the people who live up there, the devout and ceaselessly praying lamaists, have learned to speak not only of a fiery, but also of a cold and ice-filled hell into which poor sinners are cast naked and bare in order to be tamed and purified in a hell in which glaciers will devour them, icicles spear them, icebergs crash down on them and crush their bones with burning cold blocks of ice. But besides the cold which it brings, the Central Asiatic winter is also uncomfortable because of its dryness and its dust. Snow, the mark of our European winter, is a rare phenomenon. Week after week and month after month a radiant, cloudless sky stretches over a dried-up, impoverished earth. All living creatures are envoloped in a white veil, a dust-impreganted 132

[text continues on p. 441]

Meanwhile a letter arrived from the amban yamen in which the aged Excellency informed me that he had warmly recommended me to the ör fu ting of Kue fu. I was advised to start my journey from the latter city. However, if one realizes that the city of Kue de and the large territory it governs, which extends ten travel-days southward, is not under the jurisdiction of the amban yamen and that therefore, according to the customary Chinese logic, the responsibility, in case I had an accident, would not fall on the amban but on the ör fu of the Kue de, then the gracious recommendation was all too transparent. But of course other circumstances forced me to start my Hwang Ho journey from there. ooc

A long tramp through a narrow ravine which was filled with rubble and was barren and deserted, brought me from I ts'e sche with my mules and horses to the banks of the Hwang Ho. My first task was to find out whether the way via Kue de would be possible, and therefore the bullocks were left behind at the Lao ye Shan. The valley of the great river itself which we followed upward for another few hours was bare and stony as the ravine had been. The nearest mountains all consisted of loose red conglomerates which offer little resistance to the summer rains and which are therefore so chaotically and deeply furrowed and torn up in so many thousands of places that even a mountain goat cannot climb their slopes. Blood-red Orgeln [T 788] and pillars of clay and sand rise up skyward everywhere and one seldom saw a shrub, much less a tree or a house, but only occasionally in the distance a Tibetan temple site, a grotesque, strange-looking tschorten, the grave of a holy man. The road was deserted. I met few horsemen, and all of them carried guns and spears and had warlike miens. The right side of the river is also like a desert. There [T 792] is a monastery in this desert which is famous because its Buddha image grows constantly larger. The devout inhabitants round about call it Tschang fo se, the monastery of the growing Buddha. Toward evening there appeared on the right bank of the Hwang Ho a thick clump of trees. There were a few larger valleys from the south that opened up there and conjured up a green oasis on the river bank. But we were still separated from the spot by a wearisome embarking and landing and a crossing of the Hwang Ho over 200 meters wide, which in summer becomes as much as 600 meters. The heavy, unwieldy boat is always carried far downstream by the current. It had thus grown late again before I reached the protective walls of the city of Kue de. 133 C 361 C

This city is at the moment the farthest Chinese station in North

C Tibet, the last on the Hwang Ho inhabited by Chinese, in fact the
361 last town on this river, and has been fortified especially well by the government. Tibetans live all around it; some of them are farmers, others, especially in the south and west, are nomads. The city of Kue de is only 2,310 meters high. It is the warmest city of all the border towns of the entire fu, i.e., the prefecture of Hsining to which it belongs. But directly west of the city, just above a few islands the Hwang Ho flows through a narrow ravine which it has cut into a terrace 250 meters higher, with steep embankments. On this terrace there is nowhere a small field or a house. Thus, Kue de is an oasis in the midst of wild, bare mountains. When we /264/ left the Hsining Valley there was not a touch of green to be seen on the numerous willows and poplars, but in Kue de peach blossoms peeped coquettishly out from among the green shoots of pear orchards and budding wheat fields. (1)

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1. This region at one time also belonged to the Hsi Kiang and later to the Tu ku hun, and beginning with the end of the seventh century, to the Tu fan (Tibetans). During the Yüan dynasty the city of Ho tschou formed the outermost Chinese government station on the border. There a department was set up for the Tu fan, and its sphere of influence reached as far as Kue de. Later the town of Kue de was, however, lost to the dynasty and was not regained until 1371 under Hung wu. In 1376 it came under the military district of Ho tschou wei and the Tibetans were given a horse- and tea-market as in Mo bai tschen. The city wall of Kue de was erected in 1380. At that time 48 soldier-families were settled here from Ho tschou who were assigned tax-free fields for themselves and their descendants, for which they were obliged to perform military service as militiamen. Thereupon Tibetans and other Chinese settled in the vicinity. In 1723 the city was hard pressed by the Mongols under Lobzang Dandsin whose headquarters were at Mo bai tschen, but it successfully resisted. In 1739 the town came under the rule of the Hsining Hsien. In 1762 Kue de became a separate hsien under Hsining fu, and later a ting.

T
[651]

There are only a few Chinese farms belonging to the Kue de district, but, on the other hand, 54 tax-paying tribes of Tibetans (mostly farmers) and 19 partly-exempt Tibetan tribes (nomads). Nominally, more or less all Tibetans

5: Tafel--450 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
N.W. China AF13

belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilometers (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are: west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan: south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district.

c 563 631 T 101

An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slung

c 361 631 [712]

N.W. China AF 13

361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies, often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners. This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the
674 order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400
432 families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner, a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tibetans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ör fu, the ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hang down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 200
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs
were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and
the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes
with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [563]
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon
we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara
khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara
khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, ar-
rived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official
interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have
cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation.
After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and
exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder
because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his
superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of
the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact
that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He
was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a
great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban
of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had noti-
fied the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got
to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up
to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay
at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with con-
fidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese
mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling. [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this
godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except
for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Through-
out the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agricul-
ture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the
caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows
and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little
profit there is in animal hus. and [illegible] considering how much is stolen,
for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully
[after leaving Ts'ian hu tsch'eng— Analyst]

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

643 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up
342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's
574 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

Hädschir Mongols who had been buying their year's supply of barley in Nomoch'an. They were all young people, five men and three girls, gay, happy-go-lucky people. They sang until midnight and all night long giggling and laughter floated over to us. They left late in the morning. The girls sat upright on their horses like the men. They had, themselves, saddled and packed their mounts as well as the pack animals. Aside from their packs of barley, their luggage was very scant. A common cooking pot and a pair of bellows, some butter and tea and the clothes they wore on their backs was all they carried for their two-month journey. And yet the temperature at night at this time, in the middle of October, usually dropped to -10° even on the Tsaidam plain, and there was an almost continuous cold west wind.

On the first day beyond Tengelik and on into the night we came through a dense, high forest. Lama dyi and two Mongols were all armed with guns. Shortly before dusk we came upon the ruins of two square, high city walls, called nomoch'an ikhe and nomoch'an bagha khoto (the big and the little city) by the Mongolians. The larger one embraced an area of half a square kilometer, and the second was only a little smaller. Inside they were completely barren and empty. Lama dyi said that the cities dated back to the time of the last Chinese conquest, that is, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. (1)

1. From another account I learned that the cities were the residences of Gushi Khan, the Mongolian protector of the dalai lama. However, after the meng gu yu mu dyi, Peking decreed in 1729 that, since it would be difficult to find accommodations for troops on the Gas Nor in the western part of Tsaidam, there were to be 100 men stationed in the Gas Nor, 600 in Debter and 400 on the Tsaghan Usse. At that time the Gas Nor had political significance because the connecting road between Lob and Lhasa ran through it and the Kalmuk from Hami and that region who at that time were not part of China, used it. The guards at Gas Nor were supposed to guard this road and prevent repetitions of a Kalmuk conquest of Lhasa (For further details see Vol. II, p.146). In 1731 it was considered wise in Peking to have a circumvallation in Tsaidam for 1,000 men. The previously mentioned first amban of Hsining named Ta ai thereupon built the city of

C 361

Nomonkhan (Nomoch'an) khoto, i. e., the city of the vice-regent. He not only laid out a yamen there, but also canals, fields and mills. The Mongols thereupon were seized with fear and trembling. They attempted a final revolt (see Vol. II, pp. 20 and 21). However, the military colony was kept up for only a few years. From this region the main road to Lhasa runs over the Dinse Obo into the Schoga Valley and to the Tschümtsing Pass. However, because of the plundering of the Ngolok, many caravans prefer to ascend the Tschang tang beyond Golmo.

K 241

/59/ Even today there is agriculture going on between bushes and trees in the vicinity of the two cities. The Mongols use an extensive irrigation system which, to all appearances, was formerly even more extensive and better. Today barley and Tibetan wheat are raised. The fields had just been harvested. Threshing had been done on the spot and the grains were stored in sacks. Nomoch'an is the most fertile spot in the whole of Tsaidam. There are broad stretches where there are no salt efflorescences.

K 787

In our tramp through the dense woods I had not been able to keep my little band together and in the evening there were two men missing. Lama dyi and his two Mongols took up their nine dice and decided whether the two were together, if they were still on the march, or if they were perchance devoured by the bear whose fresh footprints we had seen that afternoon in the dust of our path. Lama dyi was very much afraid of bears and kept blazing fires going during the night, all around us. Bears, he maintained, were crazy for human flesh and would attack humans wherever they found them. With the matchlocks and the light swords of the Mongols, it is probably not easy to attack a bear, and the Mongols take care not to get into open battle with the animals. They maintain that they lose many lives annually because of bears. However, the animals are supposed to come down to the plain only in the fall when the berries are ripe.

The next morning Lama dyi was very proud. He had prophesied on the basis of the dice that the two who were lost were still alive and would come back to us. And a few hours after sun rise the two did actually return. One of them, Tschaschi, had wandered about all night. Tschang had found a Mongol yurt and had struck up a pleasant acquaintance and thus lost track of the time.

Lama dyi continued to be a good entertainer. With his many stories he shortened the monotonous journey across areas of sand and

city. He afterwards confessed that he never expected to see me again. My new undertaking seemed too risky to him. Above all, he felt that I had taken along too few people. I, too, was convinced that we were too weak, but my financial condition was to blame for that. The first night we stayed in Tschen hai pu and on the second day of our journey we reached Dankar. On the next stage I covered the 70 li up to Schara khoto. I had decided to take the road traveled by K'am traders as far as the Hwang Ho and the Ngolok country. I had traveled this road with Filchner in 1904, but at that time we did not know that this was a much-frequented way. It is the easiest route and the one on which it is possible to make the most headway.

On January 23 we camped in the middle of the Remo Yung (Mongolian: Ara Gol), a few kilometers from the ruins of Tsaghan tsch'eng; and on the following day we rode past the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains and at dusk reached the peasant colony of Tschabtscha. The weather in the highlands was clear and beautiful every day. There were only a few individual cumulus clouds that swept past us and over the dry, barren tala steppe that is visible south of Tschabtscha. At noon in protected spots the temperature went up to zero, and once it even went to +2°; at night it cooled off to -26° and once it even went to -31°. It was bitter cold, for the wind never seemed to die down and it cut to the bone.

Although Tschabtscha lies at an altitude of 2,990-3,040 meters, a permanent village settlement has developed here and from year to year more and more Amdo-Chinese and Tibetans come here, among them many who have been guilty of some kind of mischief elsewhere. In answer to my question I was told that 250 families live in the scattered settlement. Most of them have come within the last ten years. Originally the land belonged to a Mongolian gung (duke) who today is in the Tsungkuk Valley near Gomba soma. Barley, oats, buckwheat, flax, even potatoes and some wheat are grown here. Three favorable months make this possible in spite of the northern latitude and the great altitude. One of the chief factors is the sunny, southerly position of the valley pocket. The village nestles in the declivity of the South Koko Nor Mountains between /100/ a few low foothills, and is protected from storms. Another factor is the loess that is quite thick here and was piled up because the South Koko Nor Mountains formed protected nooks into which the dust that was blown here from afar could settle. Finally, not the least important factor is the Tschabtscha tschü, a lively brook, that comes down from the mountains and can be utilized for irrigation of the fields, so that close

Plate LXVII.

/facing p. 289, (sec. 1)/

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Tao tschou (old city) seen from the west.

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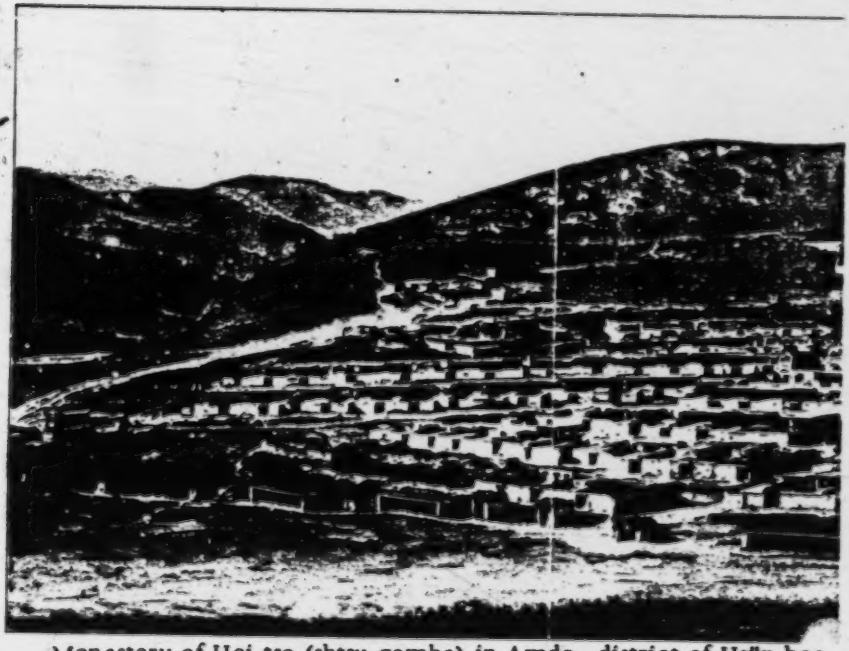

Monastery of Hei tso (shtsu gomba) in Amdo, district of Hsün hoa ting. In the background the Tai tse Shan Range.

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Plate LXVII /facing p. 289 (sec. 2)/

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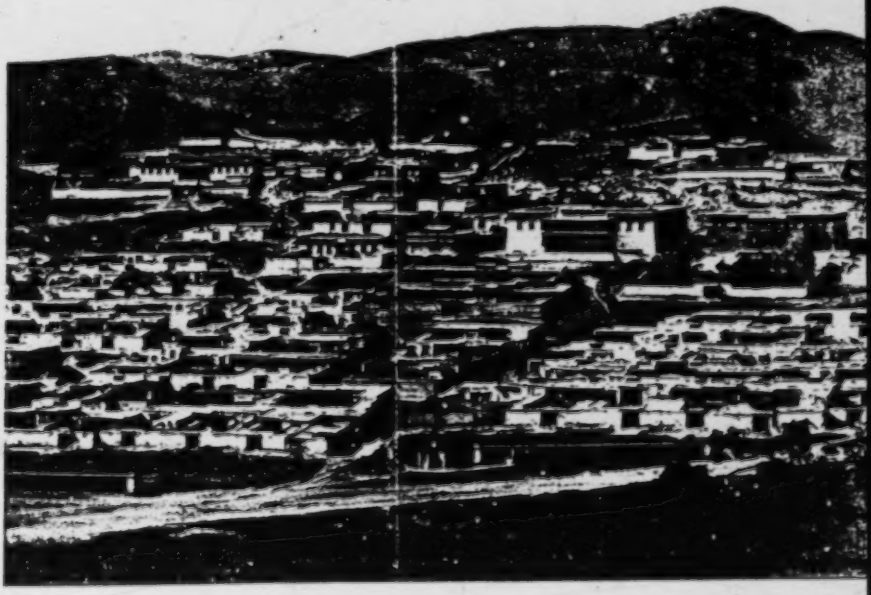

(Captions on sec. 1)

Plate LXVII /facing p. 289 (sec. 3)/

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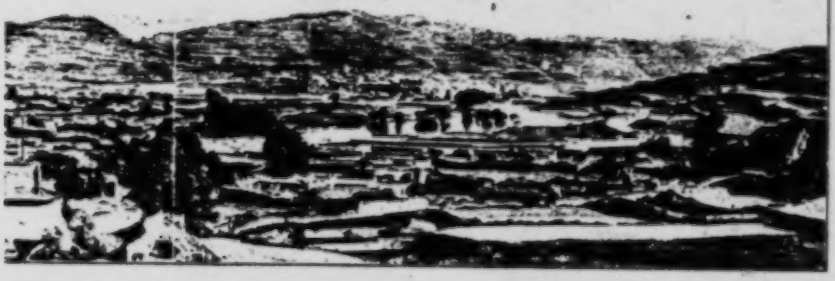

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(Captions on sec. 1)

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133 the river, a great deal of loess mixed with broken stones can immediately be seen, and for the first time since I left Hsining fu I again saw a cart. /302/ (1) The higher up I climbed on the other

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1. The boundary marking the distribution of the North Chinese two-wheel horse cart extends from here along the mountainous country I had just traversed eastward and keeps to the north of the Tsing ling pass in the North Chinese loess country. It is unknown in all of Szechwan and Kweichow, Hunan and in large parts of Hupeh.

• 361 side, the purer became the loess masses. At Lao tschai ni, a Chinese town, 3,015 meters high, I had already reached a typical loess village and caves in the loess. Four kilometers farther and only 250 meters lower lies the commercial city of Tao tschou, the Tibetan Batse.

It was nine o'clock and had grown dark when, with great effort and exertion, I reached the city, and ör gen, the second night watch was long past before the tormented tsung ye who in the darkness had [197] lost the path, finally discovered me. Long before that, the friendly members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Americans Mr. and Mrs. Ruhl and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, had found me and invited me to supper in their new home in which the former couple 000 did Tibetan missionary work and the latter, Chinese. My stay in the border city lasted from September 9 to 23 and was made pleasant by the hospitality of the missionaries who did not rest until, on the third day, I moved out of my grimy hotel and into their home outside the city. Meanwhile I discharged the caravan, paid off the servants and escort and presented the tormented tsung ye and his men with a mule and three horses, besides money and food supplies. I had never before on any of my journeys had such apt companions who were so willing to serve me. When the tsung ye said farewell his whole face lighted up and I, too, felt his relief over the fact that, in spite of my vagaries, he was able to deliver me safely at the appointed place. I sold two more mules here and only Brdyal and six animals remained. A team /hang/ of mules brought the large pieces of baggage to my depository in Lanchow fu, and my time was occupied arranging my diaries and developing my photographic plates. Only a few more than 400 plates turned out successfully on the last journey, one and one-half boxes (420 plates) were destroyed by water, while 280, all of those taken with the polyscope camera, were spoiled because they

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had been exposed to light. The screws and screw holes of the small 000
stereo-camera were not equal to the vigorous and ceaseless jogging of the journey on horseback. Unfortunately I lost all the pictures of the life of the people in Inner Tibet, many of which I had taken secretly and at the risk of my life.

The old city of Tao tschou, the tschiu tsch'eng (in Tibetan simply: Batser of Watsi, meaning "city," an originally Turkish-Mongolian term) lies at the bottom of a valley between flat ascending terraces of tertiary remnants and red clays covered with a moderately thick layer of loess. If one follows the brook in the valley, which is low in water, one reaches the Tao Ho after seven kilometers, at the village of Latsak and near Yang ba tsch'eng. The city has strong walls but they are no longer extensive enough and there are houses on all sides of the original quadrangle of the walls (Plate LXVII). The city is a military station and seat of a captain. The tschou of the district lives 60 lis away toward the east in Tao tschou-Hsin tsch'eng, the new city, which, however, is not nearly as important as the old city, although the district colonel is also /303/ garrisoned there. The old city is inhabited by Mohammedans who own a beautiful old mosque in the center of the city (Plate LXIX). Like the Salar, many of them did not wear pigtails. Here, too, it is the Mohammedans who have charge of the trade with the Tibetans. Where in the Ts'ao ti had I not met these courageous people! They are also the ones who bring wheat up from the Min tschou district, because the region does not furnish enough, due to the all too brief summer, and who annually buy up close to 10,000 young Tibetan mares in the hinterland and drive them to Shensi and Shansi to breed mules. Besides that they carry on trade in furs, skins, musk, and grain. Altogether the total trade of the district amounts to probably 600,000 marks.

361 • [563]

However, the old city does not have a prosperous look. The inhabitants number 8,000-9,000 and the natives are very poor. The yamen of the old city, in which the town captain is housed, was in a completely dilapidated condition. "It is an antique," its jolly occupant said, "it originates from the earliest Ming times and has never been repaired since, because none of us captains earns enough to be able to have the house repaired. When it rains my family and I have only one single dry tsch'ien (kien means compartment of a house) in the whole building. I was convinced that this tsch'ien was not in the schang fang where we ate together when I was invited there, for in the schang fang one could see the sky through the rafters between the broken tiles. But as a genuine banner-man and warrior,

361 the captain was not irritated by this and saw the funny side of everything. Among the many yarns with which he spiced our feast I remember the story of a hsien who, in response to an official inquiry from Lanchow the previous summer, whether to his knowledge there was ore to be found in the district, did not hesitate for a moment to reply in the affirmative. Then, when a visit from a Belgian engineer hired by the government was announced, he quickly had a smelting oven erected and his ore-bearing rocks treated. At night when the engineer was asleep iron in hundred-pound lumps was added and a very good product achieved. The Belgian's poor opinion of the rocks was belied by the masses of iron which flowed from the furnaces of the hsien. Thus the mandarin soon obtained capital from the viceroy's strong box to open up a large foundary. By the time his term of office expires he can report to Lanchow that the iron mine caved in or suddenly gave out, and he can also count on the fact that meanwhile his superiors have changed office and the matter has been forgotten in the official documents.

175 361 The old city of Tao tschou is today still an exclave of China in the Tibetan Amdo country. Round about it Tibetan farmers cultivate the fields. But more than 2,000 years ago in what was then Tao tang Chinese were already much more deeply entrenched than they are today. They pushed on following the loess and the soft red, the quatä clay, and, defying the amazing altitude, laid out their terraced fields and built quite a number of settlements at 3,000 meters. There was here a strong frontier guard against the peoples of the west before the latter were split up and when their forces were still intact. /304/ Around Tao tschou, just as in front of the big wall in North Shansi, crumbled square towers of loess rise over the land; a widely ramified net of beacons joined all posts. Even the simplest Chinese of today realize that they are interlopers. Farmers tell how, long before, they came from down below, from the province of Anhwei. However, none of them can say when his family was transplanted thither; nor would he say even if he knew, because they were exiles. In the old chronicle of the city of Tao tschou the reasons for the earlier advance and later retreat are said to be given, but the book containing the records of the district was destroyed by flames along with the plates in one of the many Mohammedan rebellions around the middle of the 19th century. In the Sui and Tang periods (589-907) there was a large city farther up in the west. Two kilometers farther east there was a second city wall and seven kilometers farther, down below on the right bank of the Tao Ho, lay the fortress of Yang ba tsch'eng,

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formerly known as Sche bu tsch'eng (city with the stone entrenchment). All three are today in ruins. In the last-named I found copper pennies dating from the Tang period, of Emperor Hsüan (Yüan) Tsung (713-756) with the inscription Kai Yüan (713-742). There I also saw an octagonal stone monolith inside remnants of a wall of stamped loess which today encloses only a small farm and potato fields. The inscription on the red sandstone says that during the rule of Tien bau (742-756) the Tibetans, the tu fan, conquered and destroyed the city, but that the Chinese, after a 30-day siege, again gained possession of it on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in the eighth year of the rule of Tien bau. General Li scheng was obliged to take the city within three days, otherwise he would have been beheaded. The district was at that time subject to the inspection of Ho tschou in Lung yu, one of the 15 provinces which the kingdom had at that time. (1)

1. Sche bu tsch'eng which is also mentioned in histories of China written by Europeans, as for instance in De Mailla and Wieger, must have been a Tibetan stronghold from the beginning. Its situation is economically too unfavorable that it could have been founded by Chinese. The right or southern bank of the Tao ho is at that point too cut up and is besides even today largely covered with forests. The river looks almost as though it had slid off the red clays that form the mountains at the city of Tao tschou and been pushed south into the Perm sandstone mountain range. There is room for only a few fields in its vicinity and no trade route comes by there. The river winds its way with difficulty between the rocks; it is 65 meters wide and, at an acute angle, washes against a narrow almost perpendicular rock and knife-sharp vertical slabs of slate, against which the fortress stands. Beside it a small level space was enclosed by a wall which ran from the rock to the river. Only this short stretch of wall consisting of loess-loam fortified with pile work, was vulnerable and might have proved fateful for the defender.

The conquest of Sche bu tsch'eng in 749, which was mentioned on the monolith, falls into the brief period during which the South Tibetans from Lhasa succeeded in uniting the chieftains who were always at odds. It was the time when Srong btsan sgam bo (617-698) had created a dangerous empire not only for the Tu ku hun (the ancient

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Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

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If the superiors of the high command in the Tiwo war[3] had spoken the forceful language with which Li scheng[3] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text. / /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

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[3] [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 489 — Analyst] [3] [Cf. Cat. 116, p. 491-492-4]

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the river of Sang Chu begins, and it is transported on rafts made of tubes. Since 1900 trade in North Tibetan wool has taken on very significant aspects and the prices for raw wool have thus soared all at once in all of Kansu. The Yang hang, the agencies of foreign export firms, have thereby not become popular with the people, however; on the contrary, since all food supplies have risen concomittantly, the export firms are blamed for it, and rightly so.

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takes us into the loess country of Kansu and a white, dry hood of dust lies over the landscape. There are no more rocks to be seen. Only thick loess and beneath it red loam are the materials out of which the hills on either side of the valley are formed. There is one village after another. Soon the road is seething with people. They are hurrying to the market of Hanchow, in carts or mounted on donkeys, or mules, and covered with dust. For a little while the Tai tse Shan which my Sang River must break through on the way from Labrang sends me a farewell greeting from Tibet. A defiant warrior, a true Tibetan watchman, stiff and rigid with steep battlements, it gazes down upon China and upon the pale and barren loess. Too soon, however, it is lost to view; the loess haze lies too dense and thick over the valley. It had been only four days since it had rained and already the eye could not penetrate the fine dust for a great distance.

Two years before on my way from Di dao tschou I had become acquainted with the clay basin of the Ho tschou region where it extends from east to west. This time /323/ I traveled through it in a straight line to the chief city of the province, Lanchow fu. I had now reached the Chinese highways and the region of the hostleries in which I could get nourishing food for the animals; therefore I traveled from morning till night and in spite of my slow pack animals, the many mountains and poor roads, covered 100-140 li a day (50-70 kilometers).

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Very near the city of Ho tschou - exactly east of it - a mule track climbs up to a narrow, winding loess ridge which holds up the traveler for a day and a half and takes him through a labyrinth of deep ravines up to the banks of the Tao Ho (Plate LXII). At a depth of 20-30 meters loess covers the 300-400-meter mighty red clays and sands which in the main are deposited horizontally and in narrow ravines have been washed away by the flowing water, down to a substrata of granite. In the places where there is loess, civilization is possible. However, in the vicinity of the Tao Ho River it became

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scarcer and there the population became more scant. Whereas I saw a small granery just outside of Ho tschou and counted hundreds of villages, the country around the Tao River became a sterile desert. The blood-red sand mountains in the shape of perpendicular pillars rose up out of dray valley fissures and there was nothing green to be seen anywhere (Plate LXXIII). In the narrow irrigated strip beside the Tao River the Mohammedan town of Tang wan tschwuan with its pretty mosques is an oasis in this wilderness. Giant water wheels lift the necessary water out of the river. Here we are already in the district of Lanchow. On the opposite bank the aridity is still worse. There the last fateful religious wars destroyed whatever was left that nature might still have tolerated. This wilderness lasts for a distance of six hours, as far as the 2,725-meter pass and an obo of the Hou dien Shan (rear sheltering mountain), until one has reached the crest of the Kwan Shan- and Hsin lu Shan range with its altitudes of 2,800-3,100 meters. After that loess appears again in great abundance and with it populated regions. /Fig. 15 appears on p. 323./

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/324/ The tops of these sandstone chains are adorned with green forests of shrubs. In the ravines the Chinese dig for coal. From the heights the eye looks down on the vast loess country of Kansu. It is a yellow, chaotic tangle of peaks, this loess with its millions of grooves, which stretches endlessly to the north and only in one place a narrow, crooked band of silver like a Turkish scimitar lies glittering before me, - a sunbeam discloses the presence of the Hwang Ho. And now, as we ride on, a narrow green strip with trees, with poplars and jujubes, becomes visible, a tiny border along the shore, hardly worth speaking of. It runs along with the band of light until both come to an end at a projecting strip of mountain. On the projection two clumsy towers of loam of the same lifeless color as everything else around us are discovered and indicate to me the position of the chief city of Lanchow fu. On the same day on which I had left the Tao River I rode through the city gates and the narrow streets of the city. It was already getting dark and at the second gate inside we were the last ones which the guard permitted to enter on that day. But our haste was rewarded. Not an hour later I sat down to a meal that made me forget the tasteless tsamba and the eternal daily goa mien. At the postoffice where I went that same evening I not only received letters from home - the first for a year - but was also warmly greeted by Mr. Shields who had come some months before from down south in order to establish the postal system in the province of Kansu. Anyone who has the good fortune to know this gracious and

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000 entertaining Scotsman knows that on this evening I could not have fallen into better hands, and that in the short hours before midnight my diaphragm had to withstand almost inhuman salvos of laughter. I hoped to meet other old acquaintances in Lanchow fu, but this time I was disappointed. My friend Van Dyk was with his bishop in the mission of Liang tschou fu for the annual retreat of the fathers. So, much to my regret, I could not even shake his hand in gratitude for his active participation in my efforts in safeguarding in his home the booty of my individual expeditions.

491 I stayed in the chief city until I had found a freight transport with which I could make a contract to have my baggage brought to Hsingan fu as soon as possible where I could pick it up again. Inasmuch as Mr. Shields helped me in this matter, I was able to leave the city in a few days. I rode on the large military highway between Lanchow fu and Hsingan fu, the road which also follows the telegraph line and which in the '70s the re-conqueror of Turkistan, the great Tso ts'ung tang, had had bordered with poplars for a distance of hundreds of kilometers. At one time, in order to protect this avenue, he put a death sentence on every wanton destruction of a tree. The trees still stand for stretches covering many days' journeys, but the track often cannot follow the old avenue for long stretches. Loess makes the ground too loose. Rains have often lengthened and deepened the valley fissures by hundreds of meters and thus the rows of trees border ravines which today no man can cross; meanwhile traffic often had to take an entirely different direction.

• 361 At the stopping place of Ngan (An) ting hsien the camel- and
484 /325/ mule-drivers who take care of a large part of the freight traf-
133 fic between Kansu and Shensi, take a somewhat more southerly route than do the carts. I continued to follow this mule track and decided to combine it with a stop-over at Ts'inchow, the richest city of Kansu. In the vicinity of Ngan ting hsien the country is still rather thinly populated. Only after 100 li did I get to Niu yin, a town of 100 families, and 20 li beyond came Ma yin which has 400-500 families and a larger market. Close by, the brook breaks through a granite range, the first solid rock that I saw since the Hwang Ho ditch near Lanchow fu, and behind Ma yin the loess became thinner and only a few decameters thick. The density of population increased visibly and the Mohammedan element which is very numerous along the road near Huining hsien and Lung te hsien, Ping liang fu, fell into
133 the background. I had now come into a definitely mountainous

area; the Hu lao Ho River must here wind its way largely through narrow ravines of granite and gneiss. However, even here most of the mountains consisted of red loam of amazingly large proportions. 133

The farther south I came, the richer became the soil. A day's journey north of Tsinchow, kao liang, rice, and cotton appeared and these fields interchanged with endless stretches of persimmon trees the sweet fruit of which hung fiery red on the bare, leafless branches, and presented a picture which we so often see on the colored prints of Japanese painters and which seem so unreal to us. Unfortunately, I was obliged to carry out my long endurance rides in the south during almost steady rains. 241

I found the city of Tsinchow (1,130 meters above sea level) very different from the rest of the Kansu cities; I saw practically no house in ruins. Most of the buildings are made of brick and stand in the midst of gardens and thousands of fruit trees. The city has a little more than 50,000 inhabitants, among them 4,000 Mohammedans. Here, too, however, the merchants complained of the inconsiderateness of the administration which was constantly creating unfair taxes and new difficulties for trade, so that a great many hangs which arranged transports to Han tschung fu and Szechwan, had to close up in the last few years. But even so the city is slowly growing. The houses are squeezed into five separate walls and even outside the walls there are living quarters and this makes a picture that is entirely absent in northern Kansu. In ancient times the city was called Tscheng schi hsien and the first emperor of the Tang dynasty was said to come from here. Not far to the north on a mountain lie the loess ruins of almost completely disintegrated remains of walls from the Han period like the walls of ancient Teutonic times, in which Duke Wei hsiao gun was said to have lived for a time as an independent ruler (25-58 A. D.). Today the plow leads over the site. The bad Fan li hoa is also supposed to have been born not much farther from the city in the present-day Fan kia tsch'eng, and the inhabitants maintained in all seriousness that within the district, in the market town of Be yang Chu, the descendants of the family of Ming emperors live under the assumed name of Tschang, formerly Tsche. 361

The city owes a large part of its fresh appearance to the fact that it happened to escape the Mohammedan disorders as well as the incendiaries of the Tai /326/ ping era. At that time the battles reached as far as Tsing ngan hsien and the latter as well as Tsing schui hsien in the north and Hui hsien in the south, all three of which

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361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
[197] the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly
133 welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

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At last my carts had arrived from Lanchow fu and I could continue my trek to the coast. Aside from its history and the Be ling, Hsingan fu is not a city which invites one to stay for any length of time. The large city of 300,000 to 400,000 inhabitants lies on a treeless plain and has no kind of canalization. The missionaries complained about the great heat in /330/ summer, while autumn and winter at first bring too much rain and wet snow and later northwest storms and dust which penetrates everything.

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I decided that from now on I would stay near my carts. But when they were packed in the courtyard of my inn and slowly rattling along in the direction of the east gate, I could not resist making a hasty little visit to the tien tschu tang, to the good Fransiscan monks. And they decided that the journey to the railroad and to the great centers of culture was still so long that I would have to refresh myself a bit, because I was reduced to skin and bones, as an Irish priest remarked. So it happened that it was 12 o'clock at noon before I rode away from the refectory. Meanwhile a snowstorm had set in, but unflinchingly I trotted on with my mule, determined not to rest until I had overtaken my carts. I hunted and hunted for them until far into the night. Without having found them I was obliged to look for shelter, stiff with cold. On the next day I looked again in vain; it seemed as though the ground had swallowed the carts. When I had again come within the vicinity of Hsingan fu I saw, in the late afternoon, only 20 lis from the city, my Brdyal in a tearful mood, sitting in front of a little house, beside a large swamp around which I had ridden so far. In the middle of it two carts were stuck fast, without mules and without drivers. They held my possessions. It is true, they were standing in the middle of the big road but the muddy water that flooded the road reached almost to the hub of the wagons, and in order to reach them one was obliged to wade up to one's waist in the cold water. The carts had been stuck there from the time I took leave of the fathers. The drivers were said to have done everything they could in order to get out of the hole, and had finally borrowed a dozen mules and harnessed them to the carts, but in vain. There could be no thought of getting the carts away from there before dry weather set in. The drivers had long since reached that conclusion, too, and had taken themselves off; they probably intended to wait until the end of winter. Around the outside of the swamp there were 28 other carts stuck in the thick mud. In one place drivers were whipping a cart with a large team down off the road into a cotton field that had not yet been

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures.

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more.

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is

5: Tafel--246 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF 13

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The city of Lanchow fu does not cover a large area (see my cartographic conclusions Part I, sheet 27). The actual city has narrow streets with an unspeakably worn-down pavement in which whole stone slabs were missing, which no one repaired, so that I always considered it the greatest agony to go riding in one of the two-wheel carriages without springs. However, it was considered good form among the Chinese to make calls inside the city in a carriage. One sat on one's haunches on a thin cushion, tensely clutched the wooden railing on either side of the carriage and looked out on the street through a black, veil-like curtain. One's head was hurled alternately against either sides of the carriage as happens in our country when the coachman, in driving through an entrance gate /151/ awkwardly drives over the curb, except that here, of course, it happened continually. No wonder the Chinese mandarins often felt that 100 strokes of the stick were not enough for a delinquent. Every time one drove out in a carriage, one got 100 such vigorous blows for each 100 meters. At the same time, the streets were so narrow that two carriages could pass one another only with difficulty. (1) Thus it required a great deal of patience to

1. Meanwhile I heard that the government is considering macadamizing the main streets which have heretofore been merely paved. But since the Chinese do not know much about repair, this will improve matters for only a short time, no doubt.

view traffic and venture forth on a pleasure drive.

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The city is very thickly built up, with very small yards between houses which are all one-storied. Only the various administrative buildings cover larger areas; that of the governor-general and that of the treasurer of the province are surrounded by attractive parks. On the south, east and west of the actual city of Lanchow fu there are large suburbs, also walled, which are covered with houses up to the very last property. Nevertheless, along with various other people who are acquainted with the city, I estimate that it has only 100,000 or at most, 120,000 inhabitants. (2)

2. Kreitner, Im fernen Osten estimates the population at half a million. Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas thinks there are 70,000-80,000; Grenard 76,000; Bell believes there are 40,000 houses; Richard, Comprehensive

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liveg are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
563 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
753 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
772 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
826 yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
S principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
N the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.
[278]

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
*563 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
751 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
753 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
772 turbed, disease follows.
S
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751

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
753 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
S the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
N facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
[184] Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
S than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
N are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
[212] the larger part of the population.

S Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
N rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
114 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
163 Handbook.
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C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
*563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
563 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
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364

/The Chinese/

N
*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
• 364 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
S
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
[312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N
*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165] and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
[844] and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
S
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
N deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under
[165] control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S E. Efforts of the Government

N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na- [496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of [487] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

• 366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

439 B. Imports		38,081,234
435 textiles	22,209,861	
#175 sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

439 Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade
487 between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out
491 through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

366 The commercial cities of this province are as follows:
635 (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

439 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and
435 exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth
#175 of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning-Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou-Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei-Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia-Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu-Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo-Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities, the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

S N 131 635 161

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

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While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Usbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

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The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghis, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

S N 563 43 N 369 008

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, • 369 463 trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found [578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 131 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 342 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 262 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 291 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

600 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 191 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] [212] Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252 Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291 The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S
N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognised.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
RL playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[576] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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N 563 829 S 563 829

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural

N 563 369 829 S 563 369 829

situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

S N [128] [129]

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

N 712 361 [127]

In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
• 369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351 which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
(342 house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
(621 the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614 bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
(532 stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
(192 figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
(511 upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

#668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

#668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
#668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

#668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
[291] inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[177] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live
in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt,
with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast
with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built
up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
342 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
352 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
353 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
[241] son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored
134 chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T. H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
[651] products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
[372] area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the southwest for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
291 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. As the traveller approaches Yench'ang he will note that the city walls appear to be weeping or oozing oil, and the explanation of this curious fact becomes strikingly apparent at night time. For in the embrasures all round the walls every yard or so are placed pans of crude oil, which are lit up when darkness falls and illuminate the whole city and neighbourhood in the most remarkable manner. The effect on anyone not expecting it is extremely startling. Night after night throughout the year this desolate little city lost in the wilds of Northern Shensi indulges in this orgy of illumination. But it costs practically nothing and seems to be very effective in scaring off the brigands, who usually make their raids on moonless nights; doubtless the prospect of having a pan of burning oil upset over their heads deters them also.

The next stage on our journey by this route was the city of Yich'uan Hsien, two long marches due south of Yench'ang. The trail runs down the gorges of the Yen Shui, being ledged in the cliff on the left bank, for about 15 li, and then crossing the river by a ford strikes up the hill side to the south to reach the top of the loess plateau some 600 to 700 feet above the valley; continuing across the plateau for an hour or so it then drops steeply to the hamlet of Ankou Chen in the gorge of a tributary of the Yen Shui, called 35 li from Yench'ang. From Ankou the path strikes immediately up the opposite hill to reach the top of the plateau again, the latter here taking the form of a series of flat-topped loess ridges running down towards the Yen Shui from a range trending east and west. A two hours' march to the south up the flat top of one of these ridges brought us to the top of the range (4500 feet), the watershed between the Yen Shui and a stream called the Yunai Ho; the range is composed of grassy downs of loess with occasional outcroppings of rock. From the pass the trail follows a spur to the south, which soon flattens out into the usual square-topped loess ridge, and descends gradually for four to five hours' march, with finally a steep drop into the valley of the Yunai Ho to reach the ruined township of Yunai Chen. The country traversed on this day's march, as also on the following one, consists of loess mountains with a little cultivation on their lower slopes. Villages are very scarce,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361] bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376] plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

S 316 worked at Kitai (Ku-cheng), Sui-lai, Kucha and Aksu. Table IV shows the general distribution of coal reserves and their production.

c. Reported Fissionable Materials

It has been reported that fissionable materials such as uranium and thorium are produced in Sinkiang province. S [648] It is even rumored that the province is being built up into an atomic arsenal for Soviet Russia and Communist China, although no definite information is available. Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for present means of communication and transportation are below the minimum that would be required for running the complicated machinery necessary for atomic plants. Nevertheless it is pointed out that "...in the city of Arason (A-shan), Ili county, an abundant amount of wolfram and uranium is mined. In Conca (Ku-ch'eng), Urumchi country, uranium is mined. It is reported that in a concealed mine at Ulugcat city on the Russian border of Kasgar (Kashgar), thousands of persons were occupied with mining. Copper, gold, and oil were obtained from the Ulugchat area, and the concealed mining activities show that there are also mined some strategic minerals. (Bughra, Mehmet Emin: Doghu Turkestan, pp. 84-85).

N • 377 d. Hydroelectric Power:

Except for the thermoelectric plants of Sian, Lanchow, and Urumchi, no hydroelectric power is known to be in existence in the four provinces of Northwest China. It was reported the S [377] Urumchi power plant can produce forty percent more electricity than the sum total produced in Sinkiang province prior to the recommission of the plant in December, 1953. While this, on the one hand, indicates the inensified production of electricity production in the provincial capitals, like Urumchi, it shows on the other the limited development of electric power plants in the region of the whole Northwest. A power generator was S [377] recently installed in Urumchi, and another at Ulapo in the province of Sinkiang. (KM Sept. 15, 1955). However, a gigantic scheme of water power development is planned along the mid-Yellow River course.

N According to Li Jui, a member of the Yellow River planning 377 commission, a plan to tame and exploit the Yellow River, by 653 building forty-six dams from the Lung-yang gorge above Kuei-teh in eastern Chinghai and San-men (in west Honan) gorge below Tung-kuan of eastern Shensi for hydroelectric development and irrigation, was passed by the National People's Congress on July 30, 1955. (Li Jui: China's Sorrow will be no more - the Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, People's China, August 6, 1955, pp. 9-15). The actual work of the plan to harness the Yellow River was started in 1954. The plans call for two large hydro-power stations to be built, one at Liu-chia

and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com- [433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, [258] which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [316] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

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438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in

271 many regions. I have only one complaint to make against Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheep-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

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but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potent[illegible] of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been so[illegible] other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
432 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
major role in the economic relations between China and Russia,
[648] and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

47 The Communist government has paid special attention to developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order *175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 288 The most important industrial development in Shensi under the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded *668 the following factories in Shensi:

*175 1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty [386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

[395] 3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

[339] 4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

4

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Kalmyk

278 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning
437 of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

824 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for
386 medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of
262 another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as
000 my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our
133 day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

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487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a
133 slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march
[491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This
[36] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen
388 (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class
[361] district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

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*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
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474 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi, of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

N In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[471] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000
[433] worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry

*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry

• 392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

The Communist government has paid special attention to
47 developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order
*175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 The most important industrial development in Shensi under
288 the Communist regime is its textile industry. According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded
*668 the following factories in Shensi:
*175

1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty
[386] different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

[256] 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing
[395] Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in
[339] April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
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499 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e] 3660[d]	

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chiese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
491 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
491 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1
185 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[397] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should
[648] be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
[439] Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

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175 a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the
121 phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."
648 The most important of the multiple influences is believed to
132 be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the
114 climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile
182 enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilisation, p. 568).

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(233) A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of
(262) the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim),
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lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of
175 the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like
121 the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of
648 mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.
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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads: or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grasslands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the
574 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert"
411 opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently espoused His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

264 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty
351 wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because

S 668 433 [288] [315] Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [111]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings. [291]

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

/The Chinese/

N *563 164 364 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way through the streets. The cash or buckets which dangle from the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

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S N [415] [312]

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N *563 164 [165] [844] Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sanitary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the midwives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and child.

S 563 164 [165] [844]

S N [165] Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N 759 *563 The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem. Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook). In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

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E. Efforts of the Government

S N 744 The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

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S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

N *563 614 [421] as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N *563 648 [651] Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N *563 792 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 554 556 [579] Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S 563 121 175

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most S N [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] [426] [476] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 971 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] [794] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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563
631 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
S
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N
*563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
621 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
[592] or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall ('939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N
*563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
592 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK (UNIT: 1,000 HEAD)(CHINA HAND BOOK-1937-1945, TABLE 22. p.442)

	PROVINCES	OXEN	HORSES	MULES	DONKEYS	GOATS	SHEEP	HOGS	CHICKENS	DUCKS	GEESE	WATER BUFFALO	TOTAL
1942	NINGHSIA	14	8	4	31	106	186	34	175	6	2	...	566
	CHINGHAI	35	32	24	44	224	367	79	250	3	3	1	1,062
	KANSU	583	96	94	536	1,378	2,459	760	2,431	165	43	11	8,556
	SHENSI	839	84	113	256	...	277	751	2,558	158	16	2	5,054
	TOTAL												15,238
1943	NINGHSIA	14	4	3	34	93	159	30	187	8	2	...	534
	CHINGHAI	36	26	28	50	155	274	55	192	5	1	...	822
	KANSU	626	115	112	565	1,495	2,594	663	2,545	145	34	5	8,899
	SHENSI	887	89	112	239	340	245	740	2,688	150	15	7	5,512
	TOTAL												15,767
1944	NINGHSIA	28	8	5	57	140	234	41	176	9	3	...	701
	CHINGHAI	43	36	26	42	170	211	51	139	9	2	2	731
	KANSU	623	138	105	594	1,522	2,768	614	2,470	116	28	2	8,980
	SHENSI	808	83	114	254	313	203	669	...	120	13	6	2,583
	TOTAL												12,995

[P.645-A]

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422

SN
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
35 caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
● 423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
178 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China,
668 showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

K S 563 181

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 771 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. *563 221 796 792 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety [443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also [584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. *563 221 579 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. [792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables [488] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. *563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But *563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 62 [622] [623] [632] [792] [622] There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. [423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 621 241 [787] [292] Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. [787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, [776] [782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. [625] [486] [651] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
*563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 177 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [778] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries [423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

• 423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[192] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
177 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a [556] person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Ch'inghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 181 183 829 [674] About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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641 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are
668 many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the
771 spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized,
829 however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C
641 The Communists believe that by turning the young people
668 against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when
771 the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expedi-
N 641 ency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lama-
* 668 ism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Mos-
771 lems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army
795 marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

N
641 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist
642 Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his
*668 "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this
C 641 point.
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E. Practices

N Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as
* 668 examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First
● 423 Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the
578 "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls
803 of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

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C 668 642 421 other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate." Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks' C [651] [461] payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C 668 423 422 Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread. The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S [668] [421] [651] The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported: "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

S 668 423 N *668 423 The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the winter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017 hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'uh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S 668 423 Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955: "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S [578] A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 • 423 474 S 668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

(1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 472 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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241 The following chart indicates the area of the four separate pro-
311 vinces, the amount of cultivated land, the number of farm house-
131 holds, and the average number of acres per farm. (Cressey,
423 p. 105).

Province	Area in Acres	Cultivated Land	Farm Households	Acres per Farm
Kansu	96,741,133	4,310,000 acres	793,000	5.4
Ninghsia	57,653,372	304,000 acres	54,000	5.6
Shensi	46,432,319	7,514,000 acres	1,385,000	5.4
Chinghai	164,874,016	1,284,000 acres	237,000	5.4
Total	365,700,840	13,412,000	2,469,000	

Of the total area of these four provinces, roughly thirteen per cent is under cultivation (1946 figures). A survey of the National Agricultural Research Bureau findings of 1943 indicates that additional land that could be brought under cultivation is, except for Ninghsia, extremely limited. (China Handbook 1937-1943, p. 547.)

241 The extent of cultivation on the hills of this area depends upon
311 the elevation, steepness, and the dryness of the climate. High
133 elevations have a greater precipitation, more favorable for farm-
132 ing. The drier, steeper hills have sparse, wild vegetation growth only; used for sheep grazing. Although one is impressed with the degree to which such hilly land in this dry climate is cultivated, it is probable that it has extended beyond the most profitable use of the land. In fact, according to one agricultural economist, it might be more economical if more of this land were devoted to grazing; if better varieties of grasses and improved breeds of sheep were introduced, the income derived from pastoral utilization might be greater. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China. p. 153.)

Terracing is prevalent and is practiced on eighteen per cent
241 of all cultivated land. Much of the hill land is also cultivated in
133 a modified form of contour farming. The slopes of the fields are
134 so steep and the fields so wide that although there is some attempt at contour farming, it is not well carried out and the erosion is very severe; in fact, erosion is so serious that production is meager and some of the land has been abandoned.

241 The principal crops grown are wheat, cotton, rice in the irrigated areas of Wu-wei and Ninghsia, millet, and Irish potatoes. Cotton production is particularly extensive in Kansu and Shensi. The following figures are from the China Handbook (1937-1943) and they show the acreage and production for 1937-1942.

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 654 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began 175 to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a 423 land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 [175] There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

236 (T.H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
433

Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
137 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 476 433 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through cooperativization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining these into agricultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 311 185 *668 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 185 *668 288 439 [248] Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

N.W. China AFN
Kalmyk

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasetä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his entire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651] gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and [792] gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lambskins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

[423] ●

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The 000
land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations.

In the course of the next few years a convenient 797
dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and[1] school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children.

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of 425
land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; 789
the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce

[1] [to the Mission at Kanchow -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

425 his arrival, and also his intention of sitting on this piece
789 of land to 'bask in the sun.' A few minutes later a strange figure could be seen walking down the street, one half of the face blacked while the other was white, and with party-coloured garments covering his limbs—the whole representing one of the greatly dreaded deities acting as Judge in the Buddhist Courts of Hell.

Naturally all the neighbours flocked to see the fun.

'What do you want?' asked Dr. Kao.

'Just to sit and bask in the court,' was the answer.

'But the courtyard is mine.'

'So it is. I sold it to my loss, but what did you give me for the air and the sun? I did not sell those, they are still mine.' A bystander here whispered to Kao, 'You *must* give him money, and get rid of him. You bought the land too cheap, and he will certainly bring ill-luck. It is a Kanchow custom; but give him money and he will depart without bringing a curse on you.'

The answer to this was a front door thrown wide open, and a cordial invitation to the sun-basker to enter, for, not only were sun and air at his disposal, but the element of water also, with which the doctor was immediately prepared to wash his face!

Needless to say, the Presiding Genius of the Courts of Hell beat a hasty retreat, and never troubled the dauntless Christians again.

CHAPTER VIII

A CHINESE COMMUNITY

000 It is quite evident that a man of this calibre could not fail to attract kindred spirits. To see one whose qualifications placed him high in the ranks of citizenship,

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
[554] subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N
The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time

S N
from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,

S N
the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite

S N
a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
771 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both

S N
feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
[792] in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[794] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition of giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

Part of the complicated debt-system in which the whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting.

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, throughout the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our

000 even met by a sergeant with soldiers (Plate XLII). This time the city of Dankar put at my disposal the amban gung kwan, that is, the hotel of the governor of Northeast Tibet, and scarcely had I arrived there when the ting and the sie tai called on me and apologized profusely, also in the name of the amban for the attack on me and straightway blamed the hsiē dia who had most carelessly sent a very inferior employee of theirs along with me, who, they said, knew nothing at all about how to deal with Tibetans. /205/ I was assured that the hsiē dia would quickly adjust the matter and return everything I had lost. I heard various answers to my question as to who the robbers could have been. It seemed that there was still uncertainty on that point.

On January 22 I was again back in Hsining fu. For the journey from Dankar to Hsining fu I was given an escort consisting of ten armed horsemen. Meanwhile, in Hsining fu where my large baggage was stored, the instruments from Europe had arrived which were to replace those that had been stolen at Hu peh. They were now more than welcome, for in the Koko Nor attack I had lost a few more of the reserve instruments. Through the kind intervention of the consul general of Shanghai the new supplies had, after many delays, been sent to this remote corner of the earth where at that time no one knew anything about mail. I was less fortunate in Hsining fu with my cook Liu. A day after my return, after he had heard me say that I would again travel into Tibet, he disappeared in the night without a word and also without asking for his back pay and the travel money still due him. Later Father van Dyk told me that he appeared in Lanchow fu as though he were still being chased by robbers and there told, still completely horrified, of the dreadful cold at Lake Koko Nor. The poor fellow was completely beside himself as a result of the night of terror and the Tibetans at his throat.

527 On January 25 the Chinese New Year began, and this, as is well-known, is the only Chinese holiday on which all businesses
● 426 are closed. Thus, everyone had to get his entire supplies for a
454 week on the preceding days. But I had difficulty in getting assistance from my Hsining men and even in catching a glimpse of them. Like the rest of the inhabitants of the city, they, too, were busy all day cashing in old debts and paying their own. By far the greatest number of Chinese do not own a penny of savings, to say nothing of capital, and so almost everyone in the course of the year runs out of cash at some point and is obliged to borrow.

N.W. China AF B

However, it is an ancient custom that debts must be paid the last day of the year. Now, any half-way decent object owned by a Chinese family must serve to plug up the old gaps on these last days of the year. Thus, many heads of families came to me also, and offered me for sale all kinds of curios and things, in fact, some of them brought their creditors and the creditors of their creditors along and hardly had I bought a thing when they began subtracting among themselves. For days the pawn shops of the city were crowded with customers until midnight. Lucky the man who has plenty of cash on New Year's Day in China! 527 426 454

On New Year's eve the city was surprisingly quiet. The city is too poor for the noisy demonstrations that take place annually in Shanghai and other coastal cities. Large firecrackers went off rather seldom. Toward morning one heard a few more petards, because on New Year's eve all ghosts are on the loose. Only the pawn shops were continually busy. Far into the night one could see Chinese loitering about outside them, many a one defended himself with his fists against an all-too obstinate creditor who was on the point of forcing him on that bitter-cold winter's night /206/ "to sell the shirt on his back." 527 426

Many of the pawnshop customers, after they had paid their debts or collected the necessary cash, immediately wanted to redeem their gala clothes for the forthcoming holidays, even at that late hour.

In the inn which I occupied there lived a large Chinese family diagonally across from me, who made such a racket all during the night of New Year's eve that I did not sleep a wink. Half a dozen creditors had gradually assembled there, all of whom demanded to be paid. The man quietly explained to each one in turn that he was unable to pay at the moment but that he would do so within the next few months. None of the creditors was satisfied with this. After the first eloquent remonstrances, each one of them let his glance travel over useful objects in the dwelling and then suddenly demanded this or that object as a deposit or substitute. But it was not easy for any of them to obtain anything. For hours the parties wrangled over things until the head of the house finally gave in. Early the next morning the entire apartment was cleaned out, even their blankets were gone and the private bailiffs had even torn the wife's jacket off her body. The spectacle was pitiful. But when day dawned, when no more creditors could be expected, when all were congratulating one another with "gung schi!" "gung schi!", 426

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form of a kowtow. 527 777 On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 782 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

583 and without a word he took me by the arm and led me along behind the farmer, to a house a few doors away. There the farmer threw the silver he had got for the mules on a table and roughly seized a middle-aged woman who protested in vain and who had evidently been sitting in front of the door, quite unsuspecting. He quickly lifted the woman onto his horse and hurried off with her toward the nearest city gate. Twilight had already descended. He escaped just before the gates were barred. The Chinese who witnessed the drama laughed aloud while the woman covered her face with her hands and sobbed loudly and bitterly. My guide explained to me, laughingly: "For your two mules the man has got himself this faded woman, a widow." It is not considered respectable to marry widows, and so no wedding is celebrated, nor guests invited. The new husband pays a certain price to the family of the deceased or to whomever the woman belongs, and departs with her from her old home, if possible in the dark and without causing much stir. If the widow is self-respecting and well brought up, she leaves her old home with tears streaming, even though she may be heartily glad to get away from it.

426 682 Around the same time there occurred another incident which is typical of the sense of justice of the Hsining people. The secretary of a yamen owed a certain bank five tael and left this small debt unpaid in spite of repeated admonishment. The owner of the bank thereupon sent one of his employees who demanded payment. But since the man either could not or would not pay, there was a lively altercation and the debtor suddenly took a knife and cut off a finger of his left hand, threw it to the young man and said "There's your money!" I was told that the blood balanced the debt. However, both parties were now so aroused that the quarrel continued and the employee was thoroughly thrashed by the secretary and members of his family. In his distress the employee kicked the secretary in such a way that the latter collapsed unconscious and died two days later. The wife of the secretary then went to the hsien and accused the bank employee of the murder of her husband. The hsien had the young man seized and would probably have beheaded him if his family had not demanded payment of 2,000 tael by the bank for the loss of their son. Finally the hsien (the father-mother-mandarin) decided that the bank should pay the secretary's widow 600 taels and thus redeem the young employee. Inasmuch as the "bank" had to pay the hsien for court expenses besides, the owner of the bank was on the point of bankruptcy when I left Hsining fu - all for 5 taels.

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 654 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a 423 land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
429 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi -						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 429 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 429 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

429 There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of [175] paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

420 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T. H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	681	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (karis system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T.H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
• 43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

S
439 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year
435 amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
175

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
II. The Communist Period
*668 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be
43 described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
A. Changes in Volume and Kind
[178] As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.
N The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
*668 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve trans-
496 portation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou—Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which
N links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in De-
*668 cember 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

*668 474 443 656 43 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of *668 443 656 43 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

[655] 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail *[195] [655] [474] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
• 43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

*668 467,000 yüan in 1954, showing an increase in purchasing power
43 of 40.8 per cent. In the second sub-district of Hsien-yang,
*175 Shensi, the per capita outlay was 410,000 in 1953, and 620,000 yuan in 1954, showing an increase of 51 per cent. In Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the purchasing power of the people is said to have increased 13 per cent in 1954 as compared with 1953, and the total value of state purchases of local products went up 3.7 times in 1954 as compared with 1950. And in the national minority regions, the total sales of state trade in 1954 increased 4.7 times as compared with 1951, and the total purchase in 1954 increased 5.1 times as compared with the same period.

On the other hand, the Communists have admitted certain failures. For instance, on March 15, 1955, the Sian Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive to improve the work of unified grain marketing, in which it was pointed out that waste and extravagance have been prevalent, and it was demanded that the party and the New Democratic Youth League branches in the various places should supervise and ensure the check-up.

*668 Another failure is revealed in the report on trade control in
*175 Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu. From June, 1954, to January,
474 1955, the supply and purchase cooperatives in that area under-
43 took to buy all the native products at an official price and prohibited the farmers from entering free trade. But the farmers refused to cooperate, and they reduced production and lowered quality. As a result, the Communists had to reverse themselves and announce that it was still too early to eliminate free trade entirely in the rural areas.

*668 As to trade in the national minority regions, the shortcom-
*563 ings as admitted by the Communists are as follows: One is that
43 the state trading agencies were interested only in wholesale and
[665] refused to purchase products in small quantities. Another shortcoming is that they sometimes unduly eliminate private merchants and thus a shortage in commercial outlets results. Still another shortcoming is that the Communist cadres had failed to pay attention to the specific needs of the national minorities. For instance, some of them were so careless as to send swimming suits to mountainous areas or electric typewriters to areas in which people do not even know how to write (cf. Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79).

*668 The main difficulty of the Communist control of trade in the
43 Northwest seems to be the lack of cadres. For instance, the so-
*175 called socialization of wholesale trade in the coastal cities such as Shanghai and Tientsin was more or less completed in 1953, but they did not start it in Sian until 1955. Similarly, the control of rural trade in Kansu, as revealed in the report on Lo-men-

*668 chen, did not show any results until 1954. Even so, they could
• 43 control only some thirty per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-
*175 chen as late as 1956. Besides, the number of cadres engaged in trade of the national minority regions is far from adequate. According to their own report, there were only some four thousand persons assigned to trade in minority districts, which include not only the Northwest, but also Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Yunnan. All this explains why the Communist control of trade in the Northwest is much slower than that in other parts of the country, and this tendency is probably to remain the same in the near future. It is to be anticipated, though, that the rate of development will rise sharply as soon as the major emphasis on the Northwest, expected to find expression in the second Five-Year Plan, is being brought to bear upon the situation.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
[431] Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
585 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
[583] lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
[583] family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

*563 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
585 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
593 young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the
585 poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get
[184] married and form a family will suffice.

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders.
[586] Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however,
586 with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

S N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
563 money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
463 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
779 serve this taboo is not known.
784

3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the sayings that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[576]
[196]

S N b. Concept of charity

563 Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
183
779
431

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 935 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N (798)

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 181 577 a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 576 431 [822] b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

[574] When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. [554] The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 881 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [615] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to
783 prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
• 431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

794 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves
735 and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds
779 for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an outstanding example for such a merging of state and church functions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation, the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A department of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However, since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

779 Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Benevolence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good), zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed). Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen. Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying a good word are considered also as charitable.

779 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory.
431 Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory
794 charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

735 Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or, "Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

779 charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be
431 given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more
735 highly than those who publicize their gifts.
794

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9;60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food; the value of

779 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dâna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small art it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India.
436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li
133 respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the
[36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 712 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: 443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, 436 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies, often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners. This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the
674 order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400
432 families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner, a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tibetans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ör fu, the ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hung down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

N 315 S [315] new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the YÜ-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of YÜ-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at YÜ-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near YÜ-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. S 315 [648] [433] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the
[133] source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

[648] In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structures will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to
433 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955. its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

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315 now enable Yü-men to produce eighteen percent more heavy
[433] lubricating oil and fifteen percent more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955).

Numerous new oil-bearing structures and seepages have recently been discovered around Wu-chung, Ku-yüan, Hua-ting and some other districts in Eastern Kansu province. A recent report stated that preparations are now being made to drill a deep test well on the biggest structure which extends over 120 square kilometers around Wu-chung. (See Table II.) [1]

S
315 Oil Development in Sinkiang:
[135] To the west of Kansu lies Sinkiang, a province rich in minerals, particularly oil. Recent prospecting reveals that Sinkiang has excellent oil possibilities.

There are two basins, the Dzungarian in the north and the Tarim in the south. Seepages have been found in both and the prospects of finding petroleum are good. The Dzungarian Basin is enclosed between the Tien-shan Range on the south and the Altai mountains in the north. Seepages are reported at Ching-shih-hsia near Chuguchak (Tarbagatai or Ta-cheng) (46.45 by 83.40), near Kuldja (Ili or Ining) 43.48 by 81.17), at a place southwest of Sui-lai (44.21 by 86.19) and at Urumchi (Tihua) (43.48 by 87.36). The Tu-shan-tzu field is about five miles southeast of Wu-su, (location approximately 44.15 by 85.0). In the district of Wu-su there are also oil seepages at Ssu-su-mu, Chiang-chun-kou, An-chih-hai-ho, and Ta-shih-tan.

The Tarim Basin lies south of the Tien shan and north of the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh mountains in southern Sinkiang. It is occupied by the great Takla Makan Desert, one of the most barren spots on earth. A small, undeveloped oil field is said to exist at Hei-tzu-erh-po near Kashgar (39.27 by 75.59), and there are oil seepages at Su-ta-che, Shui-mo-kou, Tun-ho, Ssu-cha-kou, Wensu Aksu (41.06 by 79.58), at Shang Wu-pu in Sha-che, Yarkand, Hsiao-kuai in Sha-wan and at Kucha
S (41.40 by 83.04). From the geological formation, which con-
[133] sists of a thick series of Tertiary strata containing marine Eocene beds in the western part of the basin and which underlie the basin, it is thought that the oil possibilities are good. Much work will have to be done to map the structures.

Drilling has been started at Hung-tung-shan in Kucha, at Hsi-ho in Tarbagatai (T-cheng), Tu-shan-tzu south of Wu-su, Urumchi, Turfan, and Kashgar (Shu-leh). Petroleum is obtained to the west of Urumchi, where the oil is scooped from the surface of water with buckets. The petroleum is of black color. Petroleum can also be found from Shih-ho to Manas in the Urkashar Mountains, and also between the caravan stations of Kurtu Anchihai-ho in the district of Wu-su. The richest

1. [See p. 128--Analyst]

N 135 and Liu-pa followed by Lileh-yang, Tsu-nan, Chenan and Hsihsiang, N 316 where primitive mining has been carried on by native methods. The total annual production is less than 2,000 tons.

• [433] In Kansu, iron ore is mined in the districts of Liang-tang, N Hui-hsien, Cheng-hsien, Hsi-ku, Yung-tang, Tien-shui, and [433] Wen-hsien. The total output is about 25,000 tons, while the total reserve of Kansu is said to amount to 12,600,000 metric tons.

Iron ore deposits have been reported in Chinghai, but no further data are available.

S 135 In Sinkiang, iron deposits are distributed both in the northern and southern parts of the province. The largest vein is the ore which occurs at Ali in Kucha with a reserve of nearly three million metric tons and a content of thirty percent. It is specularite ore. There is another specularite ore deposit in the hills west of Urumchi. It has a reserve of 750,000 metric tons with a content of twenty-five to forty percent. Other iron ore deposits are found at Pai-cheng, Chang-chi, Fu-yllan, and Ta-cheng. However, the vein of Khara Balgasun mountain S 316 near Turfan is historically the best known to the Chinese. The iron mines at Kizil near Yarkand are also of high quality. Extensive iron beds are also reported at Yengi Hissar and in the Ili valley. At present, iron ore is mined mainly in Kashgar. Before World War II, there were some four or five smelting furnaces in operation with a yearly production of 150 tons or iron. S 327 Now, according to 1955 reports, in Urumchi a steel factory is [398] producing agricultural implements, etc. There is a factory [392] for repairing automobiles, and one for producing machine tools. They are modest, but this does not mean that other factories, about which the press is silent, do not exist.

N S 135 With regard to the distribution of iron ore in Sinkiang and the northwest as a whole, the following two tables may be found useful. (See Tables V and VI.)

b. Ferro alloys:

Tungsten, molybdenum, and nickel have been reported in the province of Sinkiang, and manganese in Kansu. With regard to their distribution and reserves very little information is available. Tungsten is produced at Chi-ka-tai, Ho-ssu-tai and Chu-li-kun, north of Wen-chuan-hsien in Sinkiang. A reserve of 8,600 metric tons is estimated for the three deposits; mechanized mining with Soviet equipment has started. Molybdenum is produced at Na-lu-kou and Pa-tu-lu-kou in Ching-ho-hsien. A total reserve of 2,000 metric tons for the former and 7,000 tons for the latter are estimated. The ore is reported to have a content of sixty-five percent WO_3. Manganese ore is found at Hsi-wan of Kan-ku Hsien and Shan-lan-men-shih of Yung-teng-hsien in Kansu. The former has a reserve of 200,000 metric tons with a content of 41.47 percent MnO_2 and the latter [See p. 131--Analyst]

TABLE I. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Shensi Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Yung-ping, 57 km. NW of Yen-ch'ang	1914-16	667	small	36.57 x 109.57
Yen-ch'ang 158.3 meters west of city's West Gate	1907-36	83-923	1-6 bbls/day	36.30 x 110.08
Fu-shih (Yenan) 4 km. NE of Fu-shih	1914-16	1,000	only show	35.31 x 108.86
Chung-pu 25 km. WSW of Huang-ling (Chung-pu)	1914-16	833 - 1,182	only show	35.12 x 109.03
Tung-kuan 22 km. NW of Tung-kuan	1914-16	933	no data	29.17 x 106.35

TABLE II. Distribution of Petroleum Wells in Kansu Province.

Location	Year Drilled	Depth, meters	Past Production	Lat. & Long.
Lao-chun-miao, Chiu-ch'uan county, 70 km. W of Chiu-ch'uan city	1943		776,076 bbls in 1942	39.46 x 97.47
Tun-huang 20 km. NW of Tun-huang city	1943	100-475		40.19 x 94.32
Shih-you-ho SW of Yü-men	1937	492 ft. to 656 ft.	20 bbls/day 35 bbls/day	39.46 x 97.33
	1944	1,400 ft.	10,000 bbls/day	
	1944	1,313 ft.		
Yü-men, near city	1944		4,000,000 gal in 1946 from the Yü-men Field	40.15 x 97.13

N S 316 135 453 635 S 316 135 329

TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, II, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S.Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AII

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

S 316 135 327
S N 316 135 327 433 635

TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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TABLE X. Distribution of Salt and its Production in Ningsia, Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in 1942 and 1943 (Production in metric tons) Source: Stephens, Harre E.: N. W. salt, American Embassy, Lanchow, Kansu, China, Jan. 29, 1945)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 Production	Total	1943 Prod.	Total
Ninghsia	Tsa-han-chih (Lake)	38.20x104.42	39,040		30,244	
	Ho-twen-chih "	39.24x104.40	9,400		12,381	
	Ya-pu-lai "		10,500		5,600	
	Chi-lan-tai "	39.40x105.43	16,200		2,089	
	Hui-on-pu (Earth)	37.28x106.41	175		750	
	Tung-hu-chih (Lake)	37.40x104.55	700		460	
	Ba-in-chih (Earth)(?)	38.18x104.15	35		254	
	Hung-yen-chih "	38.02x104.58	155		16	
				77,105		51,978
Kansu	Hsi-feng-chen(Lake)	35.45x107.28	2,700		5,004	
	Tsao-shan-chen "	35.20x107.59	1,500		2,712	
	Kao-tai (earth)	39.21x99.58	2,800		2,055	
	Chang-hsien "	34.38x104.40	1,400		1,076	
	Su-mu-shan "	38.30x103.20	500		815	
	Tang-chia-hai "(?)		330		453	
	Kan-yen-chih "		200		417	
	Yen-kuan "	34.18x105.19	420		393	
	Pai-tun-tzu "	37.30x104.05	750		367	
	Hsiao-hung-kou "	36.43x105.26	160		351	
	Ma-lien-ch'uan "	41.10 x94.47	425		347	
	Ma-chia-T'sun	36.18x103.30	430		233	
	Lin-hsia	35.34x103.14	135		215	
	Hsia-ho (Lake)	35.12x102.30	20		174	
	La-pai (Earth)		290		112	

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
NorthChina	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
LowerYangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP (Maize, barley, oats, etc. excluded)	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 lb)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
KANSU	WHEAT	8,055	8,359	8,434	8,330	8,247	10,331	9,424	8,953	8,411	9,077
	COTTON (lint)	123	141	167	202		37	41	51	57	
	RICE (not glutinous)	50	66	72	69		127	152	141	157	
	MILLET (excluding proso millet)	2,326	2,126	1,967	1,947		3,667	2,949	,510	2,817	
	SWEET POTATOES	116	182	184	184		1,399	1,273	1,236	1,214	
NINGHSIA	WHEAT	337	360	379	396	409	394	558	514	522	594
	COTTON		7	8	8			1	1		
	RICE	79	83	91	95		104	108	77	102	
	MILLET	220	198	227	226		341	329	341	359	

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following page 642

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION

PROVINCE	CROP	ACREAGE IN 1,000 MOU (1 ACRE = 6.6 MOU)					PRODUCTION IN 1,000 PICULS (1 PICUL = 2 BUSHELS OR 133 1/3 LB)				
		1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
CHINGHAI	WHEAT	2,444	2,356	2,319	2,427	2,409	3,501	4,096	3,030	3,641	3,797
	MILLET	260	273	215	231		254	447	205	285	
SHENSI	WHEAT	14,853	15,827	16,642	17,034	18,060	28,134	23,908	22,057	16,876	23,373
	COTTON	3,895	3,187	3,671	3,590		997	862	670	945	
	RICE	1,090	1,026	887	789		3,236	3,212	1,965	1,960	
	MILLET	3,363	2,975	2,698	2,678		3,879	4,163	3,226	3,658	
	POTATOES	353	342	336	337		3,759	3,132	2,818	2,530	

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following page 642 (a)

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T.H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	5	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally [136] called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought [731] years 1928-1931.

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J.L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-
cultural

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 175 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local Farm Survey (a)				Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-		-

427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T.H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

236 (T. H. Shen, p. 326.) The following is in 1,000 metric tons:
• 433

Province	Sheep Wool	Camel Hair	Cashmere
Kansu	3,611	180	30
Ninghsia	1,846	299	92
Chinghai	4,840	60	-
Sinkiang	12,853	22	10
Total	23,150	561	132

241 In Chinghai and elsewhere in the region fertilizer is scarce and the thick sod on the uncultivated hilltops is burnt in piles to help meet the fertilizer requirements of the fields below. The
311 following is a description of the principle livestock raising area
233 in Kansu and Chinghai. "The pasture land in Kansu and in the agricultural part of Chinghai is mostly the hill land far away from the cultivated fields and villages. It is not owned by farmers in-
[423] dividually or collectively. It is public land. The right to graze these pastures is determined by the natural location of the villages in relation to these hills rather than by law. The nearest villages have more chance to use it. Sometimes one finds several villages grazing their sheep on the same hills without trouble. But if too many villages use the same pasture a definite agreement is made between the villages to limit certain villages to particular pastures. Such occasions rarely occur because the increase in sheep is naturally in accordance with the amount of pasture available. It is only in time of severe drought that the pastures are overstocked.

311 "The pasture of nomadic Chinghai (formerly a part of Tibet) is
423 also public land but different tribes and clans have the exclusive
233 right to use only such land as has been allotted to them by the government or by tradition. Within the boundaries of a certain tribe the pasture is open to all its member families, but no family owns any particular lot. There is no fencing or walls.

311 "The condition of these pastures is determined by annual rain-
233 fall. More rain and snow assure better grass. No human effort, such as seeding, manuring, irrigation or drainage is ever applied." (Buck, Land Utilization p. 176.)

4. Forestry

313 The following chart indicates the percentage of forest land for the region.

Province	Percentage of land in Forest
Kansu	6.0
Ninghsia	4.0
Shensi	16.0
Chinghai	2.0

If we leave out Shensi as a section of the Northwest, as George B. Cressy does, the Northwest is reported to have only one twentieth as much standing timber as the Northeast region (Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning), or 197,429,814 cubic meters, which is located

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
137 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
● 433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest
[423] rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying HsU, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

13 241 311 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation. The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 433 489 [438] The absence of transport and communications has encouraged greater subsistence farming and less production for markets. The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profitable return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 311 [435] [433] We have seen from our data that while the above problems are quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or population pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 311 433 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 433 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the necessity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera- 476 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining 433 these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be 311 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, 185 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of *668 irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and 185 planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is *668 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the 288 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang 439 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this [248] way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from [177] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[918] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
[476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
474 cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of 5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reserva-tions. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
654 tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite con-tributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate [474] greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 ● 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 185 • 433 [241] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be [313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing *668 the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of 185 all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer [474] co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also [241] to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

ooo So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to
669 have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
578 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
• 433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now,
248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
• 433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
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*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

*668 241 231 433 to the soil by planting grass, resodding, etc., and encouraging the production of livestock. The reason for Chinese Communist policy could be that wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops (these are the only three types of crops ever mentioned in Chinese Communist statistics) have priority over everything else as these crops are urgently needed in other parts of China as well as to sustain population increase and industrial construction in the Northwest.

*668 241 433 It is difficult to forecast prospective agricultural development in the Northwest. The Communists have demonstrated that they are intensely interested in developing the region and they have provided capital, when available, and vast amounts of labor to reclaim land, construct irrigation systems, and build water reservoirs. However, one gets the impression from reviewing past achievements and future goals that the Communists are depending largely on organisational changes in agriculture to bring them the desired output increases. When new targets are established, they are to be realized not by state financial or technical assistance, but through greater exertion on the part of the peasantry, more closely organized planning, better utilization of resources, and through cooperative endeavor and labor emulation.

At this stage of development, the State has few resources that it can divert to the Northwest to aid in the development of agriculture. It is forced therefore to rely solely on the production relationships already existent there and reorganise these relationships when able, to make for increased productivity. We have already cited the difficulties the Communists have encountered in their attempts to reorganise agriculture. And it has been strongly suggested that as planning becomes more intricate, and as more technicians and planners are required, the problems will multiply. One link in the entire chain of planning has only to break and large sections of the economy would be disrupted. When output increases are as vital and necessary as they are now, and the demand for greater food supplies increases, the burden on agriculture will become heavier.

It is questionable whether any increases in food production, i.e., wheat, rice, maize, barley, millet, will be of an amount sufficient to be exported to China Proper. Instead, output increases will be required to feed the expanding population of the Northwest; the recent efforts to expand the production of cotton and oil seed bearing crops by bringing additional land under cultivation for the planting of these commercial crops, may, over a period of time, yield quantities sufficient to supply the textile processing mills the Communists are planning to construct. There is a possibility also that livestock increases and the by-products from livestock, i.e., wool, meat, etc., will be of sufficient supply to be exported to other parts of China. However, consider.

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able time will have to elapse before there can be the proper processing and handling of such by-products.

During the next five to eight years, at least, it is questionable whether the Northwest, from an agricultural standpoint, can contribute significantly to the industrialization program being enacted on the Chinese Mainland. The big problem will be whether the Northwest can contribute agricultural surpluses toward its own future economic development, and the answer depends on the success of cooperativization of agriculture and the maintenance of a constant outflow of food and agricultural raw materials. So far, we are only able to point out the trends in agricultural management and the stress on production of certain commercial crops and food staples. The problems the Communists have encountered and will continue to meet have also been mentioned. But it is still too early to venture an opinion as to the success of Chinese Communist policy in developing the broad base of agriculture in the Northwest.

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INDUSTRY

A The Pre-Communist Period

*175 47 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 288 474 The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving [471] Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the [471] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC [433] $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 [471] ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yü-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

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*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
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[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

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[471] In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[433] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000 worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

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[288] In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

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*175 2. The cotton industry
288 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

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392 3. The machine tool industry
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[392] There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com- [433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, [258] which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [316] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

*668 *175 315 316 There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides, [491] mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

S 392 493 tractor repair works were under construction in 1955.

Five int will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. Each pl mpleted, they will be able to repair as many as 475 When co and combine harvesters each year in addition to tractors other farm tools and spare parts. making

S 327 398 399 256 288 399 239 439 e are scattered reports on other industrial developments ing, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the i Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August our Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng e Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen products processing plants, which process skins, furs stines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet But detailed information on these projects is not avail-

Ther in Sinki (2) the C Urumch First F Airplan animal and inte Union. able.

N S 121 178 463 licrafts.

5. Hand The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of mode rn industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 re ort, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S 463 (1) C otton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practic ally everywhere in the area. However, the more import-[286] ant pro ducing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, H o-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shen si is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 [433] pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S [323] [433] (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amount s to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing distric ts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-ko i-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S 463 289 (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and T en-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main variet es are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is p roduced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output [433] is abo ut 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

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668 one of the most important industrial areas in China for three
433 reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown
S great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent
668 out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports
433 of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Com-
(35) munist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second,
the geographical location of this area is such that it would be
the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic
N point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it
S would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting
(170) technical aid from Russia.

S Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Com-
668 munists have paid special attention to the future development of
433 this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists
took over, there was very little industrial production. But in
1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to
New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts,
which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percent-
ages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production
accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts
accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of
1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be in-
creased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of
1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will
account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and
handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned
total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yenmen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
[473] was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
[648] service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*[195] chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 The influential role which the development of transportation
489 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate
• 433 for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
178 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
*668 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
489 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness
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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
48 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
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• 433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.)

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*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

#668 policy is enforced, further economic exploitation and construction
185 may be carried out, and more rapid and deliberate development of
• 433 communications may be forthcoming in this remote northwest area.

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

S N 485 795 114 798

S N 795 554 485 114

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tau, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tau on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [429] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or population pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for
[435] their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers
[433] of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of
433 resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na- [496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of [487] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning-Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou-Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei-Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia-Shih-ta'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu-Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo-Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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N 439 than that of Kansú. The details are shown in the following table:
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Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 D. Chinghai
635 Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and
N 487 Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still an-
N 439 other to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S E. Sinkiang
439 Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with
S Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with
439 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade
487 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and
491 Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner
S Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933,
439 the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to
491 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up [352] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [276] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 [186] While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 441 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man'-which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

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181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351) which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
(342) house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
(621) the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614) bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
(532) stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
(172) figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
(511) upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small art it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India. 436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li 133 respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the [36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

miserable specimens as to be refused out of hand by the Deacon-in-Charge, without even referring the matter to us. Some owners, however, being very persistent, it soon became necessary for us personally to put in an appearance, to view the lame, blind, aged, bony and sore-backed creatures which presently paraded the compound court in a long, melancholy procession. Some of the worst specimens, however, wore splendid harness and finely-wrought saddles, borrowed for the occasion; but we were not to be taken in by such childish deceptions! Having ourselves already had some experience both in selling as well as in buying, we remained quite unimpressed by the flashily-groomed beast which clattered down the road, urged to a gallop by the owner, who declared himself in despair at having to part with the 'finest mule that Shensi has yet produced,' but which, stripped of its trappings, generally stood revealed as antique and emaciated, and with flanks heaving with exhaustion consequent on such an unusual effort. Nevertheless, one by one, we steadily added to our teams, until nine mules were comfortably champing side by side in the stable. Two large strong carts were next bought and then carefully overhauled in view of the heavy strain ahead. Our own small Peking cart which had already done valiant service was destined to carry us and our bedding, for though this conveyance made no provision for a possible lie-down at night, we yet chose it on account of the easier movement it afforded than the rolling and lurching of the larger vehicles, each of which, covered with matting and lined with felts, and with wheels studded with protruding iron nails, could carry a load of two thousand pounds.

Naturally enough, such preparations needed a considerable supply of ready money, which from the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF-3~~

436 beginning of our life in the North-West had depended on the selling of our cheques to Chinese merchants, who, on their side, seeing that highway robbery was frequent, were glad to hand us over large sums in cash. As was always the case, just when we were needing money a traveller arrived, so that we had no difficulty in securing the amount required. The Chinese business manager of the compound also saw to it that we gained a small percentage on the transaction, while he made himself responsible to see that we were not cheated by the introduction of inferior coins, as is too often done, in the following manner. The Mexican dollar bears on it the effigy of Yüan Shih Kai, the first President of the Chinese Republic, but who died in the fourth year of his Presidency; the coins having been carried on to a further date, are inscribed as of the seventh, eighth, and even ninth year of the Presidency of the said Yüan Shih Kai. The unfortunate populace, however, painfully experienced in being made the loser by every manipulation of the money-market, and realising the likelihood of being duped once again (for how could a dead man issue a currency?) steadily refused to accept any coins dated after his death, so that at every transaction each dollar must now be scrutinised, while everyone dated beyond the third year of Yüan Shih Kai bears a depreciated value.

000 Our time for preparation was brief. A few boxes always stood in readiness to receive our personal possessions, it being necessary to pack everything up whenever we left Suchow for more than a few days, our room being poorly protected against robbers, and our movements always uncertain owing to the perpetual political ferment of the country. Wearing, as we always did, the Chinese dress, we needed only to take our complete summer wardrobe of black sateen trousers, blue cotton

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

coats, black silk skirt, and stitched-cotton hat as protection from the sun. But a good supply of shoes was needed in view of long tramps, and these were made for us in velvet, with a thick stitched-cotton sole, by good sewing-women, such as are easy to find in any town of China. Provision for cold nights, or change in the seasons, was made by the purchase of a soft, warm lamb's-skin coat. Moreover, among our most valued possessions were the few utensils for kitchen use, two saucepans, a cake-tin, and a couple of jugs, also a tiny cooking-stove consisting of a small oven on four legs which had been brought to Kansu forty years previously by Miss Annie Taylor, the Tibetan pioneer missionary. These last were carefully crated, and then committed to the care of the Chinese Missionaries who were to remain behind in charge of Suchow. One of the carts was also entirely devoted to the transport of the Gospels, tracts and posters needed for the expedition, all of which had reached us by book-post from the coast, and on the sale of which we depended largely for our daily needs. The conveyance of money presents much practical difficulty to every traveller in China, paper money being only of value in the city where it is issued. The Mexican dollar already mentioned is in itself both bulky and weighty, and so is the copper coin which is advantageous on account of the different rates of silver to copper exchange existing between one city and another; a string of carts therefore will sometimes carry coppers as sole cargo, cash being so heavy that a man can barely carry on his shoulders the value of one pound sterling. Our cartload of books consequently represented a sum of money sufficient to buy the daily food of the party for a considerable time.

As the day of departure drew near, our grinding-stone was busy from dawn till dark converting the wheat

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho. 651 185 [346]

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [436] [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a 574 524 574

122 direct road, two wagon-loads full of expedition equipment to Hsining fu which was to be my next goal. I myself took along on my circuitous bypaths the entire travel money for the coming years, which consisted of two small mule packs of silver bars. No one had been willing to give me the necessary guarantee for direct transport, and so I could not risk sending this silver along with the other equipment. I could perhaps have bought a few checks on companies in Hsining fu, but in that case I would surely have been given much "poorer" silver. It is not easy to find good, pure silver 436 in the smaller cities, especially in the western part of the kingdom. 453 Besides, one incurs the danger of being very badly cheated. Thus, I had cashed a great many of my checks in Lanchow fu. These /157/ inland checks are small Chinese documents resembling letters, without any European marks on them. They are payable to a certain weight of silver with a certain number of ounces and are made out to any name you wish. Mine were addressed to "the banking firm at the sign of the lucky shot" in Lanchow fu and made out by 453 their agents in Shanghai to a Mr. Li whom I did not know. The German director of the Hankow branch of the German-Asiatic Bank once told me that on the basis of enquiries he had made of his comprador (1) he had discovered that this firm was operating

1. Comprador is a Spanish word and belongs in the vocabulary of pidgin-English. A comprador is a trustworthy Chinese of experience who is absolutely necessary to every foreign business firm. He vouches for the solvency of the Chinese firms and controls the accuracy of the Chinese checks and currency, for there are only a few foreigners who possess the necessary knowledge for testing these. He acts as proxy for the Chinese public, in fact in many business firms he is the Chinese partner.

illegally. However, the director of an English bank in Tientsin told me, after making similar enquiries, that this was by far the largest bank in the place and one that annually handles millions. Now, I do not wish to accuse those European gentlemen who gave me such contradictory information - both pieces of information were after all based on reports of their compradors - but I simply want to show the difficulty involved in carrying on business with the interior. Even the Chinese of the coast know very little

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
574 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
233 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
• 437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. *563 221 796 792 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety [443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also [584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. *563 221 579 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. [792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables [488] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. *563 423 622 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. [792] In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But *563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

313 mostly in Kansu. In 1945, large-scale afforestation projects were
[185] undertaken by the provincial government, especially in Ninghsia. The exceptional fact about these projects was that the young seedlings were properly cared for and did not die as so frequently occurred in other afforestation schemes. The Ninghsia projects were, of course, taken over by the Chinese Communists.

In the loess plateau region, between the great wall and the
311 mountains, and between the Tibetan Highlands on the West and
139 the Yellow plain to the East, there is almost no forest cover.
313 Forests are found only in the more inaccessible areas or in temple groves. Their disappearance is related partly to needs for lumber but also to the introduction of new crops, such as corn and Irish potatoes, which will grow on the upper slopes. Many hills
[241] were burned over in order to clear the land for a cultivation
[134] which could last for only a few years until erosion swept away the last trace of soil.

5. The border region

*175 In 1937, the Chinese Communists occupied the northern portion
*668 of Shensi as well as the fringe areas of Chinghai, Kansu, and
433 Ninghsia. This region was regarded as the Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai border region and was developed by the Communists
[437] into a relatively self-sufficient area. When they were able, they exchanged surpluses such as oil, salt, herbs, skin and wool for articles which they could not as yet produce in sufficient quantity.

*175 The Communists carried out land reform as soon as they were
*668 fully entrenched in power. Large land holdings were cut up and
[423] parcelled out to peasants with little or no land. Rents and interest rates were reduced, efforts were made to extend cultivation, increase the number of draft animals, and develop labor cooperation beyond family circles.

*175 In a study by Yung-ying Hsü, issued by the Institute of Pacific
*668 Relations, there is a summary of the economy and military status
433 of this region. There are numerous statistics to indicate increases in production of certain crops. These are the only available statistics we have for the region during this period, and the figures seem to indicate that despite the excessive expenditures for the maintenance of an army and guerilla forces as well as a governing body and administration, progress was made in raising the level of agriculture. However, by 1943, trade figures for the region indicate an imbalance of payments and a drain of currency from the region indicating that increasing military commitments were absorbing the created wealth of the region.

13 D. Conclusion

We may sum up the obstacles to agricultural development as
241 follows: geographic and climatic problems are the most serious.
311 The amount of cultivable land that can be reclaimed and used for

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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cultivating a small patch of ground. The women 563
wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent.

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay 249
between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry 437
poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to 000
Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription.

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. 493
Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient 322
supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter

491 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times
661 by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous num-
494 ber of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in a rather short time. In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting
437 point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

inside the sleeves of one's jacket. That is what the long Chinese 437 ●
sleeves are for. Whether I wanted to buy a pony or butter or a supply of flour, the dealer always held out his greasy and torn sleeve to me and I had to put my narrow and short European sleeve into his. Inside you pull and squeeze each other's fingers, and the people standing around cannot see what is going on. /174/ At first not a word is spoken. If it is a question of a larger article, a pony or some such thing, not only the two parties involved in the deal but soon all their companions and acquaintances, even the gapers in the streets slip their arms into each others' sleeves. Nothing delights a Chinese more than a little deal of this kind. They curse each other or laugh at each other. "Too much!" - "You're crazy!" - "I don't intend to give my nag away!" - thus the voices shout in confusion; but no one says anything about price. The one who wishes to name a price always so and so many fingers into the sleeves of the other. The index finger alone means one, index and middle finger together mean two, and so on up to five. Six is thumb and little finger; seven, thumb, index finger and middle finger. In order to express eight one spreads out one's thumb and index finger. Nine is the index finger bent in the shape of a hook. After ten the procedure is repeated, for everyone knows enough about business to know whether a thing is worth one, ten, or a hundred taels. Sixteen, for instance, is expressed by first holding out the index finger and then gathering together the thumb and little finger with it. While this procedure is going on many an importunate little deserter looks for better hunting grounds; for what inland Chinese does not have lice in the sleeves of his jacket?

My plan was now in winter, as long as it was coldest and the ice 000
was thickest, to go to the "blue lake," the "Koko Nor" (1) in order

1. The "blue lake" of Northeast Tibet is today most com- 103
monly known through the Russian travelers by its Mongolian name of Kuku nor. Kuku, or Küke, as it is written, means "blue." The Chinese call the lake Hsi hai or "west sea" or also Tsch'ing hai, meaning "blue sea." The Tibetans call it Ts'o sngon bo or, slurred, Ts'o ngombo which also means "blue lake."

to explore it very thoroughly and above all to plumb its depth. The 000
lake is already beyond the region in which it is possible in an emergency to get along with the Chinese language; it lies above

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Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

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The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

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hsiē dia the guests are charged nothing for lodging and food. According to the general custom of the country, the innkeeper makes his money only on those who have something to sell. He negotiates the wool sales of his guests, the sale or exchange of horses; he is agent and interpreter, as well as lawyer in the yamen and mediator in criminal cases between the tribe and the mandarin. However, this versatile role of an innkeeper is not a Chinese invention. Far in the interior of Tibet and far south, even in Tatsienlu and in many other Tibetan border towns I found it customary to balance the hotel bill only by a certain percentage of the turnover. In Dankar the Chinese officials have also imposed upon the hsiē dia (*) a

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(*) In Chinese hsiē dia is used both for the institution as well as for the owner and the employees.

certain responsibility and an obligation to give notice to the police, and in this way have made him at the same time a sort of representative of the Chinese yamen. For this reason one must always have a license in Dankar in order to take in Tiberans and Mongol from the interior; this costs 60-100 taels. Through the hsiē dia the officials learn who comes and goes. Tibes who have not subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese may not visit the market in Dankar. This is regarded as a great disadvantage for far and near the city is known for its cheap goods, especially food. For instance, the Ngolok dealers may never enter the city. They spend the night in some corner not far off. But with larger caravans, with goods, they cannot venture to appear in the city. They may not carry on trade. Their things would immediately be confiscated and they would be accused of some theft or robbery which some other Ngolok years ago may have committed against a Chinese or a wealthy Tibetan and which the Chinese mandarins had not had a chance to punish, as in the case of the Demang. The Chinese Kansu government does not have a single military post in all of Northeast Tibet and yet their officials control a very large part of the country, with the exception of Ngolokhsaburn which nominally belongs to Szechwan.

In the year 1894 when the well-known French traveler Dutreuil de Rhins was robbed and murdered in K'ami and the French government insisted on punishment for the criminals, the Chinese officials first had the hsiē dia in Dankar arrest all the people of that tribe who had come to trade in the city. By means of these hostages they

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574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also [437] often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 354]

last the heavy bastions with the terribly long row of battlements, 000
the city of Hsining fu, this thousand-year-old fulcrum of Chinese power on the borders of the eternally restless mountain folk of Tibet, rose up in front of me.

Just as I entered the gigantic west gate at the head of my imposing band of servants with all my mules, horses and dogs, and trotted down the narrow muddy streets of the city, other guests arrived who had come up from the distant lowlands of China, a band who had traveled faster than we and were nevertheless not tired from the long journey; in fact, at the end they were so overjoyed at the magnificent sunset that they made lengthy detours around the Chinese city. Hundreds of mighty brown Milanen had arrived who were now hovering about in haughty groups. With hoarse whistles they announced to mankind the coming of spring.

Now it was high time to begin my summer expedition. Now, up there on the cold high steppes of Tibet the longed-for green was soon to appear, which was so essential to the success of my plans, which was to help me solve my distant, important problems.

Early the next morning I began my new preparations. This was the actual start of my big journey, now I was to spend a long time in the "Ts'ao ti," the vast grassland which Tibet and its endless high steppes are generally called in Hsining. First of all I was again obliged to spend days haggling with grain and peas merchants, with millers and macaroni makers. I shopped for food supplies, barter goods, tools and implements which were supposed to last me and my companions for a whole year.

The thing that made it so endlessly difficult to equip the expedi- 443
tion was the pettiness of Chinese trade. In Hsining fu there are no 437
wholesale merchants. It is a city of officials, not a commercial city. No one could take care of a large order. I had to buy up everything in small quantities and deal with a great number of purveyors, and, of course, not one of them realized that time is money. Not one of them displayed any of the generous, speculative mentality which we are accustomed to find in the coastal Chinese. They are clumsy peasant folk, these people in the rich granary of the Hsining Valley. With slow peasant craftiness, with thousands of mean artifices and tricks they sought to squeeze out as much as possible for themselves. /259/ Sometimes there was bran, sometimes even sand in the flour I ordered or in the rice. The Kansu people are used to controls even in the most insignificant details; they hoped that

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443 with me this would not be the case. A Chinese never trusts another
437 Chinese. The workmen as well as the merchants of Hsining were completely unreliable.

My patience was put to the supreme test when it came to the matter of payment. At times the silver scales seemed to them inadequate and inaccurate, sometimes the silver and copper coins were regarded as too poor. Thus, a felt-maker once demanded that I accompany him into three different shops in order to have the silver pieces which were owing him re-weighed and examined - in all three shops, of course, the scales were slightly at variance - and when I had given him the heaviest weight, the man was still not convinced that he had not been cheated, for he suddenly wanted the entire payment in copper money, in other words, in individual cash. He was satisfied only when he had discovered, after lengthy calculation, that my copper cash pieces which I had obtained from the nearest bank were eight per thousand less than the current exchange and demanded that I make good the difference.

When I decided to pay only through my Chinese bank, because of these time-consuming trade nuances, the fault-finders increased because the silver which the bank paid on my drafts was not as good and pure as my own silver which I had brought from Lanchow and from the coast and deposited in the bank. But if I paid in cash some parties felt that my silver was too white and shiny, others, that it was too yellow or too gray. How often in those days I trotted to the silversmith in order to have a piece of silver worth about 3 or 4 marks pounded up in order to demonstrate again and again that my silver was really genuine and not mixed with lead.

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122 My courtyard in which my mules and horses were staked resembled a small military encampment in those days. Saddlers and tent makers, shoemakers, carpenters and smiths had set up their workshops round about me. My entire caravan was so equipped that it did not differ in the least from an ordinary Tibetan caravan. I would not permit any of it to look the least bit European. Mistrustful Tibetan eyes should not notice anything at all strange about it.

I had decided, chiefly because of the expense, to use yak oxen as pack animals for the food supplies (Plate LIX). They carry less, go very slowly and cannot travel long hours at a time, but their initial cost is less and they need much less care and attention than horses. And did I not, after all, want to travel slowly in order to become well acquainted with the country? Yaks are the original beasts of burden of Tibet. They are accustomed to its poor, short

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the air and even without sun. The Koko Nor rhubarb is bought up by the merchants from the neighboring province of Shensi. For this reason it gets into the hands of Europeans mostly under the name of Shensi- (pronounced: Shansi-) rhubarb. There is also Szechwan, Shanghai-, and Canton-rhubarb, all drug-names which have been introduced by European export firms on the coast or on the Russian border.

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/342/ Dankar and Hsining (1) as well as Suchow are the places

1. At the time of my journey Hsining exported 1,000 and 1,200 picul.

where the merchants from the Chinese lowland, the "Shensi- and Canton guests," take the medicinal plant from the rhubarb-gatherers of the Koko Nor in November and December. These merchants are almost exclusively Kansu Mohammedans who set out in groups of 30 to 40, under the leadership of a master. In this way 400 to 500 men journey annually from the valleys of the Hsining prefecture in order to hunt for rhubarb. These leaders are small, independent employers who take the risk of a journey into dangerous Tibet. They pay their men two to three taels a month with free maintenance. In order to be assured in advance of a certain price for their goods and not be subject to too much subsequent speculation, the merchants of the lowland usually bear the cost of the equipment and the rather expensive licenses which may be bought from the amban yamen and also from the individual native chieftains. All my Mohammedan servants had already been in the Ts'ao ti digging for rhubarb. The chief harvest time is September when the small fruit is ripe. Then the rhizomes are less juicy. Of ten pounds of freshly-dug roots, about seven pounds remain after they are dried. In July, on the other hand, they are so spongy that only three pounds remain out of ten pounds, and the efficacious ingredients are not present in such large amounts as in the fall. In the winter and as long as the plant has no leaves, the rhizome is considered "empty."

The gatherers dig out the rhubarb very carelessly. They pull all the larger stalks, those that are more than five or six years old, out of the earth and drag them along with roots attached to the camp sites. There the ring-shaped stricture where the plant part goes over into the rhizome is cut; then the rhizomes are peeled, all the hair

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roots are cut off with a knife, as well as all the old leaves, everything that is, as the people say, "black." Thereupon the clean, wet pieces of root a few inches long are pierced with an awl and strung up on strings to dry in the air. Careful drying is of the utmost importance for the quality and the price. The bulbs may never be exposed to the sun. Thus, they are carefully hung up between the branches of cedar trees (there are no houses or roofs in this region) and where there are gaps in the branches these are filled in with twigs. If the sun dries the roots they are said to become black and the Chinese buyers will not take them or only at much lower prices. The buyers at the Dankar market cut them open in order to see whether they have any black spots. /343/ (1) Only pieces that are yellowish-

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1. See in this connection: A Tschirch: "Studien über den Rhabarber und seine Stammpflanze" in Festschrift für Professor Ritter, Vienna 1904, and the report based on my personal observation: A. Tschirch, Arch. d. Pharm., 1907, p. 680 and Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chemie und Pharm. 1910, no. 12, "Zwei interessante Pflanzen des Berner Botan. Gartens," with a good illustration of Rheum tanguticum which was grown from the seed I gathered at the border of Tsaidam (near Dulan gomba). - Further, see C.C. Hosseus, Osterr. botan. Zeitschr. 1911, no. 12, "Die Stammpflanze des offiziellen Rhabarbers"; Arch. d. Pharm. 1911. p. 419, "Rheum palm., die Stammpflanze," Südd. Apoth.-Ztg. p. 239.

The pieces, which are peeled on the spot, are examined in Dankar and cleaned again, then packed in boxes which are sealed with oiled paper. All the exporters of medicinal rhubarb in Shanghai say that it is extremely hygroscopic. It must be very carefully handled in the moist coastal climate. There it is often re-dried in order to keep it from getting moldy, but then it often loses its quality. The so-called Muscovite rhubarb which comes over the Russian-Mongolian border and via Kiakhta travels through a drier climate and is therefore justifiably considered better, aside from the fact that it derives from North Tibet, that is, from the Rheum palmatum which contains 2.8 to 4 percent oxymethylanthrachinonen.

red all the way through bring a good price in Dankar. Twelve to

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278 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning
437 of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

424 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for
386 medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of
262 another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 10 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as
000 my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a grass widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our
133 day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
782 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
● 437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[i.e., of Barun. - Analyst]

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remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to 437
him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, 563
like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling. I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a 563
great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the 221
Horkurma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly having to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of 563
their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided 562
contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strictly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult because the women had too little vision and would often not permit the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my 563
visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool 236
was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels 20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

N 663 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain M 614 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a 622 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 177 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 178 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
[435] tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers
[433] of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the
433 hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na- [496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of [489] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

1: Washington S-4 (no.date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

635 and importance, political, commercial, and military, it entirely overshadows all the other towns in Shensi and Kansu, and is altogether the metropolis of the great agricultural North West, the land of loess and wheat.

Hsian is a backward place as regards the improvements of modern civilization, no macadamized roads, no electric light, no foreign carriages. Amongst other conveniences waterworks are required, as the water from most of the wells in the city is very brackish; good water could easily be brought from one of the many clear streams which emerge from the Ch'inling Shan a few miles to the south. There should be a boom in big contracts in Hsian when the railway gets there, or before.

172 438 We were too busy during our short stay to do much sight-seeing, but felt constrained to visit the Pei Lin ("forest of stone tablets") where the Nestorian Tablet now is. A large rubbing industry has sprung up (or perhaps it has existed for centuries or thousands of years) and almost every other stone has its attendant Chinese busy taking an impression. One would imagine that the more important inscriptions would get seriously damaged by this incessant rubbing, and indeed such appears to be the case. Outside is a shop where these myriad rubbings are busily sold, and their export from Shensi is quite a trade. The Chinese are, of course, great amateurs of ancient curios, inscriptions, and other historical records, and Hsian and Central Shensi is for them a happy hunting ground in this respect. It seems curious that this region has not received more attention from European scholars interested in these matters, since it contains the beginnings of everything as far as Chinese history is concerned, and the latter is hard to beat for an early start; sand-buried cities in the heart of the deserts of Central Asia are ransacked at great difficulty and expense by scholars of various nations, but it does not appear that much if any excavating has been done on the Hsian plain, which contained the capital of ancient dynasties which flourished three to four thousand years ago. The Nestorian Tablet, which dates back eleven to twelve hundred years, records the propagation of Christianity in China by Nestorian missionaries from Western Asia in those days. It is curious that this faith should have so completely disappeared, while Maho-

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'nan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old.

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea,

[p.29]

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
241 fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
135 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
563 friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
133 munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the
133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of
[248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the
[438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial 361
governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa 487
respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. 133
The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan com- [563]
munity with two mosques. In the woods one will often see 249
heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a 438
vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much 262
esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance 487
of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, 133
occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit. 797

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city. 133 487 [241] [361] [491] [438] [651]

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361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 243 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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487 through which the path descends to reach the township of
133 Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

243 The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which
464 was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands,
438 harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

487 From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction
133 across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under
[248] cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of
438 the largest and most important cities in the province, though this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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500 hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

487 From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many 491 prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past 438 the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

[234] Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, 133 which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

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438 the North West after Hsian Fu, and all the trade there is in the province converges upon it. Traders from Tientsin, Szechuan, Turkestan, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and even India may be met with in its streets.

132 Kansu is considered by the Chinese of other provinces to be a dreadfully bitter place (*k'u ti hen*), nothing but wild Mahomedans and no rice to speak of; but for a European it is in many ways the pick of the eighteen provinces. Lanchou lies a little under 5000 feet above sea-level, which in that latitude means a white man's climate, no mosquitoes, and the wearing of European clothing all the year round.

262 As regards food, excellent wheat flour, mutton, and milk are always obtainable, the two latter often scarce in other parts of China, and game is extraordinarily abundant in many regions. I have only one complaint to make against

271 Kansu and that is the brackish water in certain parts. At Lanchou itself there are springs of sweet water at Wuch'uan Shan, a collection of temples on the hills immediately to the south of the city, and the Yellow River water is also good after it has been allowed to stand and clear itself.

[233] Lanchou being situated near some of the best sheeps-wool producing regions of Asia, and the climate being

288 essentially a northern one, common sense indicates it as a suitable centre for a cloth-making industry. This was recognized as long ago as the days of the great General Tso, who established a cloth factory, which was subsequently modernised during the comparatively progressive and constructive era preceding the Revolution by the introduction of modern foreign machinery and several Belgian instructors. But the Revolution put an end to progress in this enterprise as in so many others, and the foreigners have now all departed, and the factory does not flourish. All the same, on my departure from Lanchou, the Governor insisted on my taking away, as mementoes of progress in Kansu, two locally manufactured blankets, made, I think, of camels' hair, which were really first-class articles, and hard to beat anywhere for warmth and good wearing utility. There ought to be a large market for native-made cloth amongst the Kokonor Tibetans and beyond, but the trade seems never to have been developed successfully. There are also other

381 so-called factories, for the manufacture of matches, soap, etc.,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381
Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277
industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and 438
that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635
period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the [669]
province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a 665
number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [276] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [361] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports [438] consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at
•438 the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of 792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of [372] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Reincarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from [443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, 792 bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese 438 trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

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796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[36] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and
438 Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng
133 Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

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135 in Kansu province; in addition, bornite, presumed to be very rare in the eastern hemishpere, has been discovered in southern Shensi province, leading to the belief that China may have rich additional bornite deposits. (China Monthly Review, May, 1953, p. 75.) In addition, several new copper deposits were found at Pai-cheng, Urumchi, Kashgar and Ili in Sinkiang province.

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135 Rich iron ore deposits have been discovered with a proved reserve of as much as 47,537,000 metric tons in Sinkiang, sixt among all the provinces. (1945 Mining Report, China Geological Survey). In addition, some new iron ore deposits were found in Urumchi, Kucha, Pai-cheng, Wuka, Ta-cheng, and I-ning. Together with the discovery of some high quality tungsten ore in Wen-chuan of Sinkiang and some manganese ore in Kan-ku and Yung-teng of Kansu, Sinkiang possesses practically all the basic elements for the development of iron and steel industries.

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135 There are many inland lakes and dried up lake basins all over the northwest provinces, among them the Tsaidam of Chinghai and Tarim of Sinkiang, two of the largest inland drained basins in the world. They provide the basic sodium salts. The almost inexhaustible and widespread salt and soda deposits in Kansu and particularly in parts of Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang together with the nearby rich oil fields provide a sound basis for the development of chemical industries.

While the mineral resources of northwest China are still being surveyed and their actual extent is not known, the outlook appears promising, particularly in the province of Sinkiang.

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[131] All in all, northwest China with an area of 412,159 square
[161] miles and a population of 35,359,525, endowed with mineral wealth, has great prospects of becoming one of China's major industrial centers in the future.

B. The Principal Minerals

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1. Fuel and Power

a. Petroleum and Oil Shale

315 Until recently, oil refineries in China have been crude, most of them having been manufactured locally; the only ones

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of any size are located at Shih-you-ho in Kansu and at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. New refinery equipment was ordered from

[439] America at the end of the war, which provided a modern installation capable of handling greatly increased production and making oil products of a much better grade from the Shih-you-ho plants at the Yü-men field in northwest Kansu. Some similar modern refinery equipment has been bought from the Soviet bloc, reportedly Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, for the

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found (578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[439] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

241 *668 A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem trom the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 474 476 433 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricultural and livestock production of the Northwest through cooperativization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining these into agricultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be 241 311 185 *668 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and 311 185 *668 288 439 [248] planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1) farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [289] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [289] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried
491 out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na-
[496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had
[487] reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 The commercial centers of this province are as follows:
635 (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

• 439 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war
435 times, the total value of imports and exports of this province,
*175 including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

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439 435 #175	B. Imports		38,081,234
	textiles	22,209,861	
	sundries	6,968,868	
	medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
	apparels	1,704,563	
	machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
	chinaware	1,087,299	
	edibles	781,044	
	kerosene and oil	701,134	
	cosmetics	572,751	
	paper	527,235	
	vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
	Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

439 487 491 Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

366 635 The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

439 431 435 #175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

439 435 *175

B. Imports:

		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

366 487 The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

487 484

Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

487 The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

439 435 *175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

N 439 435 *175 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 635 N 487 N 439 D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S 439 E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with S 439 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade 487 491 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner S Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, 439 the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to 491 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various cooperatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

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COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

101 The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

*175 487 Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes [439] between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tun-hwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of Yü-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
496 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the North-
499 west region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
471 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
477 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1
185 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[397] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should
[648] be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied
[439] by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sungp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey 648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

631 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

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439 Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan
471 middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

651 The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible
439 by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

231 We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was
492 acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a 133
sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty 487
hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying [554]
on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. [491]
Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland 487
journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) [243]
grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we [136]
were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols 439
of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb- [281]
skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable [286]
value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu- 635
hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
• 439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade.
236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu [439] by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from [236] Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the 487 Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu 133 into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese [797] population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering 502 the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

502 were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.

439 In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice 222 root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this 133 is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

361 Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River 243 in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic. 439 Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

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lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are improbable if only because, according to the census of 1910, all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and according to the census of 1831 the whole district had only 468,000 souls. 361

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields irrigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practically only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see 249 439

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat, etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color. There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones. In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up as unprofitable more than 20 years ago. 288

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several 501

T 619

together in Hsining and on the Koko Nor as the Mah'ah'kami, i.e., "those living beyond the Machü." Their chief /178/ is the Ts'ien hu of Lu tsang. But this chief, too, cannot by any means hold together and rule all the tribes round about him.

Everywhere in Tibet there is a tendency toward splitting-up and separating into tribes and sub-tribes, an eternal feud, much worse than in the Middle Ages in Germany. But that is the very reason why the Chinese still have some power there; the Chinese like to see quarrels going on. They fill the pockets of officials and make ruling easy. Even in the year 62 B.C. in a report from the throne by General Tschao, the policy to split up the Tibetans is developed and recommended.

C 579

/178/ Doba on the upper Hwang Ho, repayment of stolen goods. Twenty-five people from Lhasa, merchants and representatives of the most sacred monasteries of Central Tibet, had been attacked and robbed near the source waters of the Hwang Ho. The Tibetan Lhasa government placed the loss at 26,700 taels (according to the then rate of exchange in silver: 70,000 marks) and the Lhasa-Tibetans sued the Chinese government. (1) The Ngolok tribe had perpetrated the

C 439

1. From this we may draw some conclusions as to the extent of the trade between Central Tibet and Dankar. Each year two such caravans go from Lhasa to Dankar and vice versa The value of these would altogether amount to no more than 100,000 taels. The value of the animals should in part be included, for they are also commercial goods. The yaks used as pack animals are largely sold in Dankar by the people from Lhasa as well as from K'am and mules bought in their place, which they in turn sell at a profit when they get home. The trade of Dankar with the surrounding nomad country is almost three times as large, so that we arrive at a total of little more than 1,300,000 marks for Dankar's imports and exports. (Rockhill in The Land of the Lamas. p. 111 estimates the total value of the trade in 1889 at 150,000 taels.)

C 579

attack and that is why the ting of Dankar was obliged to travel to Denang.

was accepted! Two Tibetans ride up to us and lead us to an attractive meadow not far from the tent of the humbo. There we pitch camp. Our animals are led to pasture by the Tibetan shepherds. But the warriors disperse as quickly as they have come. Most of them disappeared without having honored us with a glance. After all, a much greater danger for the tent village might arise the next minute from some other source! Poor Tibetans, they can never enjoy their property! T 609

I now learned that we had come to the Sidia tribe. It is 130 families strong and at that time owned an extensive territory on the left side of the Hwang Ho, between the Tschürnong River and the Hwang Ho (Plate LXV). The humbo of the tribe was called Tschubttscha and did not have a mandarin button from the Chinese government, which means that his emperor did not recognize him. Nevertheless, the tribe is not as independent and wild as the Ngolok tribes. The Sidia Tibetans are still permitted to travel to the Dankar market and buy flour and other supplies. T 619 101

The suzerainty of the Chinese over North Tibet is - as I have said before - entirely a food question; it is maintained only because of certain needs of the nomads. The latter have an abundance of nourishment as such, but apart from a few vegetables, onions and the potentilla roots, their diet consists purely of animal produce. They have meat and milk and milk products, such as butter, sour milk and dried pot cheese. But from ancient times the Tibetan nomads have been so used to cereals that they find it very unpleasant and unwholesome if they are obliged to get along without these. Most of them are modest and behave themselves and do not rob government caravans because if they did they would not be permitted to buy grain in the Chinese market. The Sung pan dealers come every year to the Sidia and the Ngolok, as well as to the Schüch'tsong, etc., but they do not bring much flour because selling flour does not pay. The great risks which the merchants assume on the way do not by any means balance the profits, and besides, too many pack animals are required. Furthermore, the home of these merchants, Sung pan ting, is in the Szechwan province and thus they do not come from a region abounding in grain. In Szechwan there is more rice, corn and tea cultivated. The Sung pan merchants bring mostly tea. The tsamba and the wheat which the nomads prize is more cheaply and consistently furnished by the Kansu markets, especially the city of Dankar with the extraordinarily fertile Hsining Valley beyond it. That is also why the resident minister of Northeast Tibet can have his seat in Hsining, that is, T 439 262 631 c 631 I 439 631

T C outside the territory ruled by him. The government in Hsining
●439 never encourages its compatriots, the Chinese merchants, to extend
631 their trade to Tibet. On the /317/ contrary, the Chinese who wish to do business in Tibet must pay the yamen large sums annually for their license and on top of it, the Chinese officials rigorously tax all goods that are brought across the border by Chinese. But the Tibetan nomads are permitted to cross the border free and without paying likin, if they belong to an irreproachable tribe. The Tibetans are treated as extraterritorial persons. But if a member of a tribe has committed an offense, the chieftain and the whole tribe are held
T responsible. If the fine imposed on the tribe is not paid, the market
[579] is not open to the tribe as a whole. It is, of course, not always easy to find out which tribes belong to a robber band, for the robbers of that region operate largely the way the highwaymen of former times in Europe did: they blacken their faces or wear a mask. All the populous Ngolok tribes on the Upper Hwang Ho have been forbidden for reasons of state to visit the market in Dankar because they have scored far too many misdeeds. For their flour supplies they travel into the valleys on the Upper Yangtze Kiang or to the Labrang gompa not far from Hsün hoa ting. The roads thither are very poor. And besides, the barley they buy there is more expensive and there is less of it than in Dankar because it goes through the hands of middlemen before it gets there. For these reasons alone the Ngolok tribe of
C 631 Horkurma (1) whose pastures are situated along the uppermost part of

1. I have visited this tribe repeatedly, the last time in the winter of 1907. In 1904 I was there with W. Filchner. Filchner mistakenly refers to it as "Rischowarma"; he mistook the name of a town for the name of a tribe. At that time the tribe was encamped at Retschüwarma, meaning Re Tschü estuary, that is, into the Hwang Ho. The tribe, of course, consists only of nomads who change their camp site every few weeks and can therefore never call themselves after one particular camp site.

the Hwang Ho has been trying for decades to come under the jurisdiction of the Hsining government. But the Hsining government does not want to accept them because the Horkurma group is justly considered one of the most notorious of the robber bands. It was Horkurma men who once assaulted General Prschewalski's caravan and whose attack the great explorer describes in a letter to the Tsarevich, dated August 8,

date and my Hsining amban passports were faked and not valid. 000
When I reached Ta tsien lu the German consul in Tsch'eng tu fu had demanded per telegraph to know where I was going but had not, of course, even remotely considered providing me with recommendations to Sung pan ting when I replied to him, also by telegraph. /Plate LXXIV faces p. 320 in the original text. / /321/ Tsch'eng ör fu ting of Sung pan ting who at each interview asked me for such recommendations, finally went so far as to send false reports and gossip about me to Tscheng tu fu and the German consul did not represent the interests of his countryman over against the Chinese, he did not examine the reports to see whether they were in accordance with the truth, he only sent them on and forthwith forbade me to make a new journey into the Ts'ao ti. Fortunately, I was already on my way and learned of what had happened only at the coast, on my way home. /Figure 14 appears on p. 321 in the original text. / /Table LXXV faces p. 321 in the original text. /

/322/

CHAPTER XVII
Conclusion

There are thousands of little roads and paths from the Labrang monastery into the Ts'ao ti, by means of thousands of threads is the mighty and rich lama residence connected with the wild hordes of the steppes. But down to China there is only one single road. This follows the winding course of the River Sang Chu on which the monastery is built. It leads past a few other monasteries and hermitages, past scattered Tibetan villages and small farms, and miserable fields wrested from the turbulent waters and the rocky slopes. Dense forests close it in and rocky peaks covered with glistening snow look proudly down on the wanderer who laboriously works his way over large stones, up and down, along passages bordering rock walls, through fords and other nuisances. C 487

At last, on the third day, the mountains are suddenly lower; at a bend in the valley just below a Tibetan village an old wall blocks the valley. At the ruins of a gate, called kwan men, there are Chinese soldiers who gruffly demand a small sum from every countryman. We ride through the kwan men and suddenly the valley opens up and becomes the wide, fertile valley plain of Ho tschou, which from here extends 40 kilometers to the northeast. (1) The next step

1. At this kwan men the shipment of Tibetan wool down C 439

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the river of Sang Chu begins, and it is transported on rafts made of tubes. Since 1900 trade in North Tibetan wool has taken on very significant aspects and the prices for raw wool have thus soared all at once in all of Kansu. The Yang hang, the agencies of foreign export firms, have thereby not become popular with the people, however; on the contrary, since all food supplies have risen concomittantly, the export firms are blamed for it, and rightly so.

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takes us into the loess country of Kansu and a white, dry hood of dust lies over the landscape. There are no more rocks to be seen. Only thick loess and beneath it red loam are the materials out of which the hills on either side of the valley are formed. There is one village after another. Soon the road is seething with people. They are hurrying to the market of Hanchow, in carts or mounted on donkeys, or mules, and covered with dust. For a little while the Tai tse Shan which my Sang River must break through on the way from Labrang sends me a farewell greeting from Tibet. A defiant warrior, a true Tibetan watchman, stiff and rigid with steep battlements, it gazes down upon China and upon the pale and barren loess. Too soon, however, it is lost to view; the loess haze lies too dense and thick over the valley. It had been only four days since it had rained and already the eye could not penetrate the fine dust for a great distance.

Two years before on my way from Di dao tschou I had become acquainted with the clay basin of the Ho tschou region where it extends from east to west. This time /323/ I traveled through it in a straight line to the chief city of the province, Lanchow fu. I had now reached the Chinese highways and the region of the hostleries in which I could get nourishing food for the animals; therefore I traveled from morning till night and in spite of my slow pack animals, the many mountains and poor roads, covered 100-140 li a day (50-70 kilometers).

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Very near the city of Ho tschou - exactly east of it - a mule track climbs up to a narrow, winding loess ridge which holds up the traveler for a day and a half and takes him through a labyrinth of deep ravines up to the banks of the Tao Ho (Plate LXII). At a depth of 20-30 meters loess covers the 300-400-meter mighty red clays and sands which in the main are deposited horizontally and in narrow ravines have been washed away by the flowing water, down to a substrata of granite. In the places where there is loess, civilization is possible. However, in the vicinity of the Tao Ho River it became

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. [441] They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
• [441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up [352] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [276] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

the ground. This pine forest belongs to the monastery and nothing is T 346
permitted to disturb its peace. Hares and marmots in great numbers 351
have set up their homes here. No one is permitted to hunt the animals T 825
for according to the lamaistic doctrine of the cycle of all living things, 775
it is possible that souls after death may be forced to assume the shape of an animal, that is, be reborn as animals because they did not withstand the temptations of this world. Thus, during their lifetime as human beings they did not achieve perfection and holiness, but retrogressed, and it is believed that these poor souls usually do not travel far but are reborn close at hand. An old priest showed me a marmot which had made its burrow near his house, and assured me in all seriousness: "This was my brother before he died. He was a priest of this monastery and had to assume this animal's body as a punishment for his omissions."

I visited the Dunkur monastery on April 20, that is, on the twenty- T 543
eighth of the third Tibetan moon month, because on this and the following day a fair took place there and the people of the entire vicinity gathered there. People drank, prayed and amused themselves royally. Chinese from Dankar and Hsining had also come, but only as shopkeepers and owners of eating houses. The Chinese is attracted to the C [441] ●
Tibetan festivals not for religious reasons but for commercial reasons The Chinese are not like the Tibetans, blindly trusting everything that the lamas say. To be sure, the Chinaman is also a Buddhist, and T
remarkably similar to the Tibetan in his faith as well as in his way of 186
life and customs; in fact, perhaps Tibetans and Chinese - especially C
when both are farmers - feel more kinship with one another than the 186
Chinese and Mohammedans who hate and scorn one another. But as far as character is concerned there is an enormous difference between Chinese and Tibetans even at the border. The Chinese is much more skeptically and critically inclined. He is conscious of being more highly civilized. Even the simplest Chinese farmer feels that he belongs to a privileged race and is a member of a great and rich state. But this higher level of culture has brought with it many cares which the Tibetan, the Fan tse, the barbarian, does not know. The Chinese C
is like the European, proud of thousands of minor things, all of which, 181
however, only plague him. The majority of Chinese, in their greater struggle for their daily bread, have forfeited a natural simplicity and guilelessness as compared to their neighbors. The Tibetans, especially the nomads, enjoy their pleasures far more. I never saw as many jolly faces at any of the Chinese festivals /282/ as I did at the fairs in Tibet. Indeed, the very love of color of these people and their various costumes make one's heart sing.

● [i.e., around the Dunkur monastery.— Analyst]

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were in Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dsassak of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where /348/ the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schála, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dsassak to sell me his animals.

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Because the dsassak of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

had become important gentlemen here. T [609] 342

We had a wing of one of the sprawling stone houses at our disposal. Through a covered gateway with a heavy folding door one entered a small courtyard that was surrounded on all sides by houses. The owner of the entire property lived in a four-story tower building which stood in the northwest corner. Three larger groups and several sub-lessees lived in the north and east wings, next to or above one another. On the south side there was a one-story stable with a ladder leading up from the courtyard to a flat roof; and from this flat roof, up three steps, I reached the west-wing apartment which I was able to rent for myself and my men. My kitchen was at the same time a vestibule onto which the four small rooms opened.

Scarcely had we stored away packs and saddles when an old woman with two children in her arms climbed up the steps to my rooms with a bag full of dung, lit a fire and brewed tea. She had been sent by the be hu and, like all Kamba women, was very efficient in dealing with the diamtung, the wooden pipe about 60 centimeters long and 8 centimeters in diameter, into which the hot, brown tea concoction mixed with milk, butter and salt, is poured, and in producing a tasty and extremely nourishing mixture by carefully pounding it with a pestle in this vessel which resembled an old butter churn. Close behind the old woman came two men of advanced age. They bowed from the waist and stuck out their tongues in greeting, holding a small khadar out to me. They wore the customary K'am shoes with high, soft, red tops, and were wrapped in greasy, frayed fur coats; their hair was long and tangled and their whole appearance unkempt. They were two of the local dignitaries (Plate XXII), who inquired about my journey in a warm, friendly fashion. They promised me peace and friendship for the duration of my stay. They had hardly left /140/ when I was welcomed by six Schen si Chinese, merchants who were here in connection with the musk trade. We greeted each other like countrymen, like Europeans, who were meeting in the depths of China. They spoke with utmost scorn of the wild, stupid barbarians among whom fate had led us, and were anxious to hear something of the outer world, of China, of Hsining down to the cultural city of Peking and Shanghai. They stayed about two hours and we pledged each other mutual aid in case of necessity. For their visit all six wore their little black Chinese caps with the red string button on top and had taken their long blue cotton clothes out of their chests for the occasion. And they had not come empty-handed. They had sent ahead their red visiting cards, and after the greetings and introductions each of them

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/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no re'ation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

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361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: [86] "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other 181 towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, 441 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was H ngkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 474 443 656 43 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of *668 443 656 43 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

[655] 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail *[105] [655] [474] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

2: Teichman G-5 (19 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[443] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is 361 half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from 162 a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely 563 scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of 1792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of [872] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Reincarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from [443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are 792 commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese 438 trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [443] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees 346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery 723 on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily [443] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the [237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and [567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

361 563 443 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 437 631 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

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Tu ren

yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from 361
the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically 133
in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place.

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called 361
a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of [624]
Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabit- [274]
ants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 fami- [162]
lies. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administra- [443]
tion of the hsien of Hsining.

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese 563
word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were 167
already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues.

last the heavy bastions with the terribly long row of battlements, 000
the city of Hsining fu, this thousand-year-old fulcrum of Chinese power on the borders of the eternally restless mountain folk of Tibet, rose up in front of me.

Just as I entered the gigantic west gate at the head of my imposing band of servants with all my mules, horses and dogs, and trotted down the narrow muddy streets of the city, other guests arrived who had come up from the distant lowlands of China, a band who had traveled faster than we and were nevertheless not tired from the long journey; in fact, at the end they were so overjoyed at the magnificent sunset that they made lengthy detours around the Chinese city. Hundreds of mighty brown Milanen had arrived who were now hovering about in haughty groups. With hoarse whistles they announced to mankind the coming of spring.

Now it was high time to begin my summer expedition. Now, up there on the cold high steppes of Tibet the longed-for green was soon to appear, which was so essential to the success of my plans, which was to help me solve my distant, important problems.

Early the next morning I began my new preparations. This was the actual start of my big journey, now I was to spend a long time in the "Ts'ao ti," the vast grassland which Tibet and its endless high steppes are generally called in Hsining. First of all I was again obliged to spend days haggling with grain and peas merchants, with millers and macaroni makers. I shopped for food supplies, barter goods, tools and implements which were supposed to last me and my companions for a whole year.

The thing that made it so endlessly difficult to equip the expedi- 443
tion was the pettiness of Chinese trade. In Hsining fu there are no 437
wholesale merchants. It is a city of officials, not a commercial city. No one could take care of a large order. I had to buy up everything in small quantities and deal with a great number of purveyors, and, of course, not one of them realized that time is money. Not one of them displayed any of the generous, speculative mentality which we are accustomed to find in the coastal Chinese. They are clumsy peasant folk, these people in the rich granary of the Hsining Valley. With slow peasant craftiness, with thousands of mean artifices and tricks they sought to squeeze out as much as possible for themselves. /259/ Sometimes there was bran, sometimes even sand in the flour I ordered or in the rice. The Kansu people are used to controls even in the most insignificant details; they hoped that

C
443 with me this would not be the case. A Chinese never trusts another
437 Chinese. The workmen as well as the merchants of Hsining were completely unreliable.

My patience was put to the supreme test when it came to the matter of payment. At times the silver scales seemed to them inadequate and inaccurate, sometimes the silver and copper coins were regarded as too poor. Thus, a felt-maker once demanded that I accompany him into three different shops in order to have the silver pieces which were owing him re-weighed and examined - in all three shops, of course, the scales were slightly at variance - and when I had given him the heaviest weight, the man was still not convinced that he had not been cheated, for he suddenly wanted the entire payment in copper money, in other words, in individual cash. He was satisfied only when he had discovered, after lengthy calculation, that my copper cash pieces which I had obtained from the nearest bank were eight per thousand less than the current exchange and demanded that I make good the difference.

When I decided to pay only through my Chinese bank, because of these time-consuming trade nuances, the fault-finders increased because the silver which the bank paid on my drafts was not as good and pure as my own silver which I had brought from Lanchow and from the coast and deposited in the bank. But if I paid in cash some parties felt that my silver was too white and shiny, others, that it was too yellow or too gray. How often in those days I trotted to the silversmith in order to have a piece of silver worth about 3 or 4 marks pounded up in order to demonstrate again and again that my silver was really genuine and not mixed with lead.

T
122 My courtyard in which my mules and horses were staked resembled a small military encampment in those days. Saddlers and tent makers, shoemakers, carpenters and smiths had set up their workshops round about me. My entire caravan was so equipped that it did not differ in the least from an ordinary Tibetan caravan. I would not permit any of it to look the least bit European. Mistrustful Tibetan eyes should not notice anything at all strange about it.

I had decided, chiefly because of the expense, to use yak oxen as pack animals for the food supplies (Plate LIX). They carry less, go very slowly and cannot travel long hours at a time, but their initial cost is less and they need much less care and attention than horses. And did I not, after all, want to travel slowly in order to become well acquainted with the country? Yaks are the original beasts of burden of Tibet. They are accustomed to its poor, short

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

• 452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] [177] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[518] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

S 668 241 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc., can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S 668 657 736 494 729 [464] An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is discussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particularly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in cooperativization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

N *175 *668 494 452 [476] By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households. The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing cooperatives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

N *668 241 185 *175 433 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 23 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

122 direct road, two wagon-loads full of expedition equipment to Hsining fu which was to be my next goal. I myself took along on my circuitous bypaths the entire travel money for the coming years, which consisted of two small mule packs of silver bars. No one had been willing to give me the necessary guarantee for direct transport, and so I could not risk sending this silver along with the other equipment. I could perhaps have bought a few checks on companies in Hsining fu, but in that case I would surely have been given much "poorer" silver. It is not easy to find good, pure silver 436 in the smaller cities, especially in the western part of the kingdom. 453 Besides, one incurs the danger of being very badly cheated. Thus, I had cashed a great many of my checks in Lanchow fu. These /157/ inland checks are small Chinese documents resembling letters, without any European marks on them. They are payable to a certain weight of silver with a certain number of ounces and are made out to any name you wish. Mine were addressed to "the banking firm at the sign of the lucky shot" in Lanchow fu and made out by 453 their agents in Shanghai to a Mr. Li whom I did not know. The German director of the Hankow branch of the German-Asiatic Bank once told me that on the basis of enquiries he had made of his comprador (1) he had discovered that this firm was operating

1. Comprador is a Spanish word and belongs in the vocabulary of pidgin-English. A comprador is a trustworthy Chinese of experience who is absolutely necessary to every foreign business firm. He vouches for the solvency of the Chinese firms and controls the accuracy of the Chinese checks and currency, for there are only a few foreigners who possess the necessary knowledge for testing these. He acts as proxy for the Chinese public, in fact in many business firms he is the Chinese partner.

illegally. However, the director of an English bank in Tientsin told me, after making similar enquiries, that this was by far the largest bank in the place and one that annually handles millions. Now, I do not wish to accuse those European gentlemen who gave me such contradictory information - both pieces of information were after all based on reports of their compradors - but I simply want to show the difficulty involved in carrying on business with the interior. Even the Chinese of the coast know very little

about the interior. It is almost like another world.

When I entered the branch of that bank in Lanchow fu I found the business office in one of the better houses, in the second court. I was offered a seat, tea was poured out for me, and before I handed over my draft I was presented with two pears. It was a large room. Beside the entrance stood the usual clay jug over a meter tall, filled with water in case of fire, and all around the walls stood huge trunk-like wooden boxes, far more than a meter wide. On some of them lay pillows and folded bed blankets. It was easy to see that the managing clerks slept at night on their silver supply which was kept in the chests and probably amounted to several hundred thousand taels. There were also weapons hanging on the walls. Thus, these people did not altogether trust the sums of money which the business firms of Lanchow fu regularly paid out to the city's company of thieves who were organized into a sort of guild. Six employees dressed in long silk robes were standing at a large table behind the paper windows and two of them read off endless columns of figures while the others rattled their counting boards. The Chinese is even more dependent on this instrument than is the Russian. Chinese bookkeeping is awkward and not clearly arranged. For this reason alone the simplest addition is made on the counting board.

"These drafts are made out in Lanchow taels," said the banker after he had examined them.

"No, it is tsching bu ping, the scale of the cotton merchants,"(2)

2. This scale is three and one-half percent larger than that of Lanchow.

I was obliged to reply.

"But it says Lanchow taels."

"Here it says tsching by ping." Luckily, I had prepared myself well before I entered the bank. /158/

"You can read?" the banker said. "He can read!" repeated the employees, astonished.

"I shall send you the silver tomorrow, if you like, packed in chests, so that you will not have to bother about it further. You can depend on it, for we are of course the largest firm here."

"I must have the money today."

"What is your illustrious age?"

"How long have you been in our miserable Middle Kingdom?" the banker continued. There were many more words and the banker

453 was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

527 I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the
531 small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, of souls of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

529 On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

000 even met by a sergeant with soldiers (Plate XLII). This time the city of Dankar put at my disposal the amban gung kwan, that is, the hotel of the governor of Northeast Tibet, and scarcely had I arrived there when the ting and the sie tai called on me and apologized profusely, also in the name of the amban for the attack on me and straightway blamed the hsiē dia who had most carelessly sent a very inferior employee of theirs along with me, who, they said, knew nothing at all about how to deal with Tibetans. /205/ I was assured that the hsiē dia would quickly adjust the matter and return everything I had lost. I heard various answers to my question as to who the robbers could have been. It seemed that there was still uncertainty on that point.

On January 22 I was again back in Hsining fu. For the journey from Dankar to Hsining fu I was given an escort consisting of ten armed horsemen. Meanwhile, in Hsining fu where my large baggage was stored, the instruments from Europe had arrived which were to replace those that had been stolen at Hu peh. They were now more than welcome, for in the Koko Nor attack I had lost a few more of the reserve instruments. Through the kind intervention of the consul general of Shanghai the new supplies had, after many delays, been sent to this remote corner of the earth where at that time no one knew anything about mail. I was less fortunate in Hsining fu with my cook Liu. A day after my return, after he had heard me say that I would again travel into Tibet, he disappeared in the night without a word and also without asking for his back pay and the travel money still due him. Later Father van Dyk told me that he appeared in Lanchow fu as though he were still being chased by robbers and there told, still completely horrified, of the dreadful cold at Lake Koko Nor. The poor fellow was completely beside himself as a result of the night of terror and the Tibetans at his throat.

527 On January 25 the Chinese New Year began, and this, as is
426 well-known, is the only Chinese holiday on which all businesses
454 are closed. Thus, everyone had to get his entire supplies for a week on the preceding days. But I had difficulty in getting assistance from my Hsining men and even in catching a glimpse of them. Like the rest of the inhabitants of the city, they, too, were busy all day cashing in old debts and paying their own. By far the greatest number of Chinese do not own a penny of savings, to say nothing of capital, and so almost everyone in the course of the year runs out of cash at some point and is obliged to borrow.

However, it is an ancient custom that debts must be paid the last day of the year. Now, any half-way decent object owned by a Chinese family must serve to plug up the old gaps on these last days of the year. Thus, many heads of families came to me also, and offered me for sale all kinds of curios and things, in fact, some of them brought their creditors and the creditors of their creditors along and hardly had I bought a thing when they began subtracting among themselves. For days the pawn shops of the city were crowded with customers until midnight. Lucky the man who has plenty of cash on New Year's Day in China! 527 426 454

On New Year's eve the city was surprisingly quiet. The city is too poor for the noisy demonstrations that take place annually in Shanghai and other coastal cities. Large firecrackers went off rather seldom. Toward morning one heard a few more petards, because on New Year's eve all ghosts are on the loose. Only the pawn shops were continually busy. Far into the night one could see Chinese loitering about outside them, many a one defended himself with his fists against an all-too obstinate creditor who was on the point of forcing him on that bitter-cold winter's night /206/ "to sell the shirt on his back." 527 426

Many of the pawnshop customers, after they had paid their debts or collected the necessary cash, immediately wanted to redeem their gala clothes for the forthcoming holidays, even at that late hour.

In the inn which I occupied there lived a large Chinese family diagonally across from me, who made such a racket all during the night of New Year's eve that I did not sleep a wink. Half a dozen creditors had gradually assembled there, all of whom demanded to be paid. The man quietly explained to each one in turn that he was unable to pay at the moment but that he would do so within the next few months. None of the creditors was satisfied with this. After the first eloquent remonstrances, each one of them let his glance travel over useful objects in the dwelling and then suddenly demanded this or that object as a deposit or substitute. But it was not easy for any of them to obtain anything. For hours the parties wrangled over things until the head of the house finally gave in. Early the next morning the entire apartment was cleaned out, even their blankets were gone and the private bailiffs had even torn the wife's jacket off her body. The spectacle was pitiful. But when day dawned, when no more creditors could be expected, when all were congratulating one another with "gung schi!" "gung schi!", 426

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found [578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
• 463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
184 nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.
[651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the
[361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit
[162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
177 that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
167 a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
621

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
*563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

N
121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S
101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S
563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S
178 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
563 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N
S
121 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
*563 our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N
*563 A. The Han Chinese
*175 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
• [463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
[369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

S
N
/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
563 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
291 or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
S
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guaranteés that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[576] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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S
392 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955.
493 Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

S
327 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments
398 in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant,
399 (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the
256 Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August
288 First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng
399 Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen
231 animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs
439 and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N
S 5. Handicrafts.
121 The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development
178 of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist
463 regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this
N area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a
463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced
S practically everywhere in the area. However, the more import-
[286] ant producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and
S Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output
N in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760
[433] pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest
S amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces
[323] more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000,
[433] and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this
S area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-
463 cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng
289 and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper,
N it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output
[433] is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

N S 463 289 [439] and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

N [433] (c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

S [433] (d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

N 463 322 433 (4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1) farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

N 463 433 [294] (5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

N [412] (6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

N [285] (7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

N [412] (8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

N [326] [415] (9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

S 463 286 [433] [439] (10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

N 668 433 [288] [315] 6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

S 668 433 [288] [315] While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N
464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
N
[162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected,
N it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More-
[871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively
N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.
464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S
464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

S
N
464 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has
466 however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

S
464 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi
466 Khotan "New Khotan":
697 In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen,
668 former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-
177 owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their
648 property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no
S
[316] respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

S
464 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March
466 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the
697 railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that
499 since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there.
668 The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there
177 were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

000by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
• 464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
*175 did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated. In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
[701] munist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 through which the path descends to reach the township of
133 Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

243 The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The
464 crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands,
438 harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

487 From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction
133 across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

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316 Coal Mining and Its Production:

While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a xixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of
N the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But
[655] since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these
N mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal
[466] by mule collie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

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316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome, Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More- N [811] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted * 668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and 177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of • [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [666] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

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Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mobility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

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From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi Khotan "New Khotan":

In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen, former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and landowners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there. The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

*668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yenan, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

*668 177 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime

With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[167] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced, [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

*668 cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously
172 caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated.
[166] Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities
669 While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

• [466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
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000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
*175 did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated. In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
[701] munist China, p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
• 467 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

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*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its member-
S ship. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47
[175] of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts,
[668] and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

N Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*175 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
*668 to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and
[467] artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.
S An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League
[175] in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953,
[668] there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

N Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*175 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
*668 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over
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between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

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The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

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The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

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Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

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B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

INDUSTRY

A The Pre-Communist Period

*175 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China.
• 47 Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among
288 the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen
474 factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving
[491] Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the
[491] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen
[433] factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC
[491] $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yü-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

315 interested in the Yümen Oil Field. In 1940, one well was completed, and a small refinery was also built in Yümen.

*668 B. The Communist Period

The Communist government has paid special attention to
• 47 developing the industrial potential of the Northwest, in order
*175 to remedy the unbalanced industrial development in the past. Up to the end of 1955, the major accomplishments were as follows:

*668 1. Shensi

*175 The most important industrial development in Shensi under
288 the Communist regime is its textile industry According to an August, 1953, report, three new textile mills, presumably the Northwest Number 2, 3, and 4 Plants, and one dye mill were under construction in Central Shensi. At the same time, three other textile mill were expanded. When these mills are completed, the Northwest will have an additional 136,800 spindles and over 5,000 automatic looms. The total number of spindles will then be three times and the number of looms 4.4 times those of 1949. According to an April, 1955, report, the three mills have all been completed, and a Number 5 Plant, with 100,000 spindles, was under construction. By the end of 1957, the total number of spindles in Shensi will be approximately 300,000.

A sheet and towel factory, known as Huang-ho Textile Factory, was built in Sian, first of its kind in the Northwest. It is expected to supply the people in the Northwest with over two hundred thousand bed sheets and bed covers of different colors and designs and one hundred and thirty dozens of pillow cases and face towels every year. Since it started production in March 1955, it has shipped many of its products to the areas inhabited by minority peoples in Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In addition to the textile industry, they have built or expanded
*668 the following factories in Shensi:
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1. A new paint factory in Sian is supplying more than fifty
(386) different products for the country's needs. This was completed in 1953.

(256) 2. A flour mill of unidentified capacity was also built in Sian during 1953.

3. The expanded Tien Chiang Instrument Manufacturing
(395) Factory started production January 1955. Its output trebled that of 1954. The instruments they made were for geological surveys.

4. A mechanized brick factory in Sian started production in
(339) April, 1954. It will turn out nearly one hundred million bricks annually. Up to June, 1955, it has already supplied ten million bricks to the construction of buildings in Sian.

INDUSTRY

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*175 47 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 288 474 The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving [471] Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the [471] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen [433] factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC [471] $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yü-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

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*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets per year.

N In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[471] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000
[433] worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.

S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry
*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry
392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

4. The leather Industry

282 There were eleven tanning or leather goods factories in
[433] Shensi and twelve in Kansu. Their total capacity was 180,000 pieces of hide per year, which amounted to only eighteen percent of the total production of hide in the Northwest.

Two factories were partly equipped with machinery. One was the Northwest Chemical Leather-making Factory in Sian, which had mechanical press, mechanical brush, sprayers, and its own generator. It used more than one thousand pieces of raw hide per month, and its output included shoes, belts, and other leather goods. The other was the Lanchow Leather-Making Factory, which had mechanized sander, sewing machines, pumps, and other equipment. Its products included leather and leather goods. The rest were small factories, using very simple tools.

5. The flour industry

256 There were eight modern flour mills in Shensi and two in
[433] Kansu, with a total capacity of 6,500,000 bags per year. On the basis that one bag of flour requires fifty-four catties of wheat, it was estimated that the total quantity of wheat used by the flour industry was 3,500,000 piculs per year, about 7.5 percent of the total production of wheat in the Northwest.

[433] The larger mills, such as the Hua-feng Flour Co. and Cheng-feng Flour Co. in Sian, and the Fo-hsin Flour Factory in Pao-chi, produce 3,000 to 5,000 bags per day. The rest were under one thousand.

6. Miscellaneous

388 (a) Soap-making. There were five small soap factories in
[433] Shensi and four in Kansu. The total annual output was some 35,000 cases, which satisfied only a small part of the demand for soap in the Northwest.

289 (b) Paper. Paper-manufacturing was one of the main handicrafts in the Northwest which may be found in many places, but details were not available.

339 (c) Cement. The first cement factory was established in
[491] Shensi in 1938, with a capital of CNC$200,000. It had nineteen kilns which turned out six or seven barrels a day. In 1939, another factory was built in Shensi, with a capital of CNC $2,000,000. Its capacity was around 18,000 barrels a year, but the quality of its products was very poor. Still another factory was under construction in Kansu, with a capital of 4,500,000. But up to the end of 1942, it had not yet begun production.

315 (d) Oil. Oil has been produced in north Shensi and Kansu for over a thousand years. But it was not until the early twentieth century that modern methods of extraction were used. Since then, five or six wells have been drilled in north Shensi. During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese government was very much

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
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499 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
401 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[399] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should
{648} be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
{439} Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

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The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien. 103

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China. 471

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized [132] 487 [494]

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135 just outside the South Gate of the little city of Yench'ang
316 Hsien, two marches east of Yenan, and about 1906 two wells were sunk on the spot with the assistance of Japanese engineers and Japanese machinery.

Some seven years later the Standard Oil Company of New York conceived the idea of exploiting the supposed oil deposits of North China and negotiated a co-operative agreement with the Chinese Government, which was signed in February 1914, to the following effect.

316 The Standard Oil Company was to send experts to
471 examine the supposed oil fields in Northern Shensi and Northern Chihli, the expenses of the survey being borne jointly by the Company and the Chinese Government. If the reports of these experts proved favourable, a Sino-American Company was to be formed, which should begin operations within six months of the completion of the survey. Capitalisation of the Company to be 55 per cent. Standard Oil, and 37½ per cent. Chinese Government (the latter being presented with their shares by the Company in exchange for the concession); and 7½ per cent. optional for the Chinese Government to purchase at par. Any increase in capital to be on the same terms, and the management to be Sino-American in the same proportion. The Chinese Government undertook that the exploitation of the oil fields named should be given exclusively to the Standard Oil Company, and that no concession whatsoever for oil-bearing properties in China should be given to any other foreigner until the results of the Company's operations should be apparent to the Chinese Government and the Standard Oil Company, which period should not exceed one year from the date of signing the contract. The agreement to last for sixty years, during which time the Chinese Government would not allow any other foreigners to produce oil in the districts named. In the event of the districts in question (apparently Yenan and Yench'ang in Shensi and Jehol in Chihli) proving worthless, any other districts in Shensi and Chihli to be substituted therefore. Concessions to be granted for the necessary railways and pipe-lines. The Chinese Government to arrange matters with the landowners. The acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the Standard Oil Company to be entirely dependent on the result of the examination by experts.

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The above is taken from the newspapers published at the time and may or may not be correct. The remaining facts regarding the history of the enterprise are given from conversations with local Chinese on the subject, and also may or may not accurately represent what occurred.

Anyone acquainted with the vastness of the trade in petroleum, imported from the East Indies by a British Company and from the United States by an American Company, which has come into existence of recent years in China, and the remarkable manner in which this oil penetrates to all but the most distant portions of the country in spite of transport difficulties and likin exactions, will realise what a magnificent proposition this agreement would have been for the Standard Oil Company had the enterprise succeeded; but it is also obvious that it would have been equally of enormous advantage and profit to the Chinese Government, since without foreign assistance the Chinese are at present as incapable of developing such a proposition as they are of building a railway to the moon.

An inspection of the Jehol oilfields in Northern Chihli proved them worthless, but the report of the two geologists sent to Shensi appears to have been favourable, and a careful survey was then made of the whole of the supposed oilfield. A large staff of geologists, engineers, and drillers was subsequently imported, together with quantities of bulky drilling machinery. The transport of the latter from railhead in Honan through the wilds of Northern Shensi to Yenan and Yench'ang entailed difficulties which seemed insuperable, but was nevertheless successfully accomplished by means of American energy, ability, and driving power. When we passed through Central Shensi on our way to Kansu two years previously, the transport of this machinery, which was just then being undertaken, and the adventures which befell it *en route*, seemed the sole topic of conversation and the only subject of interest in the province. We now saw portions of the same huge pieces of machinery lying apparently useless and abandoned in these wild and inaccessible regions.

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During 1915 wells were sunk near Yenan and Yench'ang, and also apparently in Ansai, Yichün and Chungpu districts in accordance with the hopes held out by the survey; but

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316 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside
471 of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people
[492] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang and to work our way thence somehow or other back to
133 Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

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the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueité, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Épo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

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439 Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan
middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to
471 the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

651 The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible
439 by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

231 We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was
492 acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

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CHAPTER XV

RAILWAY PROJECTS IN SHENSI AND KANSU

The Lung Hai Railway—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—The Kueihua-Ninghsia Railway—The Han Valley Railway—Other possible railway routes.

NOT a single rail has yet been laid in the whole of the vast region of N.W. China covered by the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, though the need of railways is keenly felt both for commercial and political reasons. In the absence of waterways, such as exist throughout Central and Southern China, means of communication are limited to carts and pack animals, methods of transport which are both slow and expensive, while the vast numbers of ponies and mules employed consume a large proportion of the grain grown in these provinces. This absence of proper means of communication cannot but prevent the commercial development of the whole region, and encourages brigandage and political instability. There is no more vitally urgent reform waiting to be carried out in China than the construction of railways to outlying parts such as Szechuan, Shensi and Kansu. It seems safe to assume that nowhere in the world are there such vast, well-populated, and comparatively wealthy areas still without railways of any kind. Four trunk-lines have been projected through Shensi and Kansu, and there are openings for others. The four projects will first be discussed, in the order in which the concessions or contracts were obtained, for needless to say they are all foreign enterprises.

(1) The Lung Hai Railway from Kansu to the coast, and its extension west to the confines of Turkestan.

In 1912 a loan agreement was arranged between the Central Government and a Belgian Syndicate (Compagnie Generale de Chemins-de-fer et Tramways) for the construction of a trunk-line from Haichou on the coast of North Kiangsu to Lanchou Fu in Kansu, a distance of more than 1000 miles, with the option of an extension to Suchou in the extreme west of the latter province. The line was to be an

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499 extension east and west of the existing Kaifeng Fu Honan
471 Fu Railway (called the Pien Lo). Lung is the classical name for Kansu province.

In 1917 the construction of this railway westwards from Honan Fu had reached, and stopped short at, the village of Kuanyint'ang, half a day's march beyond the district city of Miench'ih Hsien in Western Honan, and about three marches short of the Shensi frontier at T'ungkuan. From here the route projected is somewhat as follows. Through or across a range of mountains to Shenchou on the Yellow River and thence along the big road to T'ungkuan. This stretch presents no great engineering difficulties after the passage of the Kuanyint'ang range, presumably by a tunnel, beyond some deep cuttings in the loess, especially as T'ungkuan is approached. From the Honan-Shensi border the line will cross Shensi from east to west following the fertile valley plain of the Wei River. This section is flat and open, and much of the way the only work required will be an embankment and a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River, the railway keeping to the south of the latter. Traffic will be heavy and remunerative, and the towns touched at will include the great metropolis of the North West the city of Hsian Fu. From the Shensi-Kansu border near Fenghsiang Fu the line will probably keep as much as possible to the Wei valley up to Kungch'ang and Weiyuan, whence it will pass through the watershed between the Wei and T'ao rivers to Titao. From Titao it can either follow the T'ao River down to the Yellow River, or, more probably, it will cut through the mountains direct to Lanchou Fu. This stretch contains a great many serious engineering obstacles, and is said to entail more than forty kilometres of tunnels; nevertheless it is apparently the easiest way of ascending the three to four thousand feet from the plains of Shensi to the plateau of Kansu, and is certainly less formidable than the existing high road *via* P'ingliang, which crosses the Liupan Shan at a height of some 9000 feet, and passes for the rest of the way to Lanchou through most difficult loess country. The chief difficulties met with on the proposed railway route are the Wei River gorges between Paochi in Shensi and Ch'inchou in Kansu, and the passage

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of the two watersheds, between Weiyuan and Titao, and between Titao and Lanchou.

As regards the extension west towards Turkestan, the chief engineering obstacle would seem to be the passage of the Wushao Ling, 10,000 feet; the P'ingfan valley provides an easy approach from the east, but the descent to the west is steep; there may, however, be a way round further north and east, as this range, the backbone of the Nan Shan, falls away in that direction. Further west the line can follow the main road, keeping if necessary a little further north on the edge of the desert, all the way to the frontiers of Turkestan without encountering any serious obstacle.

Generally speaking the Lung Hai Railway is a most attractive proposition through Shensi, but its construction through Kansu is likely to be very costly, and the traffic returns poor. However, sooner or later railway communication is bound to be established between China and Central Asia, connecting up with the Russian line from the Caspian Sea, and such a railway is more than likely to be an extension of the Lung Hai. For, whatsoever this great trunk line may be called, and by whomsoever it may be built, it is pretty well bound to follow the old fortified highway through Western Kansu along the narrow fertile belt between the deserts of Mongolia and Tibet, by which all trade and traffic between China and Western countries was once conducted. With the construction of this important trans-Asiatic trunk line, Kansu province will once more become, what it was in the past, the gateway from China to the West.

(2) The T'ung Ch'eng Railway, from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan.

In 1913 a loan agreement was arranged between the Chinese Government and a Franco-Belgian Syndicate for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi, down the centre of that province *via* T'aiyuan to P'uchou on the Yellow River, thence *via* T'ungkuan and Central Shensi to Hsian, and thence *via* Hanchung to Chengtu in Szechuan. The period of construction was estimated at five years, but work has not yet been begun. This project is remarkable for its magnitude, but is in other respects not a particularly attractive proposition in view of

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and costly and require much tunnelling. The Chialing River, on the other hand, flows straight down into Szechuan, and a line down its limestone gorges to Kuangyuan, if practicable, is not unlikely to prove the easiest railway route into Szechuan from the north, or perhaps from any side. In that case Hanchung, which is mentioned in the loan agreement as a point to be touched at, could be connected up fairly easily by a line across the Han-Chialing portage in the neighbourhood, that is to say from Yangp'ing Kuan to Mien Hsien. As regards a line south from Hanchung into Szechuan, the mountains on the Shensi Szechuan border in this neighbourhood though rugged and intricate are not to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, and are pierced by a line of gaps followed by the high road with passes less than 2000 feet above the valleys on either side. As regards the line from Kuangyuan through Szechuan to Chengtu, it is only safe to assume that it will not follow the existing high road, admirable as the latter is as an example of ancient engineering work in the mountains. Probably a route will be found down the Chialing Chiang to Paoning or beyond, and thence west to Chengtu.

(3) The Kueihua-Ninghsia-Lanchou Railway to Northern Kansu.

In the autumn of 1916 an American railway group secured the concession or contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, amongst which was the above line. The Peking-Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway, now constructed as far as Feng Chen, a day's march north of Tatung in Northern Shansi, and four marches short of Kueihua, was built by Chinese engineers with Chinese funds provided by the surplus earnings of the fine Peking-Mukden line. It was originally intended to extend this railway from Kueihua Ch'eng across the Gobi to Urga and thence to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line, a scheme which would have entailed years of unprofitable work in the deserts of Mongolia while many densely populated regions of China Proper were crying for railway communication; the present American project consists in a more useful extension of the same line in another direction, namely to the fertile plains of Ninghsia in Northern Kansu.

From the present railhead at Feng Chen to Kueihua

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000 Ch'eng the line, if it follows the main road, will pass throu mountainous but not difficult country. From Kueihua Paot'ou it will run across flat corn-growing prairies, wh the only work required will be an embankment. On Kueihua and Paot'ou are reached there should be a fai remunerative goods traffic, since this road carries a la trade to and from the vast north-west hinterland Mongolia and Turkestan, whence camel caravans debou into China Proper at these two points. From Paot'ou Ninghsia will be flat going all the way except for the passa of the low ranges on the Kansu-Mongolia border ne Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu). This section will follow alo the northern bank of the Yellow River, through a regi which though partly desert contains an increasing populati of Chinese settlers, and which is probably capable of gre agricultural development with the assistance of irrigati works. Once Ninghsia is reached the trade of Nort Western Kansu will be tapped, and, if it can compe successfully with the cheap transport by Yellow River bo and camel caravan across the desert, the railway will car large quantities of wool collected from the grass-lands Mongolia and the Kokonor down to Tientsin. Fro Ninghsia to Chungwei the line will run up the fertile a thickly populated plains along the Yellow River, with fl going all the way save for the passage of a low range ne Kuangwu. The local traffic on this section should be hea and remunerative, and the connecting of these isolated b comparatively wealthy plains by rail with the coast will an event of great political and commercial importance North China. From Chungwei to Lanchou the line wou run through desert mountain country and will be neith easy nor profitable to construct until the capital is reache An easier route, but also across desert, leads from Chungw to Liangchou along the ruins of the Great Wall. On th whole this railway project is a not unattractive propositio though there are many other regions in China where railwa construction is far more imperative, and would be far mo remunerative.

471 It is understood, however, that the above project h
499 been abandoned as far as the American group is concerne owing to the discovery that another Power possess

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previously existing rights regarding the provision of funds for railway construction in that northern region should the Chinese require the assistance of foreign capital for the purpose.

(4) The Han Valley Railway.

As mentioned above an American railway group secured in 1916 the contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, but when it came to deciding on the actual lines to be so constructed, it was found to be no easy matter to avoid the previously existing railway rights of other Powers. Eventually, however, it was announced in the press in the spring of 1917 that a line from Laoho K'ou in Hupei up the Han valley into Southern Shensi, and across the divide south into Szechuan, had been fixed upon as one of the railways to be constructed by the American group. This line, opening up as it will the rich but backward upper Han valley, and thence penetrating into Szechuan, the goal of so many unrealised railway projects, from the north, is one of the most interesting and attractive of the many projected lines in China. Its passage up the Han valley should be highly remunerative, while the goods and passenger traffic likely to be secured by a line tapping the rich province of Szechuan has always been held by the planners of Chinese railways to be worth the greatest efforts.

From Laoho K'ou to Hsingan there appears to be the choice of two routes, neither very difficult, namely following the Han River to within a few marches of the latter city, or else outflanking the mountains on the Hupei-Shensi border by following a natural gap further west *via* Chuchi and Pingli. From Hsingan westwards the valley plain of the Yo River leading to Hanyin provides a natural railway route which outflanks the awkward mountain gorges of the Han River in this neighbourhood. From Hanyin a short tunnel will be required to regain the Han at Shihch'uan, whence there would seem to be no alternative, at any rate for the first part of the way, to a route along the difficult Han River gorges in order to gain the eastern end of the Hanchung plain, one of the most fertile and richest regions in China, near Yang Hsien. The latter portion of these gorges might perhaps be avoided by following a route *via* Hsihsiang, a rich and important city worth touching, and thence up the

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

S 668 423 474 (1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 492 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

S 668 492 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during

N *668 666 the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
473 was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
648 service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*195 chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 The influential role which the development of transportation
489 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate
433 for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
178 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
*668 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
489 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness
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S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

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S 175 668 563 631 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racialism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the... Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

N *175 592 162 S 175 592 162 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N [474] [476] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 175 648 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
178 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
• 474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November 1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957 to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of the total farming households.

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[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000 in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151 in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to comprise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural population was organized. (67.93 per cent)

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175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328 households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population. The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivization more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were 6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural population in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 45.02 per cent of the farmers were organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu	(no figures available)			

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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
• 474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
S tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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*175 To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*668 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
166 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955 [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

*175 178 *668 party members were from the urban areas. In 1954, 4,000 workers were admitted into the party, a 14-time increase over 1953, and in the city of Sian, 40 per cent of the new members were workers. However, the bulk of the party men were in the government where they made up 23.6 per cent of the administrative personnel. In 125 factories, mines, and government enterprises there were no party branches, and in 63 industrial units there were no party members.

*175 178 *668 474 In the rural areas of Shensi, up to March, 1955, less than 0.6 per cent of the party members were farmers. Of the 845 hsiang in Shensi, 156 had no party members and in 15 per cent of the agricultural producers' cooperatives, notably those in Yenan (the old Communist capital), Han-ch'eng, and An-kang, had no party members. In the remaining 85 per cent of the cooperatives, the only party members were the members of the cooperatives and heads of the mutual aid teams. In Yenan Administrative District, [476] for example, out of the 106 new members inducted into the Communist Party in 1954, 82 were members of the agricultural producers cooperatives and 24 were heads of mutual aid teams, and in Ch'ang-an county, 93 per cent of the 358 new party members were from the cooperatives.

*175 *668 178 The focus of attention during 1955 was the recruitment of party members from the factories and from the farms. Out of the 38,300 new party members to be recruited in 1955, 28,000 were to be from the rural areas, 5,600 from the factories, 3,300 from government agencies, and 1,400 from the schools. In the first batch of 6,000 new members recruited in spring of 1955 included 4,000 model farmers and 1,200 model factory workers. The total party members up to March, 1955 was 95,000.

Kansu: Party organization was stronger here than in Shensi. In 1954, 3,400 "advanced" peasants joined the party and there was a total of 3,938 rural party branches in 70.54 per cent of the hsiang. 16,200 party members held positions in the cooperatives and mutual aid teams. In 1955, 20,000 new members were recruited, and plans call for the recruitment of 120,000 Chinese Communist Party members and 480,000 New Democratic Youth League members by 1958.

Chinghai: By the end of 1954, there were 3,121 party members in Chinghai, 732 of whom were recruited from the 3,471 [563] national minority cadres. Out of the 190 cadres trained in the Shun-hua Salar Autonomous Area, 61 joined the Communist Party. Since it was reported that there were party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang, party leadership is spread very thin. Of the three thousand party members in Chinghai, only 93 native party members were employed in party headquarters, and 865 assigned to rural areas. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were at the end of 1955, 9,328 members.

241 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were
433 emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

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A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest,
[423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the
241 Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land
*668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul-
• 474 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera-
476 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining
433 these into agr cultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be
241 reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams,
311 units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of
185 the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of
*668 irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and
311 planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is
185 ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the
*668 province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang
288 and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this
439 way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-suffici-
[248] ent in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

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452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
• 474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to
[177] improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
[177] nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
*668 region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the
[433] country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the
[242] introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[918] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

S 668 241 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc., can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

S 668 657 736 474 729 [464] An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is discussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particularly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in cooperativization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

N * 175 * 668 • 474 452 [476] By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households. The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing cooperatives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

N * 668 241 185 * 175 433 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work

*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
[474] 5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

*668 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: [474] whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen *668 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area *175 by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels 241 and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated 312 enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 185 433 [241] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. [313] In 1955, the area to be afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing

*668 185 [474] [241] the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

000 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. E hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

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INDUSTRY

A The Pre-Communist Period

*175 47 The Northwest was an industrially backward area in China. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), over ninety percent of China's modern industrial plants were located in the coastal provinces, and very few people paid any attention to the industrial potential of this area. During the war years when the coastal provinces were lost to Japan, the importance of the Northwest greatly increased, and efforts were made to develop its industrial production in order to cope with the shortage of goods. But under the difficult conditions during the war, progress was very slow. Up to the end of 1942, the major industries in the Northwest were still limited to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and leather goods, machine tools, and flour-refining. (Handicrafts are not included, because of the lack of information.)

1. The woolen industry

*175 288 • 474 [471] The woolen industry in the Northwest was distributed among the following cities: in Lanchou, Kansu, there were thirteen factories and thirteen cooperatives engaged in woolen manufacturing. The biggest one was the Kansu Woolen Weaving Factory, which was built by Tso Tsung-tang in 1876 with a capital of some L 80,000. Equipped with a 240 horsepower generator and twenty-one machine looms, it began production in 1879, turning out some twenty pieces of woolen cloth per day. But production of this factory was interrupted from time to time due to political instabilities and other reasons. It did not fully come back to life until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Ministry of War took it over and changed it into a blanket-making factory for the armed forces. The next was the [471] Lanchou Woolen Weaving Factory, which had a capital of CNC $600,000, and which produced some CNC$6,000,000 worth of goods in 1942. Another is the Experimental Factory of the Weaving Cooperatives, which turned out some CNC$5,400,000 worth of goods in the same year. The rest were on a very small scale, using only hand looms. The twenty-six woolen factories and cooperatives in Lanchou had a total capital of CNC [433] $2,800,000, and they produced 95,600 army blankets, 30,400 [471] ordinary blankets, 800 square feet fine woolen, and 1,062 pieces of other woolen cloth in 1942, the value of which was CNC$22,600,000.

In Yu-lin, Shensi, there were nineteen small factories and nine industrial cooperatives. They had 204 looms in all. But only one was power-operated, and the rest were hand looms. The output of the industry as a whole was not reported, but it is known that the raw wool which they consumed during one

N
*175 year exceeded 2,000,000 catties, or some 2,600,000 pounds.
288 There were twenty-five factories in other cities in Shensi,
474 of which number thirteen were in Sian, nine in Pao-chi, and one each in San-yuan, Ta-li and Pai-shui. Their output was also not disclosed, but their annual consumption of raw wool was reported as 720,000 catties ching, much smaller than that in
N Yu-lin. Besides, there were ten cooperatives in Sian and Pao-
[433] chi, which could produce 600,000 to 700,000 army blankets
N per year.
[471] In Ninghsia, there were five small factories with a total
[433] capital of CNC$230,000. They produced some CNC$1,200,000 worth of goods in 1941. All of them were using hand looms.
S In Sinkiang, there was one woolen factory in operation, but
[288] details are lacking. There is no report of woolen factories or cooperatives in Chinghai.

N 2. The cotton industry
*175 The development of cotton industry in the Northwest was
288 mainly stimulated by the Sino-Japanese War. Before 1937, there was not a single modern cotton factory in this area. But during the war, many factories had moved from the Japanese-occupied areas to Shensi, and many new ones were built there. In 1942, the total number of spindles exceeded 60,000, and the annual consumption of raw cotton was 130,000 piculs, about twelve percent of the total production of Shensi.

N 3. The machine tool industry
392 There were forty-five machine shops in Shensi, six in
S Kansu, and three in Sinkiang. The more important ones are as
[392] follows:

1. Hsi-ching Machine Factory, Sian, which was built around 1910 and equipped with fifty-five tool-making machines such as lathe, planing, drilling and pressing machines. Its annual capacity was as follows: four lathe, three water-pumping machines, ten iron looms, five cotton extracting machines, twenty ginning machines, five printing machines, and a number of paper-making machines. Besides, it also accepted orders for the repair of machinery and weapons of war.

2. Hsi-ching Machine Repairing Factory, Sian, the main job of which was to make auto parts. Its monthly output was 90 pistons, 2,500 piston rings and 180 gears, enough for the maintenance of eighty trucks.

3. An iron works, operated by the army, which turned out some twenty looms per month, and also basic machine tools.

4. The Northwest Machine Factory, which had more than eighty basic machine tools, such as lathe, planing machine, drilling machine, etc., was perhaps the largest machine shop in the Northwest, and its main task was to make looms and parts for the textile industry.

*668 474 443 656 43 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of *668 443 656 43 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

(655) 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail *[175] [655] [474] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	~~745,700~~	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

*668 467,000 yüan in 1954, showing an increase in purchasing power
43 of 40.8 per cent. In the second sub-district of Hsien-yang,
*175 Shensi, the per capita outlay was 410,000 in 1953, and 620,000 yuan in 1954, showing an increase of 51 per cent. In Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the purchasing power of the people is said to have increased 13 per cent in 1954 as compared with 1953, and the total value of state purchases of local products went up 3.7 times in 1954 as compared with 1950. And in the national minority regions, the total sales of state trade in 1954 increased 4.7 times as compared with 1951, and the total purchase in 1954 increased 5.1 times as compared with the same period.

On the other hand, the Communists have admitted certain failures. For instance, on March 15, 1955, the Sian Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive to improve the work of unified grain marketing, in which it was pointed out that waste and extravagance have been prevalent, and it was demanded that the party and the New Democratic Youth League branches in the various places should supervise and ensure the check-up.

*668 Another failure is revealed in the report on trade control in
*175 Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu. From June, 1954, to January,
• 474 1955, the supply and purchase cooperatives in that area under-
43 took to buy all the native products at an official price and prohibited the farmers from entering free trade. But the farmers refused to cooperate, and they reduced production and lowered quality. As a result, the Communists had to reverse themselves and announce that it was still too early to eliminate free trade entirely in the rural areas.

*668 As to trade in the national minority regions, the shortcom-
*563 ings as admitted by the Communists are as follows: One is that
43 the state trading agencies were interested only in wholesale and
[655] refused to purchase products in small quantities. Another shortcoming is that they sometimes unduly eliminate private merchants and thus a shortage in commercial outlets results. Still another shortcoming is that the Communist cadres had failed to pay attention to the specific needs of the national minorities. For instance, some of them were so careless as to send swimming suits to mountainous areas or electric typewriters to areas in which people do not even know how to write (cf. Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79).

*668 The main difficulty of the Communist control of trade in the
43 Northwest seems to be the lack of cadres. For instance, the so-
*175 called socialization of wholesale trade in the coastal cities such as Shanghai and Tientsin was more or less completed in 1953, but they did not start it in Sian until 1955. Similarly, the control of rural trade in Kansu, as revealed in the report on Lo-men-

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Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households Number	Organized Farming Households Percentage of total farming households	Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Number	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams Percentage of Total No. of Teams	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

SN 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

SN [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

SN [621] SN [614] [426] [476] SN

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

SN [792] [794]

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the *563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found [578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

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175 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racial-
668 ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the...
563 Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in
631 opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

N 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total
*175 of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or
592 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'ün-chung
162 jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized
S peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only
175 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only
592 the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the
162 whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

N The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in
[474] the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations
[476] and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statis-
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses
are computed from percentages given of the total).

S 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet
175 Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a
648 foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950,
to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To
implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical
research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October,
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint
stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 513]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households		Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams		Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
		Number	Percentage of total farming households		Number	Percentage of Total No. of Teams		
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

*175 631 *668 177 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 *668 178 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800 [496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 *668 474 496 178 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

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*175 leadership to mutual aid and cooperative organs in some places,
*668 a number of mutual aid teams ceased to exist. In Han-ch'eng
474 and Ho-yang, in Shensi, 20-30 per cent of such teams were sus-
[476] pended." As to agricultural cooperatives, the number increased
from 1,970 or 1.32 per cent of the farming households in November
1954, to 17,000 or 16,83 per cent of the population by summer of
last year. Plans are to increase the number fo 35,000 by 1957
to embrace 55 per cent of the households. However, by summer
of last year (1955) too, the number of handicraft and supply and
marketing cooperatives in Shensi embraced 13.64 per cent of the
agricultural workers, and the 5416 credit cooperatives had a
membership of 1,400,000 households, which was 45 per cent of
the total farming households.

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[476] Kansu: in this province, where it was claimed that 57 per cent
of the peasant population was organized, the number of mutual
aid teams dropped from 245,300 in the spring of 1954 to 212,000
in 1955 and only a third of these was permanent. Due to "rightist
ideology" of the cadres, the number of agricultural producers
cooperatives also dropped from 7,419 in the fall of 1954 to 7,151
in spring of 1955. However, this was quickly rectified and by the
end of the year, there were 16,849, embracing 23.43 per cent of
the rural households and plans are to have 47,400 by 1957 to com-
prise 60 per cent of the households.

Chinghai: The 575 agricultural producers cooperatives at the
beginning of 1955 embraced 80,000 households or 50 per cent of
the peasant population. Sixty-seven per cent of the rural popula-
tion was organized. (67.93 per cent)

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175 Sinkiang: Only five per cent of the 58,773 mutual aid teams in the
178 summer of 1954 were permanent. The number was increased to
474 75,275 embracing 63.32 per cent of the farming population, with
476 28.33 per cent of the teams permanent. The number of agricultural
producers cooperatives rose to 1,702 by fall of 1955, but they
occupied only five per cent of the cultivated area and their 47,328
households came to only 5.3 per cent of the farming population.
The plans for 1957 are for 11,216 cooperatives to include 41 per
cent of the households.

Only in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District was the collectivi-
zation more satisfactory. In the summer of 1955, there were
6,200 mutual aid teams and 243 cooperatives embracing 65 per
cent of the farmers. The political organization of the rural popu-
lation in Sinkiang was also behind the other provinces. According
to Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party, 45.62 per cent of the farmers were
organized in spring of 1955. (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

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Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu (no figures available)				

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*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
• 476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

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*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the
*563 upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
5 tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

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*175 To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*668 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
166 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

*175 178 *668 party members were from the urban areas. In 1954, 4,000 workers were admitted into the party, a 14-time increase over 1953, and in the city of Sian, 40 per cent of the new members were workers. However, the bulk of the party men were in the government where they made up 23.6 per cent of the administrative personnel. In 125 factories, mines, and government enterprises there were no party branches, and in 63 industrial units there were no party members.

*175 178 *668 474 In the rural areas of Shensi, up to March, 1955, less than 0.6 per cent of the party members were farmers. Of the 845 hsiang in Shensi, 156 had no party members and in 15 per cent of the agricultural producers' cooperatives, notably those in Yenan (the old Communist capital), Han-ch'eng, and An-kang, had no party members. In the remaining 85 per cent of the cooperatives, the only party members were the members of the cooperatives and heads of the mutual aid teams. In Yenan Administrative District, [476] for example, out of the 106 new members inducted into the Communist Party in 1954, 82 were members of the agricultural producers cooperatives and 24 were heads of mutual aid teams, and in Ch'ang-an county, 93 per cent of the 358 new party members were from the cooperatives.

*175 *668 178 The focus of attention during 1955 was the recruitment of party members from the factories and from the farms. Out of the 38,300 new party members to be recruited in 1955, 28,000 were to be from the rural areas, 5,600 from the factories, 3,300 from government agencies, and 1,400 from the schools. In the first batch of 6,000 new members recruited in spring of 1955 included 4,000 model farmers and 1,200 model factory workers. The total party members up to March, 1955 was 95,000.

Kansu: Party organization was stronger here than in Shensi. In 1954, 3,400 "advanced" peasants joined the party and there was a total of 3,938 rural party branches in 70.54 per cent of the hsiang. 16,200 party members held positions in the cooperatives and mutual aid teams. In 1955, 20,000 new members were recruited, and plans call for the recruitment of 120,000 Chinese Communist Party members and 480,000 New Democratic Youth League members by 1958.

Chinghai: By the end of 1954, there were 3,121 party members in Chinghai, 732 of whom were recruited from the 3,471 [563] national minority cadres. Out of the 190 cadres trained in the Shun-hua Salar Autonomous Area, 61 joined the Communist Party. Since it was reported that there were party branches in 70 per cent of the hsiang, party leadership is spread very thin. Of the three thousand party members in Chinghai, only 93 native party members were employed in party headquarters, and 865 assigned to rural areas. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were at the end of 1955, 9,328 members.

241 433 Such costs could be avoided if intensive farming measures were emphasized, internal markets developed, and these in turn linked to China through a network of transport.

II. The Communist Period

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A. General Outline of Communist Policy for Agriculture in the Northwest

The pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural policy for this region is similar to what has emerged in China. The only differences have been in the timing and pace of reform policies which stem from the varying political, economic, and geographic conditions of the Northwest.

When the People's Liberation Army had occupied the Northwest, [423] land reform on a regional scale commenced. By 1951 land reform was completed in areas with an agricultural population of seven million; rents were reduced in areas with an agricultural population of ten million. (Current Background, No. 141, November 27, 1951. General Chang Chih-chung on Development in the Northwest. p. 14.) Immediately upon completion of the land 241 *668 reform, concerted efforts were launched to increase the agricul- 474 tural and livestock production of the Northwest through coopera- • 476 tivization; by establishing mutual aid teams and then combining 433 these into agricultural producer cooperatives where land, farm implements, and livestock are pooled. The ultimate objective of the Chinese Communists is to cooperativize all agriculture in the Northwest, and through a network of such cooperatives, concentrate on raising productivity by expanding cultivation, sowing with better types of seeds, and using more advanced tools and farming methods. Cooperativization is taking place in villages and oases, and steps have been taken to establish state farms in regions where there are large tracts of reclaimed land.

241 311 185 *668 Survey teams were sent out to determine what land might be reclaimed and cultivated. Upon the estimates of these teams, units of the army went out to reclaim the land. Because most of the land surveyed was desert, the construction and extension of irrigation works, the building of reservoirs, the setting up of irrigation pumps to pump the water through newly-dug canals over the desert had to begin at almost the same time.

311 185 *668 288 439 [248] Some progress has been made in extending cultivation and planting cotton by reclaiming waste land. Communist planning is ambitious and in future five year plans, they intend to make the province of Shensi a textile processing area to which Sinkiang and other areas in the Northwest will ship their cotton. In this way, it is hoped to ultimately make the entire region self-sufficient in textile production. Textile factories are being erected in Sinkiang too for the purpose of processing cotton produced there, and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, ex-
474 tensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under
*668 the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 The State has taken measures to increase livestock production
232 by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral
*668 people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas
[476] to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to
[177] improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a
*668 scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire tech-
[177] nicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the
*668 region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese
*668 Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the
[433] country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing
[242] the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming.
[474] However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.
[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

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668 training takes time before these technicians, accountants, etc.,
241 can go out and organize co-ops, operate them efficiently, and train other native cadres. The 1955 plan calls for the training of 600 technical cadres for the "Centers for Promoting Agricultural Techniques," for the training of 500 in-office cadres by rotation, and for the training of 4,190 accountants and 5,337 technicians for agricultural producer cooperatives.

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668 An additional problem (which will be mentioned at this point
657 rather than repeated when each province of the Northwest is dis-
736 cussed) concerns the soldiers' dependents in the region and the
474 plight of discharged army personnel. The State has been particu-
729 larly upset by the lack of participation of these groups in coopera-
[464] tivization and special attention is now being devoted to utilize this source of manpower. Since dependents of servicement are given certain State stipends, in food, many of them feel that by joining a cooperative they will be deprived of this compensation. Because 1955 was a critical year in the Five Year Plan, the pace of erecting new co-ops and consolidating the older ones has been increased. Now many of the dependents and demobilized soldiers who were organized in these co-ops have backed out of them and many of these co-ops have, therefore, never been consolidated. Another problem in the co-ops is that the members do not want partly disabled or female workers, and, on the other hand, many dependents feel that the State should provide for them. (No. 1004, March 10, 1955, Supplements. "Actively Organizing Servicemen's Dependents for Mutual Aid and Co-op Work." U.S. Consulate General. Survey of China Mainland Press.) The proper allocation of labor in the Northwest remains a critical problem.

2. Chinghai

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*175 By December, 1954, 575 agricultural producer co-ops had
*668 been formed, and this constituted 9.12 per cent of all households.
474 The number of mutual aid co-ops was not given but it was reported
452 that 69.7 per cent of all households had been cooperativized to
• [476] some extent. There were also 159 supply and marketing coopera-
tives, 148 credit cooperatives, and 12 handicraft producer co-ops. Long term low interest loans have been extended to poor peasants to encourage them to join farming co-ops. The first allocation totalled over 138 million yuan (U.S. $5,598). The interest rate is 0.4 per cent monthly and the repayment period is spread over five years. Besides these individual loans to poor peasants, there have been additional ones to enable the peasants to build small water conservancy works and buy new types of farm tools. All totalled, state loans amounted to more than 750 million yuan (U.S. $30,426) for 1955. (Far Eastern Economic Review. Dec. 1, 1955. pp. 686-87.)

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*668 In a provincial report by Chan Kuo-sheng, Secretary General
241 of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, on work
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*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found tnat the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same coopérative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. I hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
712 life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
701 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[528] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[726] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, [701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

*668 658 to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to factories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

*668 a. To minority areas

658 *563 There was another form of propaganda team which included well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the Northwest Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by Hsia-jih-tseang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien, Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang, offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the [576] Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu, were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of Labrang. Similar organizations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

*668 658 *563 • 484 Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minority groups, the local minority people were also organized and transported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits. There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationalities: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien, Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
*563 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
794 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

*668 796 656 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

B. Guided Tours

*668 484 648 *563 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 208 876 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai: "In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'unchung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

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minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A *pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble,* in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring 516
method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

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From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [7425] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin 788 Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

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stitutes an isolated area sloping S.E. and hemmed in by surrounding mountains; in the case of the similar Yich'uan and Yunai basins further north, the surrounding mountains were perhaps not sufficiently high to keep out the floods, the ranges being themselves nowadays buried in loess. 133 487

From the pass there is an easy descent through a gorge for 20 li to Hsiehchia P'ing, the ruins of a hamlet destroyed by brigands, where several ravines join to form a stream flowing east towards the Yellow River. The surrounding mountain slopes are rocky and uncultivated, and except for the scarcity of water resemble the Ch'inling ranges rather than the mountains of Northern Shensi. From Hsiehchia P'ing the path follows up a side ravine which leads after an hour's scramble to another pass (4800 feet); it then drops straight down the mountain side into a gorge which is followed for four hours' march until it expands into a valley at Ch'iyi Chen, a small township called 100 li from Yich'uan, where we passed the night. This is an exceedingly long and tiring day's march over a rough and rocky trail, and my mules were nearly twelve hours on the road; but there is no accommodation short of Ch'iyi Chen, the mountains being almost uninhabited and the few huts passed having mostly been destroyed by the brigands, and we had no tents with us on this journey. Everyone was fairly exhausted when we got in, a tremendous thunderstorm during the last hour completing our discomfiture; but owing, as usual, to the thoughtful assistance of the district magistrate we were comfortably housed in the principal shop of the village. Throughout our long wanderings the preparation of accommodation of some kind at the end of a march by the local official made all the difference to our comfort; schools, yamens, forts, rest-houses, temples, shops, private residences, inns, farms, caves, huts, and tents, have all served us for accommodation at different times, and the order in which they are quoted represents roughly their comparative merits. Starting at daybreak after a cup of tea or cocoa we used usually to march for about three hours and then halt for an hour or two for a good square meal; in the meantime if the march was not too long the pack mules would travel right through, so that the baggage had arrived and was already unpacked by the time we got in in the early 484

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484 afternoon. This is the height of luxury in travel in North Western China. Riding good ambling ponies we used to average four miles or more per hour on a good trail, and a day's journey of 80 li seemed nothing under these conditions. But a few really tiring marches (and this is one of them) stand out in my memory, when we had to cover a hundred li or more over rocky mountain paths where it might be necessary to walk half of the way; the hardest day of all was a march on the Kokonor border, when we started at 6 a.m. and got in at 9 p.m., crossing a pass over 13,000 feet high on the way.

487 Leaving Ch'iyi Chen the track runs down the valley towards the Yellow River for a few li and then strikes 133 straight up the mountain side to the south to reach the pass (3600 feet). This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, which are both very extended ones. From the pass there is a steep drop into a gorge and then a climb over a loess spur to reach the hamlet of Tuch'uan lying in a narrow ravine. From here the trail strikes again up the mountain side to the south, crosses a pass (4100 feet), and descends along a loess ridge with finally a steep drop to reach the walled village of Wangfeng Ch'iao lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east. From Ch'iyi Chen to Wangfeng Ch'iao is the middle stage in the three days' march between Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, and though only called 60 li in length is a tiring day's work, consisting of one long scramble up and down the mountains. As this route slants across the ridges to the S.E. and approaches the Yellow River, the passes decrease in altitude and some loess begins to reappear. The mountains in this neighbourhood appear to be full of iron ore.

From Wangfeng Ch'iao the track ascends the mountain side to the south to reach a pass (3400 feet) in the last range which bars the way to the plains. From the previous passes there were extensive views across the cañon of the Yellow River to the mountains of Shansi, but the river itself remained invisible; from this ridge it is seen for the first time, emerging from the mountains at the mouth of the 173 gorge known as Yümen K'ou. This is a very celebrated spot amongst the Chinese, since their annals record that the Emperor Yu (2000 B.C.) here cut a channel through the

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487 Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W. down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past
133 several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

[361] Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a
[563] pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

484 We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

487 At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to
133 the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

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lying ranges of the Ch'inling Shan here meet the mountains which separate the Han valley from Szechuan and bring the plain abruptly to an end. There is some gold in the sands of the Han, as in almost all the rivers of Western China; but whereas the sources of many of the latter, and therefore the hills from which the gold comes, lie far off on the Tibetan plateau, those of the Han lie close at hand in these mountains, which ought, therefore, to be worth prospecting; they are said to be rich in other minerals as well. 133 487 [135]

The next regular stage on this road is one of 90 li to the village of Tai-an Yi. The trail runs west up the Han River, which here flows in a perfectly straight gorge, for 45 li to the village of Hsinwan P'u, which is of interest as the head of navigation for small boats; the Han is thus navigable for practically its entire course. The porterage west to the Chialing Chiang, which is also navigable, is only two or three marches over a low divide to the village of Yangp'ing Kuan, and the road is naturally a busy one, and carries much traffic between Shensi, Szechuan, and Kansu. At Hsinwan P'u the path leaves the Han for a time, passing through broken hills cultivated with maize and rice and dotted with the useful wood-oil tree, eventually returning to the river and following up its valley to reach Tai-an Yi, an old posting stage. The Han is remarkable for the suddenness with which it springs into existence as a navigable river. At Mien Hsien in the summer it is already a large stream; while one march further west, at Tai-an, it is a mere streamlet, and one is within a few hours of its source. At the other extreme are the two other chief rivers of Shensi, the Wei and the Lo, which, rising one in Central Kansu and the other on the Ordos border, are only navigable for short distances above their confluences with the Yellow River near T'ungkuan. The contrast is typical of China north and south of the Ch'inling Shan. [484]

Above Tai-an the path turns south up the head-waters of the Han, now only a few inches deep. Beyond the hamlet of K'uanch'uan P'u, 30 li out, the valley narrows to a ravine, which leads an hour's march further on to a pass, the Wuting Kuan (about 4000 feet); whence the trail descends through a ravine in the jungle-clad mountains, past the hamlet of Tishih P'u, till it debouches into a larger

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We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

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484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

202 We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through 487 winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The 563 Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

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to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; this range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

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lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

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596 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve 627 months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 At the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period, 484 we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

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'A little luggage, more or less,' said he. 'What's that? Look at my team. The best mules in Suchow!' 494

However, on the morning of our departure, the strong animals displayed the day before had disappeared, being now replaced (on account of sudden illness!) by three underfed and skinny mules, whose harness only half-concealed sore backs, yet to which the customary red-paper tickets were affixed, which assured the simple-minded traveller that the average pace was 'one thousand *li* by day, and eight hundred *li* by night.' 484

'The main road is under water,' the driver casually remarked, 'but I know every path in the whole district, and will take you by a route which, although it means *one* night on the journey, will save you from all mud-pits!' We had heard roads were bad, so easily fell into his well-prepared trap, and saw nothing strange in passing the livelong day in a featureless, arid land; but at sunset, a few trees on the horizon showed that we were reaching an irrigated belt, and we drew up before a single, lonely farm nearly surrounded by sand. We had expected an inn, but this house contained only two rooms, in one of which twelve men were sleeping, while the other seemed already overflowing with women and babies! The cart was turned round to shield us from the fierce wind, and we were preparing to spend the night in it, when the women, taking pity on us, made room for us on their *kang*. When the longed-for cup of tea arrived it was painful disappointment to find the water was brackish, so that the more we drank the thirstier we grew. After we had settled for the night, our deceptive carter called outside the window: 'You must rise,' he said, with a merry chuckle, 'at dawn if you wish to get in by nightfall. It is but ten miles, but those miles are long!' Accordingly, before sunrise we started once more on the lonely track and for

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494 hours travelled on, meeting no one. Once we passed a tiny fragment of humanity, the corpse of a little baby, 484 thrown away by some traveller. Now and again, wherever a slight eminence showed itself, a mound of stones, constructed to look like a human figure, had been erected by the Mongols as an altar to their god. Our chariot wheels drove very heavily, and by common consent we sank into a deep silence, lest conversation should increase our thirst. Towards midday we met a traveller, who genially enquired whither we were wending? 'To Kinta,' was our reply. 'To Kinta!' he exclaimed, leaping up in his seat, 'but you are going in the opposite direction!'

At this juncture our resourceful carter came running up. 'I am taking this road,' he explained, 'to avoid mud-pits,' and with one meaning look he immediately made an accomplice of the stranger, who now in a level voice remarked: 'Certainly *this* way you will find neither mud nor pits,' and promptly drove on. This led us to speak straightly to our deceiver, whose quick wits immediately supplied him with a subterfuge.

'Kinta *city*? That is still a long way off, but your man, who engaged me, said you wanted to preach your religion in Kinta *district*; we shall enter that in a few hours.' Nightfall found us wandering over boggy ground, where various farmsteads dimly outlined themselves against the sky. And here our perfidious guide for once showed his hand. 'I have relations living near here,' he announced, his eyes sweeping the landscape; 'charming people! a good house, too; plenty of room, plenty of fodder; why not spend the night here? So much better than an inn, you know; more like your own home.'

There was no choice but to acquiesce, and in a few minutes (the cart having meanwhile stuck in the

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having 000
bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the 132
cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by 484
the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with [206]
their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of 494
carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we 202
heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Mails.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

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ably become detached, and had then fallen down. Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows : ' You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side-path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484 neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487 hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line [133] for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted on coming, and which we now followed the whole way. The aspect of these hills was different every hour, seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-grey, according to the course of the sun. They were bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping, barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485] marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135] stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484 the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours' time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly, after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

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484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, 361 and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All 245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth 796 day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the 782 Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

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scarce over there, and so he has appointed these persons to select brides for the young men of his household!' 000

At this point, first the audience, and then the lecturer, caught sight of us, and the discourse came to an abrupt close. The crowd greatly enjoyed our amusement, as well as that of the staid and sober Elder Liu, who now set to work to dispel any remaining illusions as to our authority for negotiating royal alliances!

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS

ALMOST from the day of our arrival, both gentry and scholars continually asked us the question: 'Have you ever heard of the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," eighteen miles from here?' and all were proportionately delighted when we told them that the fame of these works of art was world-wide. 'Then go and see for yourselves how they compare with the paintings in your own country,' they urged; but in view of the late experiences of the Harvard party we felt the situation to be a delicate one, and allowed ourselves to be a good deal pressed before signifying our intention of making Chienfutung a visit. And even then, when, after the lapse of some days, we began our arrangements, we were quite prepared to abandon them if any objection from official quarters had been raised. When the day came, however, and the animals were being harnessed, an officer made his appearance in the yard, and with great courtesy announced the fact that a military escort was to accompany us, the road being difficult and lonely; and he added, seeing we were now ready: 'Start when you like, the escort can easily overtake 484

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484 you.' We had not gone very far when a mounted soldier galloped alongside. 'Ask him his honourable name,' said the senior member of the party from the recesses of the cart, 'and how many children he has.' This led on at once to a friendly conversation, and soon we were supplying the soldier with pears, and a share in the lunch we were carrying, while in return he gave us an immense amount of information, more or less reliable, about the whole district. The road proved indeed difficult to find, and as, from the moment of leaving the fertile land surrounding the city, until we reached Chienfutung, we did not meet a single human being, we should have inevitably wasted much valuable time had we been unescorted. For some time we ploughed our way heavily through the loose sand, to emerge finally on a gravel *glacis* of uncompromising sterility. Eastward stretched a range of sandy foothills, whose outlines were always changing under the bidding of the winds, but which, tradition affirms, hide beneath them the ruins of a very early civilisation, while ancient records speak of at least two towns, at one time ruled by Mongol princes, no traces of which can now be found. The whole impression given, is that of a thickly-inhabited district overtaken by some cataclysm, which has left Tunhwang to stand alone—an island of verdure in an ocean of sand. After three hours' travelling, the coarse grit gave place to boulders, with flakes of mica glittering on the ground; then, following what seemed to be the bed of a former river, bordered by cliffs of conglomerate, rising gradually to a great height, we were led to the back of the sandhills, where unexpectedly we entered upon a green oasis planted with fine young poplar trees, some still vividly green, while others had already changed to clearest yellow. Here were the rock-temples.

491
133
172

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

One of our students had crossed the Gobi to buy a stock of the medicinal plants which grow in the oases. He strongly recommended us to take the journey as he had done. 'Cheap and easy,' was his comment; 'I joined the camel drivers, and took it slowly. For twenty taels I rode their beasts, slept in their tents, and they fed me for over two months.'

'You may spend a lot of money in hiring carts and buying mules,' said one old wiseacre, 'but believe me the best way to travel is with a string of small donkeys. They eat little, are quick on their feet, and if some die the loss is insignificant.'

Some of our lady friends, the wives of officials had travelled these roads, and their comment generally was: 'We get into the carts at sunset, and know nothing until we reach our inn the next day'—a statement which we easily believed, knowing as we did that the opium tray is always served to official parties as the mules are being harnessed. Upon two points, however, all agreed, namely, that when travelling at midsummer, all stages must be taken by night, and that mules are preferable to horses, as the latter suffer severely from drinking the medicinal waters of the desert.

Having therefore duly listened to all possible expert advice obtainable from the Asian tribesmen who incessantly roam from end to end of that vast country, we proceeded to make our preparations for the expedition in accordance with their instructions, beginning by asking the help of friendly innkeepers in the important matter of securing suitable animals. It is a common occurrence for carters to find themselves short of money on their long journeys, and therefore to dispose of both carts, horses or mules in Suchow so as to raise sufficient funds, but a great many of the beasts offered were such

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~~Sinkiang-AI-2~~

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 572
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed willow grow-
ing to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply [361]
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. [133]
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines:

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow;
> Midday to morn onward we go;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low!'

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a 'thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written:

> 'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back
> at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[486] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

valley plains, which in the rarefied atmosphere saps the last strength 000
of all living creatures and makes the heart pump as though it would burst when one works one's way through.

Crossing the Tsassora pass (4,550 meters) on January 31 was child's 136
play, although that was the place where in 1904 our caravan was well-nigh destroyed. In the afternoon we had the first snowstorm. During it a pack of yak came within a few paces of our camp. They were the first we saw since I had left the Tschang tang in the fall. Although we had seen no more tents after Tschebts'a, we also did not find indications of the temporary presence of animals in the lower regions. I believe that in East Tibet the wild yak do not go below 4,000 meters, and in places where humans settle at certain times, the animals no longer occur. Its range is only there where man himself passes through like a fugitive animal. (1)

1. The boundary of the wild yak habitat is almost identical with the line which on my survey map separates human habitation from the uninhabitable territory of High Tibet.

Every day beyond Tschabtscha we came across the campsites of 484
the Horkurma Tsung wa. Every day their traces grew fresher. We were coming closer and closer to them. But another large caravan was in front of us. Sometimes it occupied the same campsites as the Horkurma. The second caravan was even larger and stronger. According to the number of cooking places, we estimated that there were about seventy horsemen and far more than half a thousand pack oxen. There was no doubt in our minds that this large caravan consisted of homeward-bound K'am people who annually came over from the Yangtze Valley and - as we had learned - had left Dankar again at Christmas time. On the second of February we came across a small 000
young ox that the caravan had lost and that grazed by itself by the side of the road at a large campsite. It seemed to have recovered completely and was very lively, although it showed signs of having fought a hard battle with wolves. There were deep scars of bites on its heels and blood stuck to one of its horns, and a large bunch of yellowish wolf hair. Without a word the yak was bound by the Mohammedans and slaughtered according to their rites. We were all ravenously hungry for meat; the few hares and hens that I killed were never enough. Even though the meat did not look sick, it had a disastrous effect on us. Three of us had to be lifted up on our horses the next day and tied on; we had a high fever and /105/ /Plates XVII,

779 431 735 794 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor, and distributed among those who need it. The second institution is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

504 794 485 792 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.

An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

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181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

N 491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November, 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

N *[175]

N 491 485 *[175] To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lanchou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

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content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

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PLATE III

NORTH CHINA CART INN

ARRIVAL AT HSIAN FU

[FACING p. 12]

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487 133 the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, the streams to the north all flowing down into a river called the Hei Ho, which rises in Fop'ing district and flows through the mountains to join the Wei near Chouchih Hsien. The trail to the latter place, however, does not follow down the gorges of this stream, but passes directly N.E. over a series of spurs running down from T'aipai Shan, and is little if at all less arduous than the portion between Yang Hsien and Fop'ing.

From the pass the path drops steeply through a pine wood into a densely wooded gorge running east. After an hour's march down this ravine the stream is joined by one of greater volume flowing down from the snows of T'aipai Shan. The scenery in this neighbourhood is exceedingly beautiful, the torrent descending in a succession of cascades through a gorge hemmed in by densely wooded heights. Continuing down this winding ravine for another hour's march, the village of Houchentzu is reached, where the valley opens out and there is some cultivation. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows off towards the east to join the Hei Ho, and strikes up a gully which leads after a steep ascent to a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above Houchentzu, whence it drops precipitously into the cultivated valley of another stream flowing down from T'aipai, and reaches the village of Taima Ho, at about the same elevation as Houchentzu (4500 feet) and 60 li from Fop'ing. This was another hard march, scrambling up and down mountains all day; but the scenery was so fine and the air so bracing that no one seemed too tired, though to be compelled to walk the best part of 60 li in the mountains is not unnaturally considered a terrible hardship by the Chinese upper classes; although these latter appear so utterly unused and averse to all forms of bodily exercise there is yet a curious reserve of strength and of capacity for suffering hardship about them which was frequently noticeable on 486 our long journeys. Our party was now much reduced in size, but it severely taxed the accommodation of these mountain inns and hamlets. Local supplies would of course have been quite inadequate, but large quantities of rice or flour and a few rough tents were always arranged for at our halts by the local officials.

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which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling. 487 133

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 60 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu; here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suitê, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east. [361] [485]

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'o, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. 316 361

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Ch'inling Shan, rising like a wall out of the plain to the south of the Wei River, and affording fine views of its culminating point the T'aipai Shan, snow-clad till mid-summer (12,500 feet). The walled village of Hsinglin Chen is passed half-way out, and 15 li further on the valley of a stream from the north is crossed. Finally there is a drop to reach Fufeng Hsien, 60 li from Wukung, and a replica of the latter, lying in precisely the same sort of hollow below the level of the loess at the junction of two valleys from the north and west. 133 487

From Fufeng Hsien to Ch'ishan Hsien is another easy march of 60 li across the uplands, crossing two shallow ravines *en route*, the loess here not being of sufficient thickness to be fissured by the deep rifts and cañons found further north. Ch'ishan lies close under the mountains of the same name, with the loess plain sloping down to the Wei River to the south. The main road here continues west to Fenghsiang, but travellers bound for Szechuan like ourselves, and having no particular concern with the latter place, usually proceed direct to Paochi on the Wei River, a distance of 110 li, which can be covered in a long day's march. Ch'ishan, a second class district city, much resembles Wukung and Fufeng, and seems fairly prosperous for a city of Central Shensi. [361]

The road now runs west and south-west across the loess uplands for about 50 li, and then descends by easy gradients for another 25 li to reach Titien, a village of inns on the Wei River, just beyond the confluence of the latter with the Ch'ien Shui from Ch'ienyang and Lungchou, the passage of which in a flooded state caused us some trouble. On this stretch of road we crossed our previous route from Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu, thus affording an opportunity of checking the route survey, the results of which were not particularly encouraging; but as my instruments consisted of nothing more serious than a prismatic compass, with which I kept up a route survey throughout our journeys, this was perhaps not surprising. From Titien to Paochi the road runs west between the Wei River on the left hand and a high loess bluff on the right. The actual valley plain of the Wei is here quite narrow, as the land on the further bank rises almost immediately to the grim-looking barrier of the [485]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

231 The western districts of Central Shensi through which we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are [485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

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Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

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485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, 669 which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called *p'ifatzu*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the
[782] figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[36] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town
438 serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new
133 ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired
[485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

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rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773
sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491
incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485
Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture; no opening had been left for a window; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276
ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, [292]
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at [533]
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
4x5 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
391 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

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361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
572 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

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axles, since the gauge required for the desert is a foot wider than that used in the provinces of North China. 485 326

The first night was spent in a very cold, damp, north room of a noisy, dirty and crowded inn. The next day, however, we secured the use of a small private court, containing an apartment with a tiny kitchen, where our servant was able to prepare the meals. This small court had been built by a Kashgar merchant, whose business necessitated frequent journeys to Suchow, Hankow and Peking. A few years previously, a deal in business involved him in a transaction through which he incurred the displeasure of a high official, the result being that he was placed under arrest, and forced to reside in that portion of a Chinese prison corresponding to the old English 'Debtors' Gaol.' No trial had taken place, and consequently no judgment had ever been passed on him. Any representations that he might make had been bandied from court to court, as each successive official refused either to investigate the case, or to take any action which might bring upon himself the wrath of some other notable, from whom depended the tenure of his own office. When we reached Suchow, Mr. Li's imprisonment, now ancient history, was merely nominal, and he was free to come and go at pleasure, provided he did not leave the precincts of the town. He was one of our first visitors, and we found him to be a man of alert mentality, and of great knowledge of the world. His morals and general outlook were those of Islam, to which he had added under the stress of trouble the Chinese vice of opium-smoking. He seemed, however, much pleased that we should be occupying his premises, and urged us not to hesitate to report to him if the manager failed to make us as comfortable as possible. 681

The news of our arrival spread rapidly through the 100

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•485 we were however, obliged the next night at 1 a.m. to pass the same spot[1]—one lonely shed inhabited by an old man, who provides boiling water for passers-by. But on this occasion he would not permit us a moment's delay, and urged us to proceed to our destination with all possible speed; which, needless to say, we did.

CHAPTER XXII

JADE GATE TO TUNHWANG

712 174 FIVE days' journey from Kiayükwan the traveller sees on the farthest horizon a light, elegant tower rising high above the city wall. This is Yümen—'Jade Gate'—through which he passes to Central Asia, and which being visible from a very great distance, is the one dominant feature of the beautiful little town of the same name.

Ancient records dating back to 104 B.C. speak of Yümenkwan—'Jade Barrier'—as terminating the line of guard-houses which were planted at intervals from Chiuchüan—Ancient Suchow—in a north-westerly direction on the Kansu border. A great deal of research has been made by Sir Aurel Stein as well as by other *savants* to elucidate the exact position held by this particular fort. Sir Aurel Stein places it beyond Tunhwang, one hundred and thirty miles west of the little town which now bears its name, while others believe this elusive gate to have been no other than the original structure of Kiayükwan which is, all agree, the modern equivalent of the ancient Barrier. Local opinion, however, confirms Breitshneider's assertion that the modern Yümen is built on the site of the ancient Jade Gate.

1 [outside the village of Chikinpu--Analyst]

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484
neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the
name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487
hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the
nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in
getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every
available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of
flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the
animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line [133]
for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted
on coming, and which we now followed the whole way.
The aspect of these hills was different every hour,
seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-
grey, according to the course of the sun. They were
bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable
watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping,
barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485]
marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by
two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The
last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135]
stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-
light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484
the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply
being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough
left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours'
time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us
through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly,
after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to
the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want
of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

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~~Sinkiang AJ-1~~

000 standstill, since 'He that regardeth the wind shall not sow.' Accustomed as we were to discounting street talk, a strong instinct yet told us that, this time, we were up against a real danger in the matter of the Sinkiang frontier, and though for the moment we said no more to the young men, we deeply desired to be given a clear indication to guide us.

Some days later, when we were in the town of Santaokow, Mr. Tu suddenly complained of severe pain, and in a few hours it was evident that he was in for a sharp attack of appendicitis. We did what was possible to alleviate his terrible sufferings, but for forty-eight hours we had no idea which way the illness would turn, and our anxiety was extreme. After this time, however, his condition improved, but it was clear to the whole party that it would be madness to attempt a desert journey with a man in this condition, so finally it was decided to send him back to Suchow, escorted by two of the students. It was very pathetic to see the disappointment of the men, but when we ourselves actually reached the frontier we then realised from what a truly terrible fate this incident in all probability saved them, and at least they had had all the satisfaction of completing the preaching tour to the cities within the Kansu border. Those who remained with us were older men, and would, we knew, be regarded as our necessary personal escort.

•485 From Yümen to Ansi we were travelling over
579 familiar ground, and at every stage of the way there was always some friend to greet us. We also tried to stay at the same inns as on previous visits, for the Chinese are warmhearted towards those who are known to them, and all the small resources of the inn were at once placed at our disposal on the ground that we were old friends, and sometimes our stay in the

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~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 572
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed willow grow-
ing to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply [361]
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. [133]
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, and the caravans which normally move up and down this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

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~~Sinkiang AJ-1~~

his own room and cared for him, and the subsequent doings of the day for the remainder of the party are best described in the words of the diary, written at the time: 'Ate, slept, got up, and ate again; then back to bed for the night.'

The oasis of Petuntz—'White Tower'—formed a green patch in the arid surroundings. A delightful-looking stream gushed from the cliff and ran into a tiny canal which watered a patch of wheat and a small field of the opium-poppy in full bloom, which raised in us the hope for vegetables, but we found the water to be too alkaline to permit their growth. This property of the water we had, however, already discovered for ourselves, for our first instinct on arrival had been to run to the crystal spring and drink deeply from it; it was, however, a most disappointing experiment, so that here we had to take our first lesson in self-control as regards drinking, for the advice of experienced travellers is: 'Where the water is brackish, drink the least possible, as the more you drink the more parched will be your mouth!' It was now we learnt the bitter lesson that that delicious beverage known to us as 'tea' became in these places only a noxious infusion of tannin which left our lips dry, cracked and black. We found the only palatable way of dealing with desert water was to boil dough-strings in it, the flour and water absorbing the salts. We also, as well as all other caravans, carried certain drugs to administer to the mules as required, serious illness being frequently caused by their inability to assimilate the unaccustomed qualities of the water, human beings, however, as well as beasts who spend long periods in these parts, become at length accustomed to it, and cease to notice its bitterness.

The life of the few families forming these settlements

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 800
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charm- 491
ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

[1] [Residents of Petuntz -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

485 no profit under the present conditions.[1] A petition had
been addressed by the innkeepers to the Governor,
bringing to his notice the fact that unless they were
granted a sufficient government subsidy, they, too,
would return to the city, in which case the road would
become impassable to travellers, there being no one
left to collect the necessary fuel for their use, nor anyone
to keep the well clear of sand. In this locality we were
133 among low, bare hills of a dark and threatening appear-
491 ance. They were formed of a rock of a deep purple
colour, their surface being covered with loose fragments
which were constantly breaking away under the
influence of the weather, and the ridges presented a
sharp, spiked outline. We observed also traces of a
greenish granite, while in places the ground was covered
with small pieces of white porphyry which looked as
though a slight snowstorm had fallen.

491 Our next stopping-place was Tachüan—'Great
Spring'—and from thence we came on to Malienking—
494 'The Iris Well.' We here had been overtaken by a
party of travellers from the province of Honan, an
official hurrying to Kuche on the Kashgar road, to take
over the seals of office from a Mandarin who was
seriously ill. For several days we kept together,
greatly to our advantage, as Mr. Yüan had excellent
animals and was travelling very light, so that at each
stage he got ahead of us and kindly gave warning of
our arrival, with instructions that a room should be
swept for us and fodder prepared for the animals. On
000 several occasions this courteous gentleman slept in his
cart in order that we might have the use of the only
guest-room, and each day he and his suite joined us at
family worship (his tall Moslem carter standing on the
fringe of the little group, signifying his approval as we
read the Scriptures), all reverently bowing in prayer

[1] [Restricted travel, see p. 187--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi Desert.
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

[FOLDED MAP (A)]

[end map]

&Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

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•485

Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan)

[FOLDED MAP (B)]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13
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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

FOLDED (C)

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

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rade route across the Gobi Desert
THE WAYFARER

[FOLDED MAP (D)]

361 and the Mongols because through them the land was united with the kingdom and has remained thus ever since.

continues to be broad and rises evenly. It continues to be monotonous. After a little more than 20 kilometers, one comes to the town of Tschen hai pu, opposite which on the north side of the river lies the town of To ba (pronounced: Do ba) which is also surrounded by high and strong walls. According to the old chronicles, To ba was on several occasions superior commercially to the city of Hsining. In 1895 it was the chief headquarters of the Mohammedan insurrection. And when at that time the Chinese again gained the upper hand, this was the place that continued to be defended for a long time with great tenacity and with the courage of despair. Now To ba lies in ruins. Only a few farmers and small merchants cling to their native soil. The old mosque which Rockhill once visited and which was supposed to have been erected by Emperor Kang hi, has been leveled to the ground.

133 Above these two towns one leaves the rolling hilly country of the Hsining basin. From the treeless, loess-covered clay and sandstone mountains one suddenly comes into a high, stern and wild rocky mountain range consisting of granite and of slate which shows marked folds.

● 485 I did not reach Dankar (1) until twelve midnight and had the

[103]

1. On maps one often sees the name "Tan kar." The name is pronounced Dankar. This is the Sinicized form of the Mongolian word Dunkur. This latter name applies to the whole district and there is also a small Buddhistic monastery by that name, a day's journey south of the city (see p. 280 ff.).

greatest difficulty finding lodgings even outside the gates in the open suburb. (2) All the inns were crowded with fish dealers who

2. The once flourishing suburb occupied by Mohammedans was treacherously attacked and devastated by the Chinese inhabitants of the city during the great rebellion. Many thousands of Mohammedans were killed.

come up from Lanchow fu in winter time. There was nowhere a

free spot to be found. We were soon tired of searching and so we 485
set up our tent in a quiet corner and drove the ponies into an empty, unclaimed courtyard, of which there are a great many since the last Mohammedan rebellion. We set up the tent in order to "make the face attractive," as the Chinese say and so that people would not say: the European lay down in the street. But the wind kept blowing the tent down and so we lay in the open street after all; on top of everything, the temperature was 20°.

In the early morning we then found an inn (Plate XXXVIII). We were even obliged to call it a good one because the doors could be locked, but of course the guest had to bring his own lock. I immediately handed out a list of the things we still needed. Even tall Tschang hurried forth to do errands, although it would perhaps be more accurate to say he deigned to set out in order to look for things. He always undertook only those commissions that gave promise of the most profit for himself. Another servant repaired the windows of my room so well with tissue paper that the smoke from the wood fire which was lit on the floor of my room, presumably to warm me, made the tears run down my cheeks. Thus, the rare advantage of a 354
hotel room with a door that locked was rather illusory. In the end it 132
was better to warm one's hands at a blazing wood fire in an open court. In Dankar there is /177/ neither coal nor charcoal to be had, I might almost say, a proof of the fact that one is no longer in China. I need not say that nobody knows how to build a stove. The people of Dankar, Hsining and other places in highland China and Tibet have the sun to keep them warm in winter. Every day, even in December and January, women and children can be seen in a sheltered corner beside a wall, going about their usual business. Even though the air is several degrees below freezing, the sun is so warm that one does not feel the cold. Little children play out of doors from early morning on, dressed in only a short jacket with perhaps sock-like shoes on their little feet. But you never hear them complain about the cold. If you enter a yamen, you see the secretaries carrying their tables and chairs out of their offices and painting at their legal documents in the warmth of the sun.

At noon I had a call from the ting of Dankar, a friendly, middle- 579
aged gentleman from South China. The major of the town had called earlier and taken the occasion to offer me for sale a very lean pony. The ting came on behalf of the amban of Hsining in order again to confer with me about my journey to the Koko Nor. The amban I was told, requested me to wait another few weeks until

[text continues on p. 294]

361 563 443 Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

● 485 437 631 The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië da where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

hsiē dia the guests are charged nothing for lodging and food. According to the general custom of the country, the innkeeper makes his money only on those who have something to sell. He negotiates the wool sales of his guests, the sale or exchange of horses; he is agent and interpreter, as well as lawyer in the yamen and mediator in criminal cases between the tribe and the mandarin. However, this versatile role of an innkeeper is not a Chinese invention. Far in the interior of Tibet and far south, even in Tatsienlu and in many other Tibetan border towns I found it customary to balance the hotel bill only by a certain percentage of the turnover. In Dankar the Chinese officials have also imposed upon the hsiē dia (2) a

485 437 631

2. In Chinese hsiē dia is used both for the institution as well as for the owner and the employees.

certain responsibility and an obligation to give notice to the police, and in this way have made him at the same time a sort of representative of the Chinese yamen. For this reason one must always have a license in Dankar in order to take in Tibetans and Mongol from the interior; this costs 60-100 taels. Through the hsiē dia the officials learn who comes and goes. Tribes who have not subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese may not visit the market in Dankar. This is regarded as a great disadvantage for far and near the city is known for its cheap goods, especially food. For instance, the Ngolok dealers may never enter the city. They spend the night in some corner not far off. But with larger caravans, with goods, /181/ they cannot venture to appear in the city. They may not carry on trade. Their things would immediately be confiscated and they would be accused of some theft or robbery which some other Ngolok years ago may have committed against a Chinese or a wealthy Tibetan and which the Chinese mandarins had not had a chance to punish, as in the case of the Denang. The Chinese Kansu government does not have a single military post in all of Northeast Tibet and yet their officials control a very large part of the country, with the exception of Ngolokhkaksum which nominally belongs to Szechwan.

In the year 1894 when the well-known French traveler Dutreuil de Rhins was robbed and murdered in K'ang and the French government insisted on punishment for the criminals, the Chinese officials first had the hsiē dia in Dankar arrest all the people of that tribe who had come to trade in the city. By means of these hostages they

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133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibel chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibel is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives, they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 Up on the top of the Siansibel Pass we came upon the large
● 485 caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the
712 tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 The descent south from the Siansibel Pass is extremely gentle.
316 Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

133 March 27. We followed the deep ravine of Ka ts'a farther down. On the edge of the brook there was only a narrow strip of winter ice. Palm catkins were in bloom and the buds of the trees that covered the steep slopes had begun to swell. Early spring had begun here. At night the minimum temperature was still -5°, but during the day the thermometers went up to as much above zero. Married couples were plowing on the narrow strips of fields farther down in the valley; two yak oxen were unwillingly pulling the clumsy hook-shaped plow under the vigorous beating of the powerful young women.

After we had passed a few villages and a small monastery we were again at the banks of the Yangtze Kiang. The valley was now still deeper than I had seen it up in Lamda and Tombu mda. It had here become a deep impassable gash in the rock through which a greenish-blue ribbon was winding its way between naked brown ribs of rock. The clear waves were entirely free of ice, only here and there deep in the valley the eye caught sight of a little white flake where the water dashed against cliffs or fell over boulders. From our great height the stream which at this point is over 700 kilometers from its source, looked quite insignificant. (Plate XXXI). One felt as though one could look into its heart. High above its present water-mark was the line of its summer rise. It then has four times as much water as it has now in early spring. There is of course water from the melting winter snow but this amounts to so little that it has no effect on the water level. At the end of March the west winds have diminished in force but they still prevailed and the southeast monsoon had not yet set in.

485 March 28. We spent the night in our tents which we had set up beside a village. The inhabitants were used to passing travelers and did not look at us very closely so that they had nothing to criticize. They demanded a quarter rupee from us for using the campsite, for dry argol and a huge pile of straw which my animals cleaned up during the night. Although in Dergi as well as in Nan tsien only coined money is accepted, there is no small change, and thus for payments of amounts less than a rupee, a piece of silver is cut up, and one pays literally a fourth, a third or half a rupee.

491 The night was cloudy and in the morning thick, wet snow covered us. When it cleared at eight o'clock we quickly packed up and, after an exhausting ride at full speed up hill and down dale, it was two o'clock when we reached the ferry across the Yangtze Kiang which is supposed to be called Tschomdo and where the big road crosses over to the left bank. There are two huts of loam standing

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
62 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
622 headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
623 authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
632 nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
792 together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
622 Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
423 Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
62 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
787 village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
292 scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
787 From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
776 ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
782 the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
625 A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
486 the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
651 their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

CHAPTER X

FROM T'AOCHOU ACROSS THE GRASS-LANDS TO LABRANG MONASTERY, AND THENCE *VIA* HOCHOU BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Difficulties of travel west of T'aochou—Tibetan houses—Grass-lands of the Kokonor border—Tibetan nomads—Heitsō Monastery—Tibetans of Amdo—Labrang—Reception by Lamas—Hochou—Mahomedans in Kansu—Mahomedans and Christian missionaries—Return to Lanchou.

486 563 THE journey from Old T'ao Chou to Labrang monastery is usually made in four days, the distance being called 250 li. The track is little used and a local guide is essential, inasmuch as once on the grass-lands faint trails lead in all directions; a Tibetan interpreter is also useful, since few or no Chinese are met with *en route*. The Choni chief had very kindly deputed one of his own headmen to accompany us, since his jurisdiction extended some way towards Labrang, and the services of this man, as interpreter, guide, and sponsor were invaluable and cleared away all difficulties. We were also accompanied by half a dozen of the chief's Tibetan soldiers and as many Mahomedan braves, the latter being useful owing to the peculiar influence exercised at present by the Mahomedan leaders over the Tibetans; indeed it is commonly said locally that Labrang, formerly so bitterly hostile to the Chinese and strangers generally, is now entirely under the thumb of General Ma An-liang. It should be noted that the Kansu borderland differs at present from the same country in Western Szechuan in that the latter has been largely taken over by the Chinese, whereas the former has not. While in Szechuan, therefore, it may only be necessary to make arrangements with the Chinese officials for travel on the border, in Kansu it is necessary to arrange matters with the local native chiefs and the Mahomedans; otherwise travel west of T'ao Chou and Labrang is by no means safe. From Labrang to Ho Chou there is a mule trail much frequented by Mahomedan merchants, and no special arrangements are necessary.

[p. 138]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines :

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow ;
> Midday to morn onward we go ;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow ;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know ;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low ! '

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a ' thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written :

> 'Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back
> at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[480] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

S 635 [31] [6] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N +175 • 487 S 175 487

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

N
*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
487 During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
S Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
175 course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
487 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate, in northwestern China.

S
17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
(131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions

*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
S in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
175 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb
648 when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of [167] the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and *175 73 166 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the *175 633 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

+195 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to
[633] a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest
[178] had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops
+195 to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces,
724 not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by
487 canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
36 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried
491 out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na-
[496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of
[487] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 The commercial centers of this province are as follows:
635 (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war
435 times, the total value of imports and exports of this province,
*175 including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description		Value (yüan)
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

439 435 #175 B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

439 487 491 Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

366 635 The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

439 435 #175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.

Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

N 439 435 *175 than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

N 366 635 N 487 N 439 D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

S 439 E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with S 439 agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade 487 routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and 491 Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner S Mongolia route was originally a caravan route. But since 1933, 439 the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to 491 motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

101 The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

*175 487 [439] Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tun-hwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of Yü-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

*175 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which
• 487 extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern
648 Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 These trade routes remained significant through the years
487 until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on,
[491] motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this
[496] area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 A. Railways
496 In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-
[504] yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

N
*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

N B. Highways
491 Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
491 Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
491 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
• 489 in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
S Hsining and Urumchi.
[491]
[489]

N 491 Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that
• [487] caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in this region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Anai in Kansu and Kurle in
N Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November,
* [175] 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang
N was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.
491 To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the
485 Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine
* [179] New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for
N a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where
487 a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lan-
501 chou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In
S Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats
487 and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at
501

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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OUTLINE MAP OF THE FAR EAST
Showing portion of North-West China covered by the journeys
Railways
Route followed
MANCHURIA
MONGOLIA
KOKONOR
TIBET
BURMAH
SIAM
TONQUIN
COREA
Mukden
Newchwang
Peking
Kalgan
Taiyuan
Tientsin
Tsinan
Kaifeng
Nanking
Shanghai
Hangchow
Ningpo
Foochow
Amoy
Swatow
Hongkong
Canton
Wuchow
Kweilin
Kweiyang
Chungking
Chengtu
Tachienlu
Yunnan
Tali
Tengyueh
Bhamo
Hanoi
Lhasa
Lanchow
Sian
Hanchung
Hankow
Changsha
Ichang
Yochow
Kuanghsien
Kuanghsien
Kuanghsien

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER I

FROM RAILHEAD IN HONAN TO HSIAN FU, THE CAPITAL OF SHENSI

Approaches to the North West—By train to railhead at Kuanyint'ang—Along the Yellow River to T'ungkuan—Road and railway construction in China—Up the Wei valley plain past Huayin, Huachou, Weinan, and Lint'ung to Hsian—Antiquities—Recent events in Shensi.

THERE are a certain limited number of trails leading into Shensi and Kansu from the coast, namely, from Honan *via* the T'ungkuan passage, from Hankow up the Han river, from T'aiyuan in Shansi *via* Suitê to Ninghsia, and from Kueihuach'eng *via* the Yellow River and the Ordos to Northern Kansu. We entered the North West by the first named route and eventually returned by the last named. The T'ungkuan trail, which nowadays carries most of the traffic, follows the valleys of the Yellow and Wei rivers through a natural gap in the mountains leading into the heart of the North West. Along this road has passed much of the traffic with Central and Western Asia since the dawn of history, and along it is one day to be built a trunk railway from the coast to the confines of Turkestan. 487

Starting from Peking, the Peking-Hankow railway is followed as far as Cheng Chou, the junction with the Kaifeng Fu Honan Fu line, which used to be known as the Pien Lo railway, but is now a section of the great East and West trunk line called the Lung Hai, meaning that it connects (or rather will one day in the distant future connect) Hai Chou on the coast of Kiangsu with Lung, the classical name for Kansu. Cheng Chou is a busy railway settlement attached to a little walled city; on a windy day in the spring it is an indescribably beastly spot, the whole place being shrouded in whirling dust, sand, and loess. 496

Leaving Cheng Chou the train soon enters a maze of loess hills through which it crawls to emerge near Kung Hsien on the valley plain of the Lo River, which is followed to Honan Fu (Loyang). The rolling stock on this section

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minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

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487 and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.

491 From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

487 The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River,
712 which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

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a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

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CHAPTER II

FROM T'UNGKUAN ON THE YELLOW RIVER ACROSS THE EASTERN CH'INLING SHAN TO HSINGAN ON THE HAN RIVER

Departure from T'ungkuan—Passage of the Ch'inling Shan—Lonan—Shang Chou—The Ko Lao Hui—Shanyang—Chenan—Chaitzu, or hill forts—The White Wolf rebels of 1914—Hsingan—The Eastern Ch'inling Shan.

WE arrived in T'ungkuan one day in early April after a terribly dusty journey from railhead in Honan, and were met there by a large party of officials deputed by the Provincial Government at Hsian to accompany us on our tour round Shensi. When, after the ceremonies of reception were over, I announced to these gentlemen that our destination was to be Hsingan in the Han valley, and that we proposed proceeding there by the shortest possible route, all asserted categorically (though none of them had any knowledge whatever of the country in question) that there was no road from T'ungkuan to Hsingan, and that we must first proceed to Hsian, the provincial capital, whence a suitable road could be found. 487

As soon as one leaves the recognized highways one always meets with the same protest in China—that there is no road in the direction in which one wishes to proceed. But there is a sovereign remedy for this particular difficulty to travel in China which I have scarcely ever known to fail and which I have made use of on many occasions. One sends for a map of the province and notes the next district city to one's starting-point in the direction in which one wishes to proceed; for practically speaking all district cities in China Proper are connected with one another by trails of some kind. In this case an examination of the map showed the city of Lonan due south of T'ungkuan. "Very well," we remark to our Chinese friends, "there may, as you assert, be no road from here to Hsingan, but we will in the first instance proceed to the neighbouring district city of Lonan."

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487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

492 We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no [491] cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

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than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed. 133 487

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River. [243]

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to 487 579

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487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage.
579 Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

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575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a
579 high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two
133 days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --Analyst]

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mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants. 487

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains. 133

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective. 487 491 505 487 133

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains.

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487 All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling
712 ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

487 Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed
133 down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice
361 fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

487 The next day's march was a long and tiring one called
133 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a 487
pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from 133
Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. 712
The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the 574
time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended 651
on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

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574 that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation
651 free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the
651 lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

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669 rumour that many high officials were privy to the raid and shared in the loot which was brought back to Honan. It was not until they reached the Mahomedan districts of Kansu near the Kokonor border that they suffered any serious loss, and that was mainly at the hands of the Mahomedan population of those parts, who are not accustomed to permit themselves to be looted and killed without showing fight, and from the hardships of the long forced marches through that wild region, rather than owing to the action of any Government troops. Eventually the survivors straggled back with their loot through Shensi to their homes in Honan and Anhui. The Chinese officials assert that White Wolf himself, who appears to have been an ex-military officer from the Yangtzu armies, was captured and executed.

The failure of the Shensi troops, mostly revolutionary levies of Ko Lao-Hui men and ex-brigands, of much the same type as the raiders, to deal with the White Wolf rebels was to be expected; but the failure of the Northern Army opposed to them in Honan in the winter of 1913–14 seems at first sight difficult to account for. The rebels were of course much more mobile than the Government troops, as they lived on the country by taking what they wanted and impressed men and animals everywhere to carry their transport. Then again their lives being at stake, they could be depended on to fight when cornered, whereas it is difficult to induce the Chinese soldier to close with his enemy in a fight of this kind in which he has no interest. Where not an ex-brigand, the Chinese soldier is often a good fellow in most respects, but he is apt to be too sensible to be willing to run the risk of getting killed without adequate reason. Hence battles between rebels and Government troops in China usually consist in the discharge of large quantities of ammunition at a safe distance from one another. It is the civilian inhabitant of the raided towns and villages who gets killed if he does not manage to escape in time to his *chaitzu* in the mountains.

487 We left Chenan on April 19th for Hsingan, distant, we were told, five hard days' march over the worst possible roads. The first stage was 80 li to the village of Ch'ingt'ung 133 Kuan. The trail lay all the way down the steep winding gorges of the Ch'ienyu River and was terribly rough and

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tiring. A path fit for carrying coolies is ledged in the cliff side, but mules and ponies have to pick their way over the stones and boulders in the stream bed, constantly crossing and recrossing the river, which is only just fordable, as it washes the base of the cliffs alternately on either side. The following day's march, called 60 li, to the village of Hsiaoho K'ou is precisely the same and most tiring. The district of Hsünyang is entered rather more than half-way near a picturesque temple overhanging the water. Hsiaoho K'ou lies at a point where the river, making the most intricate turns and twists on itself and almost surrounding a precipitous hill crowned by a fine *chaitzu*, is joined by a tributary from the east.

Ten li lower down, at a hamlet called Liangho Kuan, the Ch'ienyu Ho is joined by another stream from the west called the Hsün Ho, which issues from a similar gloomy gorge in the mountains. This latter river seems to contain the greater volume of water and is considered the main stream.

From Liangho Kuan small boats can descend the Hsün Ho to its junction with the Han at Hsünyang Hsien, whence the latter can be reascended to Hsingan. It was of course suggested by everyone that we should here take to boats, but as it would have taken about a week to get to Hsingan by water as against three days by road across the mountains, we decided to continue overland. Since the trail continued, however, to descend the river gorges for another 40 li, we were able to avail ourselves of boats for that distance. The magistrate of Hsünyang had provided a regular flotilla for our huge party, and the boatmen were obviously relieved to find that we were only going to take them for a short distance instead of descending to the Han; for the supply of boats was of course a sort of official corvée for which they got little or no remuneration. The best boat, a brand new one, had been laboriously dragged up the rapids of the Hsün Ho and hidden away round a bend to prevent its being impressed; but the magistrate's underlings soon got wind of it and it was unearthed together with its morose and disappointed owner, and placed at our disposal. As our mules and ponies were all tired and footsore from the rough trails they had been travelling on, I tried to ship them

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for a rest; but having embarked them with difficulty in the largest boat, the boatmen pronounced it too dangerous a proposition in the rapids, and they had to continue their overland scramble. We had a pleasant journey downstream, passing through deep gorges and shooting a succession of small rapids, but as we ran aground periodically it took about three hours to do the 40 li to the village of Chaochia Wan, where the gorges open out into a pleasant little valley with cultivated slopes dotted with wood oil trees.

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At Chaochia Wan the Hsingan trail leaves the gorge of the Hsün Ho to cut across the mountains to the S.W. for two days' march. The first stage to the village of Map'ing Ho is only 50 li, but it is a hard day's march. It is only when one starts to climb out of these Han valley gorges that one realises their depth. For three hours after leaving Chaochia Wan we scrambled up a mountain side, most of the way too steep to ride, in a downpour of rain. On reaching the pass (about 4200 feet) the weather cleared somewhat, allowing fleeting views through the clouds over a maze of wild reddish mountains patched with trees and jungle vividly green in their spring foliage. From the pass there was a steep drop of a few li, like the ascent by slippery clay paths and flights of irregular stone steps, then an easy descent along a ridge, and finally a precipitous drop straight down the mountain side to the hamlet of Map'ing Ho lying in a ravine running S.E.

From here there was only one stage left, called 90 li, to Hsingan. The magistrate of the latter city, who met us here, suggested an early start, as the 90 li were, he said, "very big and over several mountains." Fortunately we took his advice, for what with the passes, the badness of the road, and the rain, we were nearly twelve hours *en route*.

Leaving the valley of Map'ing Ho the trail enters a defile to the S.W. which leads up to a pass (3300 feet), the boundary between Hsünyang and Hsingan districts, and then drops down into a stony gorge which is followed to the hamlet of Liuli Kou. From this place there are still 60 li left to Hsingan, and the weary traveller feels entitled to hope for a run down the valley for the rest of the way. But it is still the same story of an endless succession of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. across a road running S.W. and

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the trail only follows down this gorge for a few li before it 487
turns up the mountain to the S.W. to cross another ridge;
and descending into a similar gorge the other side, it soon 133
strikes again S.W. up another mountain slope. This, the last range to be crossed, is a stiff climb of a thousand feet by a rough zigzag track. From the summit (about 2600 feet) there is a fine view over the Han valley. Some 1800 feet below and 25 li away to the S.W. lies the city of Hsingan, with the Han River emerging from its mountain gorges, flowing past the foreground of the picture through a small plain, and disappearing in the mountains to the left; across the river rise tier on tier of hills and mountains towards the Szechuan frontier; on the right hand across a range of red hills a glimpse is caught of the valley plain of the Yo River stretching away towards Hanyin T'ing; and in the immediate foreground are low flat-topped hills of red clay, covered with wheat, peas, and lucerne, across which the path descends, climbing in and out of two deep narrow nullahs, before finally debouching at the ferry on the banks of the Han opposite Hsingan Fu.

The route followed from T'ungkuan to Hsingan, a distance of 960 li, gives one a good general idea of the nature of the ranges of mountains known to foreigners as the Ch'in-
ling Shan at their eastern and lower end. All the way one 133
is crossing ridge after ridge trending south-east composed of red sandstone, shale and limestone, the first named predominating on the lower slopes and in the valleys. These red clays and sandstones bound the loess formations on the south all the way from Honan to the Kokonor. The south-easterly trend of these ridges seems to start from the culminating point of the range, the T'aipai Shan, whence one series of ranges runs east along the southern edge of the Wei valley plains, and another strikes south-east right across the Han basin and causes the succession of gorges through which the Han River flows from below Yang Hsien to the Hupei border; between these two series of ranges lies the red plateau of Lonan and the headwaters of the Honan Lo. West of T'aipai Shan there is a similar split, one series of ranges running west into Kansu as the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, and another running south-west as the watershed between the Han and Chialing rivers. From T'aipai

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
241 fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
135 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
563 friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
133 munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien. 103

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China. 471

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized [132] 487 [494]

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487 countries. Yet a series of macadamized trunk roads would be an inestimable boon politically and economically to the country and the people and could be constructed at a comparatively small cost; some of the large sums spent annually for the upkeep of unnecessary military forces in the various provinces might with great advantage be diverted to this end.

133 Leaving Hsingan the Han River is crossed by a ferry above the city and the trail then runs westwards up the [494] valley plain of the Yo River, which is navigable for small [244] boats from Hanyin down. Its valley forms a rich little alluvial plain growing rice and wheat and supporting many farms and villages, and offering an admirable route for a railway westwards, which can thus avoid the gorges of the Han in this neighbourhood. To the south a range of mountains rises steeply to a height of a few thousand feet, separating this little plain from the Han River, while to the north the valley slopes up to low hills of red clay backed by mountains. Seventy li from Hsingan the township of Hengk'ou is reached, the end of the first stage, situated at the junction of the Yo River with the Heng River from the north. It has the honour of being the native place of the present Military Governor of the Province, General Ch'en Shu-fan, the old rule, which has many advantages, that an official is debarred from serving in his native province, no longer holding good.

487 From Hengk'ou to Hanyin is called 110 li, but the road is good and the li very short (at least four to the mile), so that with ponies and pack mules the distance can easily be done in a day. The Chinese li is commonly considered to be the equivalent of a third of a mile, which, however, is only the case in out of the way parts of Kansu. Elsewhere north of the Ch'inling Shan ten li to three miles may be taken as a fairly accurate average. In the upper Han valley, as in Szechuan, the li averages about four to a mile, or even more in the mountains; the difference north and south of the Ch'inling Shan being probably due to the use of animal and coolie transport in those regions respectively.

Ten li beyond Hengk'ou the hills close in on the river to form a *kuan*, or barrier, and the path crosses a low spur to descend again into the valley, here less than a mile in width, up which it continues past several large villages, crossing and recrossing the stream by fords, for the rest of the way to Hanyin.

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [36]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [49]

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487 Ch'a Chen is a village on the river, already in the district of Hsihsiang, which is an extended one. Here the 133 track, leaving the river, ascends a glen to the S.W., and after reaching a height of about a thousand feet above the Han runs westwards along a mountain slope, with a steep wooded range trending east and west on the left hand, and a series of spurs with intervening glens falling away to the Han on the right. Thirty-five li from Ch'a Chen the path descends some 500 feet to a village lying in the valley of a stream which issues from a gorge in the mountains to the south and flows north towards the Han, and then continuing westwards over another of the lateral ridges descends into a maze of wooded hills and gullies, leaving the mountains to the south out of sight. After two to three hours' march through these hills the trail ascends again to emerge on the top of bare downs, whence there is a fine view over Hsihsiang and the valley plain of the Muma Ho some 500 feet below. After descending into this plain, the Hsuan Ho, issuing from a gorge in the mountains to the south, is forded, and ten li further on, after rounding a low spur separating this stream from the Muma Ho and fording the latter, the district city of Hsihsiang is reached. This is a long day's march of 100 li.

361 Hsihsiang, the capital of a second class district, lies in another of the fertile valley plains of the Han basin, that of the Muma River. This valley runs from S.W. to N.E. and is here some miles broad. To the south a rocky range of mountains rises some thousands of feet above the plain towards the Szechuan border, and to the north are bare hills separating the valley from the Han. The district is one of the wealthiest in Southern Shensi, though these compare unfavourably, in spite of their apparently greater prosperity, as regards land tax receipts with many of the Wei valley districts, such as Weinan, Lint'ung, P'uch'eng, etc., owing, it is said, to much of the newly reclaimed land in the mountains not being on the old registers. A good deal of [248] silk is produced. This Han valley silk is inferior to the [438] Szechuan product, but is good enough to send to Kansu in exchange for the skins, furs, musk, deer-horns, and medicines of that province. Hsihsiang is also noted as the home of many famous literati and officials, and we were

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PLATE VIII

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TRAIL THROUGH THE FOOTHILLS NEAR KULUPA

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APPROACHING KULUPA

[FACING p. 35]

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan community with two mosques. In the woods one will often see heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

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487 the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the
133 same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on
797 the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At
[712] Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 243 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

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CHAPTER IV

FROM HANCHUNG IN THE HAN VALLEY ACROSS THE CENTRAL CH'INLING SHAN TO FENGHSIANG IN THE WEI BASIN

Routes across the Ch'inling Shan—Ch'engku—Yanghsien—Across the parallel ridges of the Ch'inling Shan—Big game—The Hsinglung Ling—Fop'ing—Pheasant shooting—More passes—Chouchih—Across the Wei valley plains to Meihsien and Fenghsiang—Wheat, indigo, and cotton.

133 487 FROM Hanchung it was our intention to re-cross the Ch'inling Shan back into the Wei valley. The Ch'inling Shan, or Nan Shan, which consist of a series of precipitous parallel ranges trending across the path of anyone travelling between south and north, have always proved an extraordinarily effective barrier to communication between the Han and Wei basins. It was this barrier which prevented the T'aip'ing Rebellion spreading north from the Han valley into Central Shensi, and the Mahomedan Rebellion spreading south from the Wei valley into Southern Shensi; and in recent years it has kept the upper Han basin comparatively peaceful while rebellion and brigandage raged in the Wei valley and Northern Shensi. The Chinese have always rested content with two main routes across this barrier, one at each end; the Hsian-Lungchuchai road in the east, and the Fenghsiang-Liupa-Hanchung road in the extreme west. There is one other route which is considered by Chinese travellers to be just passable, that south from Hsian *via* Ningshan T'ing. The remaining three routes, that in the east *via* Chenan, that in the centre *via* Fop'ing, and that, further west, south from Mei Hsien, the two latter passing over the shoulders of the T'aipai Shan, one on each side, are considered by the Chinese impracticable for ordinary travellers. This is because they are too steep for chairs, and are so rough that even with mules and ponies it is necessary to do the greater portion of the journey on foot. We returned to the Wei valley by the Fop'ing trail, which debouches on to the plain at Chouchih Hsien, whence we turned westwards to Fenghsiang Fu. From Hanchung to Fenghsiang by this route is a distance of about 840 li.

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For the first two days from Hanchung the road runs down the valley plain past the district city of Ch'engku Hsien to Yang Hsien, two easy stages of 75 and 60 li respectively. These are two large and flourishing cities, Ch'engku especially rivalling even Hanchung in the wealth and prosperity of its inhabitants. Below Yang Hsien the converging mountains bring this fertile plain to an end and the Han River enters a series of gloomy gorges interrupted by rapids from which it emerges at Hsingan. The latter city is supposed to be about 800 feet only above sea level, whereas Hanchung is credited on some of the best modern maps of China with a height of 2000 feet, thus allowing of a fall of some 1200 feet in the Han between Yang Hsien and Hsingan. As the fall on this portion of the river can hardly be more than 500 feet, Hanchung is probably not more than some 1300 feet above sea level.

The difficulties of this route begin on leaving Yang Hsien. The trail here turns north and reaches the base of the mountains after about 8 li. After following a small valley for a short distance, it leaves the stream and ascends over cultivated downs to reach the edge of a spur between two ravines. There is a steep scramble up this ridge for two hours or more by a very rough rocky track to the top of the first range bounding the valley. The view from this ridge looking north is over a series of steep sparsely timbered ranges, rising one behind the other and blocking the way to Fop'ing. From the pass (4400 feet) there is a steep drop into a winding gorge which debouches after an hour's march into the ravine of a stream flowing S.E.; a short distance up this ravine lies an inn, called Ta Tientzu, 65 li from Yang Hsien, which makes a suitable halting-place for the first stage.

From Ta Tientzu the trail continues up the ravine to the north, past the hamlet of Hohsiatzu, for 35 li to the foot of another range running east and west. There is a stiff climb of about a thousand feet to the pass (5500 feet), followed by a precipitous drop of as much down the other side into a ravine which leads straight down to the unwalled township of Huayang Chen, lying in a basin of sandstone at the junction of several ravines which provide water and space for rice fields, the last seen until the descent into the Wei valley five days further north. The surrounding mountains are

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much broken, prettily wooded, and full of pheasants. To the north a high range runs east and west across the direction of Fop'ing, while to the south-east there is a large gap in the mountains following the flow of the stream. This stage is also about 65 li.

The trail now continues north up a boulder-strewn valley which soon contracts to a gorge, and then turns up a side glen which leads after a scramble to the pass (6000 feet), two to three hours' march from Huayang. This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yang Hsien and Fop'ing Hsien and the magistrate of the latter had left his isolated post in the wilds of the Ch'inling Shan to meet us here. There is a fine view to the north over two high rocky ranges running east and west, the further one rising to a height of over 10,000 feet. From the pass the track drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing west, where there are some huts called Hot'ao Pa. Crossing the stream the path strikes almost immediately into another glen, which leads up through dense thickets of the dwarf-bamboo to the top of the nearest of the two ranges seen from the last pass. From the summit there are fine views all around over the mountains densely wooded with pine, birch, and other trees; to the north the same high range still blocks the road to Fop'ing. From this pass (7000 feet) there is a precipitous drop of a few hundred feet into the gorge of another stream flowing S.W., up which the trail turns northwards for a few li to reach some huts and a mule inn called Ta P'ing, with a little cultivation, mostly potatoes. We halted here for the night, 60 li from Huayang. This is a tiring march, practically one long scramble up and down the mountains all the way, by very bad tracks much too rough to ride over. The second pass can be avoided by taking an alternative route down one stream and up the other, which is said, however, to be impassable for mules.

Ta P'ing is nearly 7000 feet high, Huayang Chen about 4000, Ta Tientzu about 3000, and Yang Hsien about 1300. The trail thus ascends by a series of steps from valley to valley across the intervening ranges from the Han River to the heart of the Ch'inling Shan.

On the following day's march the trail continues up the stream to the N.E. through forests of pine and birch

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for about 15 li to reach the pass in the big range. The ascent is comparatively easy except for the last few hundred feet, the valley being flat and open and apparently of glacier origin in contrast to the deep narrow gorges usual in the Ch'inling Shan. A little snow and ice were still lying in the stream bed in the middle of May. From the summit of the pass (9000 feet) there is a fine view to the north towards T'aipai Shan (12,000 feet), which appears as a rocky ridge sprinkled with snow, with a lower range in the immediate foreground over which the path leads to Fop'ing. All around are forest-clad ranges, uninhabited, and abounding in big game, deer, bear, pig, leopard, goral, and takin; but owing to the nature of the country their pursuit would involve great difficulties and hardships. This is near the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, a wild unexplored region, whence the ranges and streams ramify east and south-east on one side, and west and south-west on the other. The pass is called the Hsinglung Ling, and is crowned with an old ruined temple and gateway. There are additional signs that this trail, now unused except by a few isolated coolies carrying salt into the Han valley, smugglers, and others with good reasons for avoiding the main road, was once a much more important route. It is of course the most direct road from Hsian to Hanchung.

From the pass there is an easy descent through another flat open valley, where we saw some silver pheasants (or perhaps they should be referred to as blood pheasants, a species of *Ithagenes*), into the valley of a stream flowing west, where there is some cultivation, as usual mostly potatoes, and some huts, called Huangts'ao P'ing; these valleys are less thickly wooded than those on the southern side of the pass. Here the trail leaves the stream at once and strikes up the opposite slope to the north to reach another pass after an hour's easy climb. This range is the last to be crossed before reaching Fop'ing and is a few hundred feet lower than the Hsinglung Ling. From the pass there is a steep descent by a very rough track through a narrow gorge until one debouches after about 25 li into the broad cultivated valley of the Fop'ing River, up which the road runs eastwards through corn fields swarming with pheasants for ten li to Fop'ing T'ing.

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them[1] partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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487 the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, the streams to the north all flowing down into a 133 river called the Hei Ho, which rises in Fop'ing district and flows through the mountains to join the Wei near Chouchih Hsien. The trail to the latter place, however, does not follow down the gorges of this stream, but passes directly N.E. over a series of spurs running down from T'aipai Shan, and is little if at all less arduous than the portion between Yang Hsien and Fop'ing.

From the pass the path drops steeply through a pine wood into a densely wooded gorge running east. After an hour's march down this ravine the stream is joined by one of greater volume flowing down from the snows of T'aipai Shan. The scenery in this neighbourhood is exceedingly beautiful, the torrent descending in a succession of cascades through a gorge hemmed in by densely wooded heights. Continuing down this winding ravine for another hour's march, the village of Houchentzu is reached, where the valley opens out and there is some cultivation. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows off towards the east to join the Hei Ho, and strikes up a gully which leads after a steep ascent to a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above Houchentzu, whence it drops precipitously into the cultivated valley of another stream flowing down from T'aipai, and reaches the village of Taima Ho, at about the same elevation as Houchentzu (4500 feet) and 60 li from Fop'ing. This was another hard march, scrambling up and down mountains all day; but the scenery was so fine and the air so bracing that no one seemed too tired, though to be compelled to walk the best part of 60 li in the mountains is not unnaturally considered a terrible hardship by the Chinese upper classes; although these latter appear so utterly unused and averse to all forms of bodily exercise there is yet a curious reserve of strength and of capacity for suffering hardship about them which was frequently noticeable on 486 our long journeys. Our party was now much reduced in size, but it severely taxed the accommodation of these mountain inns and hamlets. Local supplies would of course have been quite inadequate, but large quantities of rice or flour and a few rough tents were always arranged for at our halts by the local officials.

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At Taima Ho the track again leaves the stream, which flows east into a deep gorge towards the Hei Ho, and turns northwards up the mountain side to gain a pass over a ridge some 1500 feet above the valley. The ascent is easy, this spur being covered with a sort of clayey loess cultivated in terraces; the appearance of loess so far in the Ch'inling ranges is unusual. From the pass the track drops into the gorge of another stream flowing down from T'aipai Shan; it follows up this gorge for a few li past the hamlet of Ch'enk'ou Wan and then turns up a side ravine to reach the base of a ridge called the Laochün Ling. From here there is a stiff climb for two to three hours, ascending 2500 feet, up a wooded mountain side to reach the pass (7500 feet), T'aipai Shan again becoming visible at intervals. From the summit there is a fine view to the S.W. across the lower ridges traversed by the trail back to the watershed range north of Fop'ing. After a steep drop of 2000 feet through a gorge Watientzu is reached, a few huts and inns, surrounded by precipitous mountains, in the ravine of a stream flowing down from T'aipai. This is another tiring march of 60 li. One is here in the district of Chouchih, the Laochün Ling ridge being the Fop'ing boundary.

From Watientzu the path runs down the narrow wooded gorge for about two hours' march, and then turns north up a gully which leads after a steep climb of 2000 feet to the summit of another ridge trending S.E. This is the last of the eleven passes which have to be crossed on this trail between the Han and Wei valleys. From the northern face of the range there is a very fine view over the Wei valley plain nearly five thousand feet below. From the pass the track descends by steep zigzags and then through a narrow gorge for three hours' march to reach the village of Hsin-k'outzu, lying a little above the plain at the base of the mountains, 80 li from Watientzu. The whole party heaved sighs of relief to find themselves once more on level ground; for the mountains with their fine scenery and bracing air are lost on the Chinese, who only notice the discomforts and hardships they entail for the traveller. The majority of our large party had by this time had enough of the journey, and produced various excuses for returning to the provincial capital, two and a half days' march across the

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plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsién city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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000 the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to 133 the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above 487 the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess 243 deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across 361 wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

361 Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been [491] a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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CHAPTER V

FROM FENGHSIANG THROUGH THE LOESS OF WESTERN SHENSI TO YENAN

The loess plateau of Western Shensi—Linyu—Yungshou—Ch'unhua—Wheat harvest—Rifts in the loess—Yaochou—Origin of loess—Brigands of North Shensi—T'ungkuan—Yichün—Game in the mountains—Chungpu—Loch'uan—Fuchou—Ravages of brigands—Kanch'uan—Caves—Yenan.

AFTER a couple of days' rest at Fenghsiang we started on a long tour of the loess country of Northern Shensi, the furthest point of which was to be Yenan Fu. There being nothing in the nature of a main road in that direction from where we found ourselves, and being met with the usual protestations to that effect, we had to apply, as usual with success, the plan of proceeding from one district city to another in the required direction, until we struck the highway from Hsian to Yenan at Yao Chou. Between Fenghsiang and Yao Chou our route took us across a vast plateau of loess, which includes parts or the whole of the districts of Pin Chou, Ch'angwu, Sanshui, Yungshou, and Ch'unhua, and reaches in the N.W. a height of over 4000 feet. It has a marked slope to the S.E. and is intersected by the deep cañon of the Ching River and the ravines of many other streams all flowing in the same direction, and by innumerable rifts and crevasses in the loess from ten to five hundred feet in depth. Travel up and down this plateau along its slope between N.W. and S.E. is easy, but transversely from S.W. to N.E., the line of our march, most trying and arduous, owing to the necessity of constantly crossing the perpendicular rifts in the loess, varying from the tremendous cañon of the Ching River, nearly a thousand feet in depth, to a dry crevasse a hundred feet deep. All these rifts trend in the same direction as the slope of the plateau, i.e. S.E., and all have perpendicular walls. In order to avoid these rifts which increase in size and frequency as the plateau descends, our route kept as much as possible to the high ground and consequently made a long detour to the north.

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487 From Fenghsiang to Yao Chou by this route is a distance
133 of about 510 li, and thence to Yenan another 530 li.

Leaving Fenghsiang Fu by the East Gate the trail soon turns off the main road to the N.E. and runs across the plain for 20 li to the foot of the hills. Crossing a spur a few hundred feet high the path then descends into the ravine of a stream which is followed up for two hours' march to the hamlet of K'angchia Ho. The surrounding mountains are all of loess terraced for the cultivation of wheat and maize, [243] with the scattered inhabitants living mostly in caves. In this neighbourhood we came across some chikor of exception-
136 ally large size (the handsome red-legged partridge of North China), the only occasion on which I have seen them in the loess. These birds are called *Shih Chi* (stone fowl) in the mountains of Northern Chihli, where they are common, frequenting bare stony slopes. They are found in large coveys, which seldom fail to make their presence known by their characteristic call; but they are most difficult to shoot, as they are inveterate runners, always up hill, and, being very strong, carry a great deal of shot; the only way to get them is to descend on them from above. They are excellent eating, but not so good as the little brown partridge with a black patch on the breast, also fairly common in the mountains of the North. Throughout our journeys in Shensi and Kansu, however, we saw very few partridges compared to pheasants.

487 From K'angchia Ho the trail runs up a branch of the stream to the N.E. for a few li and then strikes up the hill
133 side, and following a ridge between two ravines ascends gradually to reach a pass (4300 feet), the boundary between Fenghsiang and Linyu districts. There is much uncultivated land on these mountains, the grass-grown terraces gradually becoming obliterated; this is a common sight throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, and together with the many ruined villages points to a decrease in population, supposed to be due to the ravages of the great Mahomedan rebellion of fifty years ago, but perhaps also due to a gradual desiccation of this region. All around are loess ridges and ravines in bewildering confusion; but there appears to be a sort of watershed trending S.E., a range which is known further east as the Ch'i Shan. From the pass there is no immediate

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

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487 in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch,
133 strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuimu, 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu.
[652] Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms
[651] of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

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Where the loess has been washed away shales and sandstones are revealed, and often right on the tops of the spurs there are outcroppings of a sort of conglomerate of waterworn pebbles cemented together. The loess mountains in this neighbourhood are little cultivated, being covered with poor-looking pasture, which supports scanty herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Finally there is a descent of a few hundred feet to reach the city of Yungshou Hsien, which lies a little below the crest of the ridge, on the shoulder of a spur up which ascends the Great West Road from the Hsian plains. 487 133 [233]

Yungshou consists of one street running up the ridge and is merely a walled-in section of the big road; it is a replica of Linyu, with a little more life in it owing to its position on the Kansu highway. We had passed through it two years previously almost to a day on our way to the latter province, the season of the year being the end of May. 361

Our next objective was the district city of Ch'unhua (locally Shunhua) distant two marches of 90 li each. Leaving Yungshou we followed up the main road for a few li to regain the crest of the range, where I shot some cock pheasants in almost the identical spot as two years before, and then turned eastwards once more along the top of the ridge for 25 li to a cave village. Here the ridge ends in rolling uplands of loess, the beginning, from this side, of the great loess plateau of Western Shensi. The Belgian railway (Lung Hai) from Hsian to Lanchou will, it is said, follow up the Wei River, the line of the cart road being apparently too difficult; an easier route might perhaps be found following up the slope of this plateau through Sanshui district to Ch'ingyang, and thence through Northern Kansu. The upper portions of these rolling plains where we met them are uncultivated and covered with poor sheep pasture, apparently owing to the lack of water, the one great drawback to the loess; and one might imagine oneself on the grasslands of Eastern Mongolia, until, on attempting to cross the plateau in any direction away from the trail, one almost immediately fetches up against a chasm in the loess with perpendicular walls perhaps hundreds of feet deep. Lower down these uplands are one vast cornfield 487 133 [233]

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487 through which the path descends to reach the township of
133 Ch'angning Chen, winding to and fro to avoid the rifts, the heads of ravines and valleys breaking away south and south-east.

243 The harvest time on these immense wheat prairies which was now approaching is a period of intense activity. The
464 crops are of course gathered entirely by hand, and large numbers of labourers from Kansu, groups of whom we were constantly meeting, come down to assist; after the harvest is over in the Wei valley plains they work back across the plateau of Western Shensi to their native highlands,
438 harvesting as they go. In good years there must be a large surplus of wheat in Shensi and Kansu available for export; but in the absence of waterways and railways the means of communication are so bad that it would be impossible to move the harvests to any distance.

487 From Ch'angning the path runs in a northerly direction
133 across the plateau, winding about to avoid the impassable rifts, for about 20 li, where it reaches the Ching River, flowing in a deep narrow cañon some 800 feet deep. There is a steep descent into this gorge, and the Ching River, an unfordable torrent of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. This cañon exposes clearly the depth of the loess covering, some five or six hundred feet, the stream having carved itself a bed still deeper down in the underlying rock. The track climbs out of the gorge to the top of the plateau a similar height on the further side, and then runs across the undulating uplands for 15 li to the village of Kao Ts'un in the district of Pin Chou, 90 li from Yungshou. This is a tiring march, including the passage of the Ching Ho, for on the small roads of Northern Shensi the li are apt to be very long.

From Kao Ts'un the track continues N.E. for another 30 li to the village of T'u Ch'iao (4400 feet), in the district of Sanshui, now called Hsünyi Hsien, the highest and most northerly point on the plateau reached between Yungshou and Ch'unhua, whence it runs S.E., descending gradually with the slope of the land, for 45 li, to the large village of T'ungshen Kou. So far the trail by keeping to the north had avoided the crevasses in the loess, but as soon as one turned S.E. they began to be met. Thus between T'u Ch'iao and T'ungshen Kou three streamlets flowing in

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deep rifts in the loess have to be crossed, the last named place lying on the further edge of the third. The passage of each rift means a precipitous climb down into the gorge of 500 feet or more and a similar ascent the other side (this being the thickness of the loess covering); at the bottom there is usually a streamlet flowing in a rocky bed underneath the loess. The constant crossing of these rifts (called *kou* by the Chinese) was most trying in the dry heat of early June, and at midday the temperature at the bottom of the *kou* was sometimes terrific. Water is very scarce in loess country, and apt to be brackish, and the streamlets at the bottom of the rifts are their only redeeming feature from the traveller's point of view. The passage of these rifts was a constant and arduous feature of our daily marches from now on until we had completed our tour of Northern Shensi. Sometimes marching towards a village after a long day the weary traveller sees his destination apparently only a few hundred yards away, only to find that it is separated from him by a *kou* 500 feet deep which takes at least an hour to cross. From T'ungshen Kou the track continues S.E. across the sloping plateau for 20 li, descending steeply for the last mile or so, to reach Ch'unhua Hsien, a poor little third class district city, lying in a sort of basin formed by the junction of several valleys and rifts in the loess some distance below the level of the plateau. To the south the loess rises steeply to a low rocky range separating the Ch'unhua valley from the Ching Ho.

From Ch'unhua to Yao Chou is a distance of 115 li, two short marches. The trail climbs out of the valley to the level of the plateau a few hundred feet above and continues eastwards, keeping to the high ground and winding round the heads of several rifts in the loess. After two to three hours' march the cañon of a streamlet flowing south is crossed by the usual zigzag descent and ascent, and another hour brings one to the village of Fangli Chen, 40 li from Ch'unhua. Thirty li further on the village of Hsiaoch'u is reached, after crossing two more huge rifts, with streams flowing as usual S. and S.E. The passage of these cañons is the exact inverse of crossing a pass of equal height; instead of the summit of a ridge with the view and breeze to refresh one there is the airless sweltering heat of the bottom of the

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487 133 *kou*. Again referring to the well-known description of the loess which depicts the life and traffic of the region as moving unseen along the bottoms of the rifts, the converse holds good on these table lands of Western Shensi, the villages, farms, and roads lying on the top of the plateau, and the bottoms of the cañons being often lifeless. From Hsiaoch'u the track runs eastwards over the plateau, crossing two more rifts *en route*, for four hours' march to reach Yao Chou, lying in a valley at the junction of two streams flowing south.

133 The region traversed on this route between Yungshou and Yao Chou must be one of the best examples in the world of a pure loess plateau. It is dotted with low mountain outcroppings, and travelling across it one is strongly impressed with its resemblance to a series of old lake basins which have been drained off to the south-east. The loess soil, a sort of very fine sandy loam, which covers almost the whole of North Western China north of the Ch'inling Shan to a depth of many hundreds of feet, is supposed to have been deposited as the result of the dust storms of countless ages from the Gobi deserts of Mongolia combined with the decomposition of vegetable matter. The longer we travelled in the loess country the more difficult it seemed to credit this theory. The Chinese take it for granted that these wonderful deposits of *Huang T'u* (yellow earth, as they call it) were caused by water, that is to say by the great floods which according to their historical records once submerged N.W. China at about the same period as those recorded in the Bible. For anyone well acquainted with the country it requires but little effort to imagine these turgid floods of yellow waters washing the base of the Ch'inling Shan as they poured down from the N.W., and depositing the loess, even as its redeposit may nowadays be watched on the banks of the Yellow River between Ninghsia and Paot'ou. The configuration of the Wei basin in Shensi is exactly that of the bed of a huge river washing the base of a rocky cliff on its southern bank and sloping up in shallows towards the north. Further, in every rift or ravine, which is cut down through the loess to the underlying shale or sandstone, a layer of mixed loess and water-worn pebbles is almost invariably exposed

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579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to
491 Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally; with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li,
133 to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, except at one point about half-way where it contracts into
361 a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

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about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

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579 suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not 628 those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

634 Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

487 From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the 133 mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

132 We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

634 At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were 487 now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

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ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts. 487

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns. 361 778 769

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids. 487 133 [491] 361

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of 487 133

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487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the
133 bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into
712 the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The
625 post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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 [625] [634]

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

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133 but here and there the remains of old terraces, evidently
487 abandoned for many years, are noticeable. Descending from the pass this curious zone of comparatively rich vegetation is soon left behind and one approaches Yenan by a desolate looking valley between hills of sandy, barren loess. The
[243] crops are miserable in the extreme, and consist mostly of millet, little or no wheat being grown. Three to four hours' march down this valley brought us to the gates of Yenan Fu.

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316 471 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people [492] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 133 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang and to work our way thence somehow or other back to Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

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which, though very arduous and passing through desperately poor mountainous country just inland from the Yellow River, had apparently once been quite an important route. From Yenan to Hsian by this route *via* Yich'uan and Hanch'eng was a distance of about 1030 li, and took us more than two weeks' hard travelling. 487 133

From Yenan to Yench'ang is two days' march, 80 and 60 li respectively. The first stage lies down the valley of the Yen Shui between low hills of loess to the village of Kanku Yi. Ten li out one of the oil wells drilled by the Americans in 1916 is passed in the mouth of a small gorge; it has now been filled in. There are several cave villages on the road, the largest being Yaotientzu 50 li out, where there are inns. Kanku Yi, as its name implies, is the ruin of an old fortified posting stage (*Yi*) such as are common on the main roads of Kansu; here the main trail to the north of the province turns N.E. to Yench'uan and Suitê, while the Yench'ang track continues down the valley to the east. [361] [185]

Twenty-five li from Kanku Yi, at the hamlet of Heichia P'o, the river turns south, and the trail strikes up a ravine to the east to gain the top of the loess plateau some 500 feet above the valley, runs across the level upland for a few li, and then drops steeply into another ravine, which is followed for 20 li till it debouches again into the valley of the Yen Shui at Yench'ang Hsien.

Yench'ang lies in the narrow valley of the Yen Shui, right on the river bank, in the mouth of a tributary ravine. The presence of the petroleum is very apparent from the smell which pervades the whole place, and as we were quartered and entertained on the premises of the oil concern and within a few yards of the principal well, the penetrating smell of mineral oil never seemed to leave us for a moment from the time of our arrival till that of our departure. The two wells lie just outside the city wall to the west; the principal one was pouring forth a steady stream of oil at the time of our visit and apparently never ceases doing so. The city itself is the usual little third class district town of Northern Shensi, but it is less dilapidated than most of its neighbours and the walls are in better repair. This is owing to its not having been sacked by brigands during recent years, for which immunity from the prevailing evil credit 316 361

is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil.

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is also, it seems, due to the beneficent oil. As the traveller approaches Yench'ang he will note that the city walls appear to be weeping or oozing oil, and the explanation of this curious fact becomes strikingly apparent at night time. For in the embrasures all round the walls every yard or so are placed pans of crude oil, which are lit up when darkness falls and illuminate the whole city and neighbourhood in the most remarkable manner. The effect on anyone not expecting it is extremely startling. Night after night throughout the year this desolate little city lost in the wilds of Northern Shensi indulges in this orgy of illumination. But it costs practically nothing and seems to be very effective in scaring off the brigands, who usually make their raids on moonless nights; doubtless the prospect of having a pan of burning oil upset over their heads deters them also.

The next stage on our journey by this route was the city of Yich'uan Hsien, two long marches due south of Yench'ang. The trail runs down the gorges of the Yen Shui, being ledged in the cliff on the left bank, for about 15 li, and then crossing the river by a ford strikes up the hill side to the south to reach the top of the loess plateau some 600 to 700 feet above the valley; continuing across the plateau for an hour or so it then drops steeply to the hamlet of Ankou Chen in the gorge of a tributary of the Yen Shui, called 35 li from Yench'ang. From Ankou the path strikes immediately up the opposite hill to reach the top of the plateau again, the latter here taking the form of a series of flat-topped loess ridges running down towards the Yen Shui from a range trending east and west. A two hours' march to the south up the flat top of one of these ridges brought us to the top of the range (4500 feet), the watershed between the Yen Shui and a stream called the Yunai Ho; the range is composed of grassy downs of loess with occasional outcroppings of rock. From the pass the trail follows a spur to the south, which soon flattens out into the usual square-topped loess ridge, and descends gradually for four to five hours' march, with finally a steep drop into the valley of the Yunai Ho to reach the ruined township of Yunai Chen. The country traversed on this day's march, as also on the following one, consists of loess mountains with a little cultivation on their lower slopes. Villages are very scarce,

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and the trackless downs and mountains are the haunts of the brigands of these regions, who live in unknown cave villages in the heights, whence they make their forays into the valleys. All the streams, such as the Yunai Ho and others, take their rise in these loess mountains and run eastwards to join the Yellow River, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of narrow valleys in the loess. The Yellow River is said to be reached 100 li down the valley from Yunai Chen. From Yench'ang to Yunai Chen is called 80, 90, or 100 li, according to the fancy of the individual questioned. Distances are not fixed on these small by-roads as they are on the main trails. We found it a very long march; my mule train, composed of particularly good animals which usually averaged well over three miles per hour, took more than ten hours to cover the distance, exclusive of halts. The li on the small roads of Northern Shensi and Kansu are very long. 100 li on a main road in the Han valley is certainly not more than 25 miles at the outside; but the 100 li from Yench'ang to Yunai must be nearer 35 miles.

The next day's march to Yich'uan Hsien is called 80 li. The path runs up a side ravine to the south-west for an hour and then ascends steeply to gain the top of the plateau, which here serves as the divide between the Yunai Ho and the Yich'uan stream. This divide is not a mountain range but a level tableland of loess, the highest point being about 4000 feet. There is the usual view over innumerable flat-topped loess ridges sinking down in the east towards the Yellow River, the trough of which can be vaguely descried; to the north the range crossed on the preceding march bounds the view; and to the south a similar but higher range rises steeply behind the Yich'uan valley. After an hour's march in a southerly direction, descending gradually along the usual flat-topped ridge of loess, the track drops steeply into a ravine which leads down after 20 li to the ruins of a walled village called P'inglo P'u, resembling hundreds of similar dilapidated old forts scattered throughout Northern Shensi and Kansu, most of which have been taken and retaken, sacked and re-sacked, by Mahomedans and Chinese during the days of the great rebellion. Here the path leaves the stream, which flows S.E., and striking again up the slope to

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487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped
133 hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

36 Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated
669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now
162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which
579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial
[714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

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669 secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and 579 scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in 701 Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

133 From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track 487 through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

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stitutes an isolated area sloping S.E. and hemmed in by surrounding mountains; in the case of the similar Yich'uan and Yunai basins further north, the surrounding mountains were perhaps not sufficiently high to keep out the floods, the ranges being themselves nowadays buried in loess. 133 487

From the pass there is an easy descent through a gorge for 20 li to Hsiehchia P'ing, the ruins of a hamlet destroyed by brigands, where several ravines join to form a stream flowing east towards the Yellow River. The surrounding mountain slopes are rocky and uncultivated, and except for the scarcity of water resemble the Ch'inling ranges rather than the mountains of Northern Shensi. From Hsiehchia P'ing the path follows up a side ravine which leads after an hour's scramble to another pass (4800 feet); it then drops straight down the mountain side into a gorge which is followed for four hours' march until it expands into a valley at Ch'iyi Chen, a small township called 100 li from Yich'uan, where we passed the night. This is an exceedingly long and tiring day's march over a rough and rocky trail, and my mules were nearly twelve hours on the road; but there is no accommodation short of Ch'iyi Chen, the mountains being almost uninhabited and the few huts passed having mostly been destroyed by the brigands, and we had no tents with us on this journey. Everyone was fairly exhausted when we got in, a tremendous thunderstorm during the last hour completing our discomfiture; but owing, as usual, to the thoughtful assistance of the district magistrate we were comfortably housed in the principal shop of the village. Throughout our long wanderings the preparation of accommodation of some kind at the end of a march by the local official made all the difference to our comfort; schools, yamens, forts, rest-houses, temples, shops, private residences, inns, farms, caves, huts, and tents, have all served us for accommodation at different times, and the order in which they are quoted represents roughly their comparative merits. Starting at daybreak after a cup of tea or cocoa we used usually to march for about three hours and then halt for an hour or two for a good square meal; in the meantime if the march was not too long the pack mules would travel right through, so that the baggage had arrived and was already unpacked by the time we got in in the early 484

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484 afternoon. This is the height of luxury in travel in North Western China. Riding good ambling ponies we used to average four miles or more per hour on a good trail, and a day's journey of 80 li seemed nothing under these conditions. But a few really tiring marches (and this is one of them) stand out in my memory, when we had to cover a hundred li or more over rocky mountain paths where it might be necessary to walk half of the way; the hardest day of all was a march on the Kokonor border, when we started at 6 a.m. and got in at 9 p.m., crossing a pass over 13,000 feet high on the way.

487 Leaving Ch'iyi Chen the track runs down the valley towards the Yellow River for a few li and then strikes 133 straight up the mountain side to the south to reach the pass (3600 feet). This ridge is the boundary between the districts of Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, which are both very extended ones. From the pass there is a steep drop into a gorge and then a climb over a loess spur to reach the hamlet of Tuch'uan lying in a narrow ravine. From here the trail strikes again up the mountain side to the south, crosses a pass (4100 feet), and descends along a loess ridge with finally a steep drop to reach the walled village of Wangfeng Ch'iao lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east. From Ch'iyi Chen to Wangfeng Ch'iao is the middle stage in the three days' march between Yich'uan and Hanch'eng, and though only called 60 li in length is a tiring day's work, consisting of one long scramble up and down the mountains. As this route slants across the ridges to the S.E. and approaches the Yellow River, the passes decrease in altitude and some loess begins to reappear. The mountains in this neighbourhood appear to be full of iron ore.

From Wangfeng Ch'iao the track ascends the mountain side to the south to reach a pass (3400 feet) in the last range which bars the way to the plains. From the previous passes there were extensive views across the cañon of the Yellow River to the mountains of Shansi, but the river itself remained invisible; from this ridge it is seen for the first time, emerging from the mountains at the mouth of the 173 gorge known as Yümen K'ou. This is a very celebrated spot amongst the Chinese, since their annals record that the Emperor Yu (2000 B.C.) here cut a channel through the

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mountains to drain off the great floods which at that time 173
submerged the whole of North West China, thus bringing into existence the modern Yellow River and the fertile deposits of *Huang T'u* (the "yellow earth," which we call loess); perhaps an earthquake gave rise to this tradition.

From this last pass the track drops steeply into a gorge 487
which is followed for an hour's march to the S.E., and then, crossing the spur which encloses the gorge on the south, 133
drops down into the loess plains on the right bank of the Yellow River. From this point to Hanch'eng Hsien, a distance of 40 li, the trail runs across an undulating plain, which is not really a plain but the usual loess plateau, here of moderate thickness, sloping down from the mountains to the Yellow River, the latter flowing five to ten li away on one's left. This plain between the foot hills and the river [361]
is one of the most fertile and densely populated regions in the province, and is thickly dotted with farms, villages, temples, tombs, and pagodas. It is always so in North China, densely peopled fertile plains and barren empty mountains side by side. The largest of the many villages passed is Hsichuang, where there is a likin station to catch the trade coming down from the North by the route we had traversed; but its receipts must be small nowadays, for not only not on this road, but at no time during our tour of Northern Shensi, did we meet a single load of merchandize or a single traveller of the better class, so utterly has all trade and traffic in that region been destroyed by the brigands. Finally there is a short steep descent to reach the city of Hanch'eng, which lies surrounded by fields of indigo in a basin in the loess plateau formed by the valley of a stream flowing S.E.

Hanch'eng, a second class district city, is a large and 361
wealthy town, at least it appeared to us to be so, coming from the poverty-stricken North. The district is one of the most fertile in the province, and is noted for its wheat, cotton, hemp, and indigo. The irrigated fields round the 241
city produce three crops in one summer, maize being sown after a crop of wheat has been harvested, and indigo being then transplanted in early June into the same field, the indigo and the maize growing up together.

The most direct road from Hanch'eng to Hsian lies 487
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•487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a
133 slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march
[491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This
[36] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs
388 south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

[36] Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

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From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang. 487 133 [634]

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. 361

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng. 487 [491] 133 361

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues. [651]

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of 487 133

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487 Hsingshih Chen, a busy place where much of the commerce
133 of P'uch'eng district is carried on. Fup'ing, another important first class district city, lies in a depression in the loess plain caused by the shallow valley of a stream which provides irrigated lands of the richest kind. We chanced to be travelling this trail at a time when political affairs were in a more than usually chaotic state and the authority of the officials more than usually relaxed, and we had been strongly advised not to follow this route owing to the alleged large and turbulent populations of P'uch'eng and Fup'ing, who are said to be noted for their independence and love of managing their own affairs (*P'u Fu jen to, pei hsing pu an*, as one member of our party kept repeating); but, as almost everywhere else on our travels, we found the people perfectly friendly.

From Fup'ing to Sanyuan should be an easy march of 60 li; but the rains had now suddenly broken and it was an arduous day ploughing through the loess mud, which has a peculiar slimy character of its own, rendering progress whether on foot or on horseback dreadfully slow. The trail runs S.W. for a few li across low-lying land, apparently the valley of the Yao Chou River, which was largely under
[248] cotton, and then continues for 20 li across a wheat-growing plateau to the boundary of the two districts. Here there is a steep drop through a loess cutting into a level plain across which the track runs for the rest of the way to Sanyuan.

361 Sanyuan, the centre of a second class district, is one of the largest and most important cities in the province, though
438 this is not saying much. Commercially it is an annex to Hsian Fu, much of the commerce which really belongs to the latter being transacted here to avoid the official exactions of the provincial capital. For the same reason most of the trade to and from Kansu passes through Sanyuan. During recent years it has played an important part in the various rebellions and other political events which have so disturbed the province, and its trade has therefore been for the moment destroyed. The city lies on a level loess plain, and is bisected by a stream flowing in a deep rift, which is spanned by a fine stone bridge; the southern portion contains the shops and life of the place, the northern being mostly empty. Cart roads radiate in all directions across the plain.

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [34] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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ponies and mules and I never heard what happened to it 491
or whether there was anyone inside. The Chinese pack
saddle is made in two parts, the framework containing the [492]
baggage resting unattached on the saddle proper, an excellent
system permitting of quick and easy loading and unloading;
but it has the disadvantage that if the mule falls in fording
a difficult river, his load is likely to disappear for good.
A few li after crossing the Wei River the village of Tsaot'an 487
is reached, whence the road continues south across the plain
for 25 li to reach the north wall of Hsian Fu.

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CHAPTER VII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO CHENGTU FU IN SZECHUAN BY THE MAIN ROAD

The Szechuan road—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—Hsienyang—Hsingp'ing—Wukung—Fufeng—Ch'ishan—Paochi—Shensi mules—Passage of Ch'inling Shan—Fenghsien—Loess—Feng Ling—Ch'aikuan Ling—Liupa—Paoch'eng—Manchu Restoration—Mienhsien—Gold in the Han mountains—Sources of Han River—Ningchiang—Entry into Szechuan—The Chialing Chiang and Kuangyuan—Chaohua—The narrows of Chienmen Kuan—Chienchou—Tzutung—Mienchou—Lochiang and the cities of the Chengtu plain—Chengtu—Szechuanese and Yunnanese.

487 FROM Hsian, the capital of Shensi, to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, by the main road is a distance of 2225 li, say a little over 500 miles (the li in this direction averaging about four to one mile). Travelling the regular stages, it is possible to cover this distance in less than a month, but as our caravan was rather exhausted by its long wanderings, and the heat was at times very oppressive, we journeyed slowly and with occasional rests, and took five to six weeks to reach Chengtu.

This road is about the most important overland route in China, though the traffic on it has somewhat diminished since the introduction of steamers on the upper Yangtzu between Ichang and Chungking, well-to-do travellers nowadays preferring to make a détour by way of Hankow and thus to avoid the hardships of so long an overland journey. As well as being the main and practically the only artery of communication between Shensi and Szechuan, it is a section of the great highway from Peking to Lassa. For the tourist who wishes to see the interior of China, a journey from Peking *via* Hsian to Chengtu by this road, and thence back by river to Shanghai, would provide a tour of great interest through some of the finest scenery in China Proper, besides entailing a minimum of the hardships inseparable from travel in the interior, supplies and accommodation being abundant
487 all the way. After leaving the Wei valley it is a mule trail,
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paved most of the way and comparatively good in Szechuan, but very rough and rocky through the mountains of Shensi. Lying most of the way through Southern Shensi and Szechuan, where paved paths and flights of irregular stone steps are the rule, it is unsuitable for ponies, and it is advisable to take a chair, at any rate from the Han valley onwards. We started with ponies, having used them on all our journeys through the North West, but were compelled to take to chairs when we got into Szechuan, as the steps and paving stones knocked our ponies' feet to pieces. Walking and chairing is a pleasant enough method of travel, but very slow, the rate of progress in the mountains being only about eight li per hour, which makes the stages long.

The Belgians have secured a concession for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan. It is a peculiar line to have chosen and one which will involve considerable engineering difficulties in Shensi and Szechuan. In nine cases out of ten the railway surveyor is unable to find a better trace for a line than that followed by an ancient highway of commerce, but if this railway is to follow the main trail between Hsian and Chengtu, its constructors are going to have a difficult job. The traveller by this road can therefore beguile the monotony of the journey by speculating as to the feasibility or otherwise of constructing a railway along it; it will certainly not be easy to find a less difficult route.

We left Hsian Fu on the 29th of June in a downpour of rain and floundered through the mud across the plain to reach Hsienyang Hsien, fortunately only 50 li away. This city, a poor-looking place in appearance though the centre of a first class district, is built along the northern bank of the Wei River, which is crossed by a cart ferry. It has some importance as being more or less the head of navigation on the Wei River, and as lying at the point where the great highway from Hsian, T'ungkuan, Peking, and the coast bifurcates, one branch continuing N.W. to Kansu and Turkestan, and the other turning W. and S.W. to Szechuan and Tibet. One cannot but speculate on the innumerable travellers who have passed through its miserable little main street, knee-deep in dust or mud, bound on their weary way to the outposts of Chinese rule in the deserts of

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000 Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few
175 hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

487 Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li,
764 still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us
175 suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand
487 years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village
133 of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess
361 plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

133 From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this
487 road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

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Ch'inling Shan, rising like a wall out of the plain to the south of the Wei River, and affording fine views of its culminating point the T'aipai Shan, snow-clad till mid-summer (12,500 feet). The walled village of Hsinglin Chen is passed half-way out, and 15 li further on the valley of a stream from the north is crossed. Finally there is a drop to reach Fufeng Hsien, 60 li from Wukung, and a replica of the latter, lying in precisely the same sort of hollow below the level of the loess at the junction of two valleys from the north and west. 133 487

From Fufeng Hsien to Ch'ishan Hsien is another easy march of 60 li across the uplands, crossing two shallow ravines *en route*, the loess here not being of sufficient thickness to be fissured by the deep rifts and cañons found further north. Ch'ishan lies close under the mountains of the same name, with the loess plain sloping down to the Wei River to the south. The main road here continues west to Fenghsiang, but travellers bound for Szechuan like ourselves, and having no particular concern with the latter place, usually proceed direct to Paochi on the Wei River, a distance of 110 li, which can be covered in a long day's march. Ch'ishan, a second class district city, much resembles Wukung and Fufeng, and seems fairly prosperous for a city of Central Shensi. [361]

The road now runs west and south-west across the loess uplands for about 50 li, and then descends by easy gradients for another 25 li to reach Titien, a village of inns on the Wei River, just beyond the confluence of the latter with the Ch'ien Shui from Ch'ienyang and Lungchou, the passage of which in a flooded state caused us some trouble. On this stretch of road we crossed our previous route from Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu, thus affording an opportunity of checking the route survey, the results of which were not particularly encouraging; but as my instruments consisted of nothing more serious than a prismatic compass, with which I kept up a route survey throughout our journeys, this was perhaps not surprising. From Titien to Paochi the road runs west between the Wei River on the left hand and a high loess bluff on the right. The actual valley plain of the Wei is here quite narrow, as the land on the further bank rises almost immediately to the grim-looking barrier of the [485]

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133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the [348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

The western districts of Central Shensi through which
231 we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are [485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

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wide and full of sand-banks, is crossed by a ferry, and the trail then plunges into the Ch'inling Shan by a valley which soon becomes a gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The change from the bare loess plains and hills to these rocky, jungle-clad mountains is strikingly sudden. The road is a well-graded mule path, but very rough going, being irregularly paved with cobbles and boulders. Fifty li from Paochi we reached the hamlet of Kuanyint'ang, nestling underneath a wooded cliff, where we passed the night. Here we were met by some of our old acquaintances from the excellent Northern brigade garrisoning Hanchung and the Han valley, in whose care we were to be till reaching the Szechuan border, and said farewell for good to the picturesque ex-brigands who had formed our escort and who had looked after us so well during our tour of the Northern districts; though their past did not always bear looking into they were the best of fellows.

Crossing the loess of Central Shensi the heat had been terrific, but from now on for the next few days, till we debouched from the mountains on to the Hanchung plain at Paoch'eng, it was delightfully cool though rather rainy. Fifteen li above Kuanyint'ang the gorge ends in the pass over the main Ch'inling range (about 5100 feet); the ascent is easy, the valley leading practically up to the summit. The railway will probably have to cross this pass, but as there is a rise of some 3000 feet from Paochi, there will have to be a pretty stiff gradient or a long tunnel. The gorge resembles the approach to the Nank'ou Pass on the Kalgan railway north of Peking, but is probably more difficult to negotiate.

From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into an open cultivated valley, that of the Tung Ho, flowing down from the south-western slopes of T'aipai Shan. This stream forms one of the headwaters of the great Szechuan River, the Chialing Chiang, which joins the Yangtzu at Chungking, so that though one has crossed the main range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yangtzu Yellow River divide, one is not yet in the basin of the Han. The easiest line for the railway from here will probably be found to lie down the Chialing Chiang into Szechuan (though the latter flows mostly through precipitous gorges), thus not entering the

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487 Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W. down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past
133 several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary torrents from the wooded mountains on either side. Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li, the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

[361] Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a
[563] pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range, which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that the relative height of the watershed above the ground north of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may perhaps account for it.

484 We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc., from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character than those of Northern Shensi.

487 At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to
133 the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

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a two to three hours' climb. My heights for these passes, obtained, like all the rest on my maps, from aneroid observations compared with an occasional boiling-point thermometer reading, are lower than those usually given; but in the most modern maps of China Hanchung is assigned a height of 2000 feet, which is probably 500 feet too much, and in one good map Mien Hsien further west is given as 1800 feet odd, thus causing the Han River to flow up hill between the two cities; so that there is room for argument on the subject all round. From the Feng Ling there is a fine view to the west over the cultivated slopes of the Tung valley backed by higher mountains on the Kansu border, and to the south-east over the wooded limestone ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. After running along the mountain side for a short distance the path drops steeply into a gorge which leads down to the village of Sanch'a Yi, an old posting stage, lying at the confluence of two streams some 2000 feet below the pass and 50 li from Feng Hsien, and following down this valley, where rice fields and some loess re-appear, for another hour's march, reaches the village of Liufeng Kuan. This stream is a tributary of the Tung Ho, that one is still on the head-waters of the Chialing Chiang. Liufeng Kuan is the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Feng Hsien, and we passed the night comfortably in his yamen.

The trail, which has hitherto run S.W. all the way from the Wei valley, now turns S.E. up a winding ravine, leading into the heart of the Ch'inling Shan, the village of Nanhsing in Liupa district being reached after about two hours' march. This place is half-way between Feng Hsien and Liupa T'ing, and provides accommodation for the traveller who wants to cover the distance (180 li) in two stages. Four hours' march up the valley, which contracts to a gorge hemmed in by densely-wooded mountains, brings one to the pass, the Ch'aikuan Ling (5500 feet), which leads over the divide into the Han basin. The Ch'inling ranges are seen at their best round the Ch'aikuan Ling, where the rocky precipices and densely-wooded mountain slopes, clear mountain torrents, and narrow fertile ravines combine to form a landscape of great beauty. Though the ascent to the pass is by easy gradients the descent is precipitous, and

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487 a railway following the main road (which could avoid the more formidable Feng Ling by a détour down the Tung 133 valley and up the tributary to Liufeng Kuan) would presumably require a long tunnel, and would meet with many more difficulties following down the gorge to Liupa [346] and beyond. Some five li below the pass lies the Changliang Miao, beautifully situated at the junction of two wooded ravines, where we passed the night. This is one of the finest temples in China, built, I believe, in the Han Dynasty, and is well known amongst the Chinese; one would have liked to remain there a week.

361 From Changliang Miao (also known as Miao T'aitzu) the path runs down a winding gorge for the rest of the way to Liupa, a distance of 40 li. The latter, formerly a T'ing, and now a third class Hsien, is a picturesque little place, almost filling a narrow valley hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan, its situation exactly resembling that of Huayang further east on the road to Fop'ing. The city is practically empty, the life of the place being concentrated in a suburb outside the south-east wall.

From Liupa to Paoch'eng in the Han valley plain is a 487 distance of about 180 li, which can be covered in two long marches, the trail running all the way down a winding gorge, 133 occasionally cutting off corners by crossing low spurs. The going is most of the way very rough and rocky. Some three hours' march below Liupa the stream joins another much larger one flowing down from the southern slopes of T'aipai Shan, called the Pao Shui; up this stream lies a very rough trail to Mei Hsien in the Wei valley, crossing a shoulder of T'aipai Shan by a high pass. Several villages living on the traffic of this great highway are passed in the gorge, T'ieh-fotien, Matao Yi (the half-way stage), Erhshihli P'u, and Ch'ingch'iao Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. As one approaches the plain, the gorge, instead of opening out, becomes narrower, the cliffs more precipitous, and the track more rocky; and just when the weary traveller is beginning to look forward to the end of the stage, the gorge becomes impassable, and the path ascends for several hundreds of feet by flights of irregular stone steps, winds round the top of a spur, the Chit'ou Kuan, and drops straight down on to Paoch'eng Hsien, lying on the edge of the Han valley plain.

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hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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lying ranges of the Ch'inling Shan here meet the mountains which separate the Han valley from Szechuan and bring the plain abruptly to an end. There is some gold in the sands of the Han, as in almost all the rivers of Western China; but whereas the sources of many of the latter, and therefore the hills from which the gold comes, lie far off on the Tibetan plateau, those of the Han lie close at hand in these mountains, which ought, therefore, to be worth prospecting; they are said to be rich in other minerals as well. 133 487 [135]

The next regular stage on this road is one of 90 li to the village of Tai-an Yi. The trail runs west up the Han River, which here flows in a perfectly straight gorge, for 45 li to the village of Hsinwan P'u, which is of interest as the head of navigation for small boats; the Han is thus navigable for practically its entire course. The porterage west to the Chialing Chiang, which is also navigable, is only two or three marches over a low divide to the village of Yangp'ing Kuan, and the road is naturally a busy one, and carries much traffic between Shensi, Szechuan, and Kansu. At Hsinwan P'u the path leaves the Han for a time, passing through broken hills cultivated with maize and rice and dotted with the useful wood-oil tree, eventually returning to the river and following up its valley to reach Tai-an Yi, an old posting stage. The Han is remarkable for the suddenness with which it springs into existence as a navigable river. At Mien Hsien in the summer it is already a large stream; while one march further west, at Tai-an, it is a mere streamlet, and one is within a few hours of its source. At the other extreme are the two other chief rivers of Shensi, the Wei and the Lo, which, rising one in Central Kansu and the other on the Ordos border, are only navigable for short distances above their confluences with the Yellow River near T'ungkuan. The contrast is typical of China north and south of the Ch'inling Shan. [484]

Above Tai-an the path turns south up the head-waters of the Han, now only a few inches deep. Beyond the hamlet of K'uanch'uan P'u, 30 li out, the valley narrows to a ravine, which leads an hour's march further on to a pass, the Wuting Kuan (about 4000 feet); whence the trail descends through a ravine in the jungle-clad mountains, past the hamlet of Tishih P'u, till it debouches into a larger

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133 487 valley and reaches the town of Ningchiang, formerly a Chou, and now a second class Hsien.

Ningchiang is a picturesque little place lying surrounded by rice fields in an isolated valley in the mountains near the Szechuan border. It is still in the basin of the Han, and a railway from Hanchung along the line of the main road into Szechuan could avoid the Wuting Pass by following the valley of its stream. There would be greater difficulties in crossing the divide into Szechuan, though these mountains are not in this neighbourhood to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, being only about half as high.

From Ningchiang to Kuangyuan in Szechuan is a distance of 230 li, which is usually divided into three stages, 70 li to Chaoch'ang Pa, 70 li to Ch'aot'ien Chen, and 90 li to Kuangyuan; but as elsewhere along this road villages are numerous, and the traveller can make his own stages. Leaving Ningchiang the trail runs up the valley to the S.W., which ends 40 li out in an easy pass (3300 feet), being the divide between the Han and Chialing basins. From the pass there is a drop of a few hundred feet into a little rice valley enclosed by wooded hills which leads down to the village of Huangpa Yi, 50 li from Ningchiang. The path here leaves the stream, which flows south, and, crossing a spur, drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing down from a high range to the west. At the point where this gorge debouches on to a larger valley, 15 li from Huangpa Yi, there is a barrier wall and a gate, indicating the Shensi-Szechuan frontier, and a few li further down this valley the village of Chaoch'ang Pa is reached. Here we parted from our friends the Shensi officials, who had looked after us so well for the past four months, and with whom we had undergone many a hardship. One of these gentlemen, who acted as business manager of the expedition and who throughout displayed great powers of organization as well as capacity for enduring personal discomforts and hardships, is shown in the accompanying photograph trying a little Szechuan stallion[1]. Having served as district magistrate for

231 [1] These Szechuan ponies though very small are exceedingly well built and show a great deal of breeding; they are useful on the paved paths and stone steps of Szechuan to which they are accustomed, and which are fatal to the larger and heavier built ponies of Kansu and Mongolia.

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many years in various parts of Shensi, his local knowledge and experience were of the greatest assistance, while his talents ranged from shooting mountain goat in the Ch'inling Shan to the writing of Chinese poetry. 133 487

Leaving Chaoch'ang Pa a spur is crossed to avoid a bend in the stream, and the path then runs down the open valley, good going at last after days of rocky scrambles, for 40 li to the village of Shenhsuan Yi, another old posting station and the head-quarters of a deputy magistrate under Kuangyuan. A little further on down the valley a curious natural phenomenon occurs, the valley coming suddenly to an end, and the stream flowing under a mountain spur through a tunnel in the limestone, to reappear in a deep gorge half a mile further on. The path ascends this spur by flights of stone steps, and then, crossing to the other side of the valley, runs along the mountain side several hundreds of feet above the gorge of the stream for the rest of the way to Ch'aot'ien Chen, a large village lying on the banks of the Chialing Chiang. The latter flows swiftly in a deep gorge in the mountains; and on the practicability of this gorge for railway construction appears to depend the possibility of finding a comparatively easy route for a railway into Szechuan from the Wei valley; for it is by this gorge that the Chialing Chiang pierces all those intricate ranges on the borders of Shensi, Kansu, and Szechuan, containing the head-waters of the Han, which are connected with the Ch'inling Shan in such a manner as to render their passage by a railway elsewhere extremely difficult.

From Ch'aot'ien to Kuangyuan, a distance of 90 li, the path is ledged in one of the cliffs of the gorges of the Chialing Chiang; but it is possible to do this stage by water, and as the magistrate had kindly prepared some boats, we were only too glad at this stage of our long journey to avail ourselves of so restful a method of travel. The river was high and the current very rapid, so that we covered the distance in less than four hours, instead of the nine or ten it would have taken us by road.

Kuangyuan, a second class district city, lies in a small plain formed by the junction of a tributary with the Chialing Chiang. It is considered an important place owing to its position at the point where the big road from the north 133 487 361

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[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
• 487 district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so
133 formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in
Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the
big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged
from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the
[136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are
not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and
which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn,
became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li.
down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here
winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The
[491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third
class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence
of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai
Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys
in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all
directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge
between the two rivers and continues along the summit in
a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the
village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge
leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending
and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps,
and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a
series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy
li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a
stream flowing north, up which it continues for another
hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under
steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large
[361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate
under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley
for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge
which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path
is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds
of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at
intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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march. The views from the ridge are again extensive. On the right hand lies the peculiar range of mountains trending from S.W. to N.E. which was crossed on the preceding day by the defile of Chienmen Kuan; on their southern face these mountains have an easy slope, but on the northern side fall away in rock precipices, giving the impression of having been tossed up by some internal convulsion. This formation extends as far as one can see in either direction, and may also be noted in the ranges south of Ningchiang. On the left hand lies the much broken hill country of soft red sandstone, sometimes called the red basin of Szechuan, into which the defile of Chienmen Kuan gives access from the N.W. Beyond the village of Hanyang P'u, 25 li out, there is a descent and then an ascent on to another ridge, which is followed southwards until it ends with a steep drop to the city of Chien Chou, now called Chienko Hsien, a picturesque little place lying at the bottom of the narrow valley of the Chien Shui, a tributary of the Chialing Chiang, 65 li from Chienmen Kuan. The high ranges on one's right now bear away to the west, and the mountains become lower and flatter; but in this part of Szechuan, as elsewhere outside of the Chengtu plain, there is scarcely any level ground to be seen.

From Chien Chou to the next district city, Tzutung Hsien, is two stages of 80 li each, through complicated hill country intersected by a maze of little narrow valleys. The road is the same paved path shaded with ancient trees, and shows great engineering skill on the part of its designers, whoever they may have been, in the manner it threads its way through this difficult country. It is perhaps the most famous road in China, and it certainly deserves such a reputation. It was probably constructed by the Emperor Shih Huangti about B.C. 200 to facilitate his conquest of what is now Szechuan. Climbing out of the valley of the Chien Shui and crossing a ridge, the trail drops into a gorge, only to climb out again immediately, and winding round a spur S. and S.W., descends to the village of Liukou, 40 li from Chien Chou, at the junction of two streams flowing south. Here it ascends again, and winding along a ridge for 20 li reaches the head of a valley, crosses the divide, and follows down another ridge, with finally a steep drop to

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487 reach the large village of Wulien Yi, the end of the stage, lying at the junction of two valleys. From Wulien Yi there
133 is a gradual ascent again until the top of another ridge is reached, along which the road winds, past the half-way village of Shangting P'u, and a fine temple in a grove of trees called Ta Miao, until it descends by a long easy gradient to Tzutung Hsien, lying in a rather more open valley sloping S.W. The hills, which grow steadily less formidable as one proceeds south on this road, are now quite low, and the mountains to the N.W. are almost out of sight.

The red basin of Szechuan appears to be an old plateau of red sandstone worn down by the action of water into a maze of hills and valleys in the same way as the loess. This formation is, however, by no means confined to Szechuan, for a vast extent of country, stretching all the way from Honan through Southern Shensi and Kansu to Hsining and the Kokonor, is composed of the same red sandstone, which in the west everywhere forms the southern limit to the loess.

At Tzutung we encountered the old joke of the North Gate closed to keep the rain out and had considerable difficulty in apprising the magistrate of our arrival and effecting an entrance.

Crossing the river outside Tzutung by a fine stone bridge, over which three motor cars might have been driven abreast, though the paved road leading to and from it is only a couple of feet wide, the trail winds westwards through the cultivated red hills to the township of Weich'eng, the end of the stage of 60 li; and on the following day continues through the same country, winding through the hills and following along undulating ridges for 65 li, to reach Mien Chou, now called Mienyang Hsien, a large and crowded first-class district city on the Fu River.

487 We were now practically out of the mountains and not far from the northern end of the Chengtu plain. From
133 Mien Chou the road runs through low hills for 90 li to reach Lochiang Hsien, whence it descends to Têyang Hsien
361 on the plain, and continues through Han Chou and Hsintu Hsien to Chengtu. These district cities, Lochiang, Têyang, Han Chou, and Hsintu are all rich and populous centres, the like of which are not to be found in the whole of Shensi

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lungtu—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kan'tsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world. 133 487

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a [491] 241 [246]

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241 sort of veitch or lucerne is grown in the dry rice fields in the winter and ploughed into the ground at the time of the spring flooding as manure for the rice crop.

• 487 Ch'ien Chou lies near the north-western edge of the Wei valley plains, and the road now ascends steadily over 133 loess hills for 90 li to Yungshou Hsien, lying just under the summit of a loess clad range which here bars the way to the west. The corn fields in the neighbourhood were full of pheasants, though there was little or no cover apart from the standing crops. The times being at the moment fairly peaceful, we met a constant stream of the large carts which ply on this road, one animal in the shafts and three in front, mostly laden with the famous Lanchou water pipe tobacco, which is exported from Kansu to all parts of China. Leaving Yungshou, half an hour's walk uphill brings one to the top of the ridge (4500 feet), whence there is a steep descent into a stony valley leading down to a hamlet half-way to Pin Chou. Here the road ascends again through the loess to a plateau intersected by ravines, down one of which it descends [361] steeply to reach the valley of the Ching Ho and the district city of Pin Chou, 70 li from Yungshou.

The Ching River is here a shallow mountain stream and quite different to the torrent of liquid mud met with lower down; apparently it assumes the latter character after its confluence with the Huan Ho, which flows down from the loess of N.E. Kansu. The road runs up the cultivated valley of the Ching Ho, here about a mile wide and bounded by cliffs of loess and sandstone dotted with caves. Twenty li out [346] the temple of Tafo Ssu is passed on the left hand, where a number of cave temples have been cut out of the rock in one of which there is a huge figure of Buddha. Two hours' march further on the road leaves the valley and climbs up on to the loess plateau, across which it runs for the rest of the way to Ch'angwu Hsien, a little city floating in a sea of wheat, 80 li from Pin Chou.

From Ch'angwu Hsien to Ching Chou is a long day's march called 100 li, the Kansu border being crossed at a village 30 li out. The road runs across the plateau, winding to and fro to avoid the cracks and fissures in the loess, the beginnings of ravines, cañons and valleys. It is lined with trees much of the way, and often these are seen to lead to

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the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and continue again on the further side, while the track now winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the same story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

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and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

PLATE XXV

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DEPARTURE FROM P'INGHIANG

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APPROACH TO THE LIUPAN SHAN PASS

[FACING P. 110]

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669 Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-
563 chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

487 From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west,
133 reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang
[243] side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

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Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

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485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, 669 which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the southwest for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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signals could be sent great distances in a very short space of time.

From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage of 60 li, the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then climbs a long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit there is no immediate descent the other side, but the path winds along a high ridge with extensive views over the loess mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to Anting in a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now known as Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the junction of three valleys, and, commanding several roads north, south, east and west, was formerly an important military centre. There is more water available here, and consequently the country is much more fertile and the people quite well off. Loess country in this rainless region is either a desert or a garden according to the amount of water available for irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though the hills become more and more sterile, the irrigated valleys are wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four short stages of about 60 li each. The road runs down the valley past several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of Ts'ank'ou whence it strikes west up a side valley to the posting station of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it ascends a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill to reach the summit of a ridge along which it winds for three to four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to the large market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst fertile irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys. To the south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyond which lie Titao and the T'ao River. From here on to Lanchou the irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly productive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the barren region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan Shan.

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the cultivated valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village and likin station, and the end of the stage. The district city of Chin Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south. Leaving Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony ravine, and after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the Yellow River, which here rolls its turgid waters between precipitous

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granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

CHAPTER IX

FROM LANCHOU FU SOUTH TO CH'INCHOU AND THENCE WEST TO T'AOCHOU ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Shani—Titao—Weiyuan—Kungch'ang—Ningyuan—Fuchiang—Ch'inchou—Schools, government and missionary—Li Hsien—Western end of Ch'inling Shan—Profusion of pheasants—Grass plateau—Modern maps of China—Min Chou—T'ao river valley—New T'aochou—Mahomedans on Kokonor border—Choni—Old T'aochou—Tibetan trade—The Min Shan—Mission work amongst Tibetans—Pneumonic plague.

WE finally left Lanchou on June 9 for Ch'inchou, Minchou, and T'aochou. The road runs due south, ascending a narrow stony valley, for 40 li to reach the village of Akan Chen, picturesquely situated in a wooded gorge. Most of the coal consumed in Lanchou comes from this neighbourhood, and the manufacture of pottery seems to be quite a local industry. We passed the night here, though the village was hard put to it to accommodate our moderate-sized party. On the following day the road ascends through a wooded ravine where pheasants are numerous for some 15 li to the top of the pass, and then descends for three hours' march through a barren rocky gorge to the hamlet of Chungpu, which is an alternative halting-place to Akan for breaking the 120 li from Lanchou to Shani into two stages. From here the road threads its way through barren hills of sandy loess for about 35 li to Shani, a wretched walled village recently promoted to the rank of district city under the new name of T'aosha Hsien. It is suitably named for the surroundings are almost desert, which is characteristic of the T'ao valley from here down to its junction with the Yellow River, and form a curious contrast to the thickly wooded slopes round Akan Chen.

From Shani to Titao Chou is a march of 90 li up the T'ao River valley, which is here about a mile broad and converted by irrigation from a desert into a market garden. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Hsintientzu and Hsink'ai P'u, 30 and 50 li out. Titao Chou, now Titao

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312 Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It [277] is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River [313] from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, 487 which can be divided into two marches by halting at the 133 hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young [491] magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren [491] and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 • 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [276] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [36] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports [438] consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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487 Hui Hsien to the Chialing Chiang, and the other *via* Hsiho
133 Hsien, Chieh Chou, and P'ik'ou; these are all mule trails.

Ch'in Chou is the seat of a Taoyin, a General, and a magistrate, by whom we were most hospitably entertained, 871 being lodged in the local middle school. The latter provided quite luxurious accommodation, consisting of remarkably fine spacious buildings. There were plenty of students too, and the popularity of the government schools was here, as elsewhere in this remote province, very apparent. English, nowadays the official foreign language of China, is taught. I am not in a position to give any opinion as to the standard of the work done in these middle schools in Kansu but it is evident that they are more popular than the missionary schools, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. Immensely beneficial as the educational work of the missionaries is to the Chinese, it has the disadvantage, from the Chinese point of view, of being adulterated with evangelistic effort; so that the student, athirst for Western knowledge, has to swallow the Christian powder skilfully hidden between layers of scientific jam. Then there is always the underlying feeling against the alien institution, and also the fact that all the missionaries who engage in educational work in China are not always well qualified to lead their pupils very far. In Kansu missionary schools exist in only a very small way; but in some provinces, notably Szechuan, large institutions have been established, including a university. These remain, however, like the Christian Church in China, purely foreign institutions for the Chinese under foreign management, and for that reason are not always appreciated by the Chinese as they doubtless deserve to be; the latter would probably prefer that the foreign teachers should offer their services in the government schools.

487 From Lanchou Fu we had so far been following one of
133 the main trade routes of Kansu, but we now turned westwards *en route* for T'ao Chou on the Kokonor border, following a very rough mountain trail through the heart of the western extremity of the Ch'inling Shan. Our first objective was the little district city of Li Hsien, distant two days' march, lying on the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang and therefore in the basin of the Yangtzu.

Leaving Ch'in Chou the path runs up a bare valley

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due south for 15 li and then branches off up a side ravine to the S.W., another road continuing south up the main valley towards Hui Hsien. After an hour or two's march up this ravine the trail ascends a low pass, crosses a small valley, and immediately rises again to cross another low pass, whence it descends to the village of Kaomo Chen in the valley of a streamlet flowing from west to east. We were delayed in Kaomo Chen for half a day by our mule train following the wrong path, and its poverty was evidenced by the fact that we could get nothing but unleavened cakes of maize to eat, the most unpalatable form of nourishment I have ever had to put up with in China, though very often the only food of the people in mountainous country. From here the trail ascends by easy gradients to a pass in the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide, a climb of less than an hour over grassy slopes devoid of trees, and then descends steeply to a valley running south-west The track follows down this stream for 20 li to the village of Lochia P'u, where it debouches into a broad and fertile valley, bounded by low cultivated hills of loess, the stream flowing from east to west. This stream is one of the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang, which flows through Szechuan to Chungking, and it is remarkable to find so much loess south of the divide. The latter formation may also be seen on the headwaters of the Shensi branch of the Chialing Chiang round Feng Hsien on the Hsian Chengtu road.

From Lochia P'u there is a remarkably good road down the open loess valley for two hours' march to the walled village of Yen Kuan, where there are said to be salt wells. The magistrate of Hsiho Hsien met us here, as we had entered his district; he said that a road branches off at this point to Hsiho and Chieh Chou and so to Szechuan. From Yen Kuan the road continues down the valley until within 20 li of Li Hsien, where it crosses a spur to avoid some gorges, and the loess formation comes to an end. Li Hsien is a picturesque little city lying hidden away on the southern slopes of the Ch'inling Shan in a country of narrow fertile valleys, whose streams all go to form the headwaters of the Kansu branch of the Chialing Chiang. From here to Min Chou our route followed an unfrequented trail which penetrated the Ch'inling Shan in the most curious way,

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487 passing and repassing from one to the other side of the watershed. In this neighbourhood the Ch'inling ranges do 133 not appear such a formidable barrier between the Yellow River and the Yangtzu as in the places where we had crossed them further east in Shensi, perhaps owing to the greater elevation of the country on either side; unfortunately my aneroids were temporarily out of action owing to an accident on this portion of the journey, so that we could not follow the heights. West of Min Chou the Yangtzu-Yellow River divide is continued by the magnificent Min Shan, a rocky and almost impassable barrier reaching in places above the line of perpetual snow; but there does not seem to be any well-defined barrier ridge joining this range to the Ch'inling Shan, and if railways ever reach this part of Kansu it should not prove very difficult to connect them up with the future lines of Northern Szechuan.

Leaving Li Hsien the trail leads up a narrow valley to the north-west for 40 li to the hamlet of Wuch'uanli, a most picturesque spot surrounded by wooded mountains, where we passed the night in a temple. An hour's march further on the path turns up a side ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends into another narrow valley trending from north to south. Ten li up this valley a few huts called Chiutientzu are reached, beyond which the trail turns up a side gorge and climbs steeply to reach the summit of the Fenshui Ling ("Watershed Pass"). The scenery in these mountains is very fine, and the country wild and uninhabited. From the pass the trail descends through a flat grassy valley and then through cornfields to reach the market village of Mawu Chen 60 li from Wuch'uanli. Here one is apparently again on the northern side of the Ch'inling Shan, the stream flowing north to join the Wei.

From Mawu Chen the path turns west up a narrow valley, which for profusion of pheasants beat every other locality we traversed in all our long journeys. The sides of the ravine were clothed in dense jungle while in the bottom were patches of cultivation with the corn ripening for harvest. These fields were literally alive with pheasants, which blundered up in flocks as one moved up the valley through the corn. Here, as often before in Shensi and Kansu, we could not fail to be struck by the absurdity of all

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this game being untouched by the natives who not only neglect all this excellent food lying to their hands, but also presumably lose quite a lot of corn eaten by the pheasants. In the eastern provinces where there is a foreign market and also the demand created by the companies which export frozen game (a demand which is a serious danger to the stocks of game in those parts) the Chinese wage an unceasing war against the pheasants with gun, net, and even poison. I have known Chinese hunters in the mountains of Northern Chihli who used to make good shooting with the prehistoric looking Chinese gun with its pistol stock, which discharges a stream of bits of old iron and gives the shooter a severe blow on the cheek-bone when it is fired; and I have also been out with Chinese hunting pheasants with a native dog and hawk. But I have never come across a native in the mountains of Kansu who took the least interest in the pheasants picking grain on his threshing floor.

Following up this ravine from Mawu Chen for some 30 li the trail crosses a small pass and descends to a few huts called Shachin Kou, where one is apparently again on the southern side of the watershed with the stream flowing south towards the Chialing Chiang. From here it turns west again up another wooded gorge, where we startled a couple of deer, too big, I think, to be roe, leading to an easy pass over grass-covered mountains. Here there is a sudden and complete change in the scenery, and the trail descends into a broad shallow valley, devoid of trees, and dotted with farmsteads and patches of cultivation. Crossing this valley, which slopes north and is apparently once more on the northern side of the watershed, past the village of Suluk'o (60 li from Mawu Chen), the track engages itself in another grassy valley leading west. At the head of this valley one emerges on to a treeless marshy plateau dotted with herds of cattle. We were here assailed by a rain storm, and though the season was the end of June it was bitterly cold; my aneroids being out of action I can only guess the height, which was perhaps 9000 feet. An hour's march across this plateau brought us to our destination for the night, the hamlet of Tachuangtzu, 80 li from Mawu Chen, where the black peaty soil was under cultivation to a limited extent.

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576 As we rode into this little place,[1] cold, tired, and generally rather miserable, the entire visible population fell on their faces, since republican principles had not yet penetrated to this out-of-the-way spot, and they thought they were prostrating themselves before an "Imperial Mission." The headman had, however, prepared the best of the mud cabins for our accommodation, and we were soon warm and dry again, and engaged in disposing of some of the cock pheasants picked up *en route*.

487 133 A few li beyond Tachuangtzu the trail drops over the edge of the plateau to reach the considerable village of Ch'enchiachi, lying in a flat cultivated valley sloping north and surrounded by grassy mountains. We halted here for the night owing to the rain, only having made ten li; quite good accommodation was secured in a farm house, but it was miserably cold. From here the road runs westwards across rolling grass country intersected by shallow cultivated valleys sloping north with sheep and cattle grazing on the hill slopes. This curious grass-covered plateau, the presence of which is entirely unexpected in a region of steep mountains, appears to be the westernmost end of the Ch'inling Shan, a range which we had come to know so well in the course of our journeys. After about three hours' march there is a slight rise to a pass, and then a precipitous drop for ten li to reach a village called Panchi Chuang, lying in a narrow valley. Another two hours' march down this valley brings one to the large walled village of Lich'uan, 60 li from Ch'enchiachi and 70 li from Min Chou. Here the stream flows south towards Szechuan and one is again on the southern side of the watershed.

From Lich'uan the track runs N.W. up a side valley ending in a grassy pass. For the next five li or so it keeps to the top of the mountain, whence there are truly magnificent views over the rocky snow-patched Min Shan to the south-west, and then descends steeply through a ravine to the valley of the T'ao River. Two tributary torrents are forded before the city of Min Chou is reached. Being now again in the valley of the T'ao we were once more on the northern side of the Yangtzu-Yellow River watershed. Since leaving Ch'in Chou a few days previously we had crossed this divide no less than six times, which is sufficient

1 [the hamlet of Tachuangtzu -- ANALYST]

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to show the interesting nature of this mountain trail. A proper survey of this region would be sure to bring many interesting facts to light. Unfortunately the prospects of accurate map-making in China are not very bright at present. The Chinese, not unnaturally, have recently taken to objecting to the wandering foreigner who used to roam across the country making a map, and they profess to be compiling an accurate survey of the whole country themselves. The results of the work done in this connection in the north-east provinces has not been published, however, and at the present rate of progress it does not seem likely that the more remote parts in the west will be reached for generations. In the meantime existing maps of China are most unsatisfactory. Some of the coast provinces have been fairly thoroughly mapped by foreign military officers after 1900; there is also a very good British map of Szechuan, though where its authors have relied on the work of previous travellers, as in the case of the important Hsian-Chengtu road, it contains many errors. In the case of a remote province like Kansu, however, the best existing foreign maps are merely compilations of the route surveys of various foreign travellers, with the result that one gets an accurate representation of certain roads intersected by spaces which are practically blank, or filled in more or less at haphazard with names from old Chinese maps. In the case of Kansu many of these route surveys were compiled by Russian travellers long ago, more interested in Tibet and Mongolia than in China, so that one finds names like Mount Konkyr, Donkyr, Ugambu, etc. (to mention a few in the neighbourhood of Hsining) reappearing on the most modern maps; some of these names are nowadays quite untraceable amongst the Chinese; others are curious corruptions of well-known Chinese centres, like the two last mentioned, which represent Tanko and Weiyuan P'u respectively. Thus, although the interior of China is nowadays so well known, it is likely to remain for long one of the worst mapped parts of the world. For travelling purposes we found modern Chinese maps, compiled from the rough charts of the various districts (Hsien), though geographically very inaccurate, more useful than the foreign maps, as one could at any rate rely on the place-names.

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
438 suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 487
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet
called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the
night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant
in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after
an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent
for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over
a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in
another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as
opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial
town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance.
About half the few buildings inside the walls had been
destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously.
We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate
had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in
a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao
River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red
sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess
of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of
the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar
Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The
red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted
with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend
from here along the border to their real strongholds round
Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow
River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms
(early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very
severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque;
this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told,
confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very
extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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563 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu
609 still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills,
487 crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.
563 Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque
[361] little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence
[792] on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamastry containing some 500 monks. We were received by the
[576] usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be
487 about 8000 feet at Choni.

139 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sungp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

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487 under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan
133 range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

797 There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

164 The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

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It seems to have been checked by the energetic action of the Chinese authorities acting under the advice of a British missionary doctor from Lanchou. The terrible thing about pneumonic plague in North China is that a patient once afflicted seems bound to die, which accounts for the amount of attention it attracts. But the ravages even of such an outbreak as the Manchurian one of 1911 seem small when compared with those of bubonic plague in India. The outbreak of 1911 caused a panic in North China amongst Chinese and foreigners alike, and the Legation Quarter in Peking barricaded itself behind its defences as though to repel another Boxer rising, though only a case or two occurred in the city; one does not hear of similar measures being taken in India.

From Lanchou Fu to Old T'ao Chou by the route we followed is a distance of about 1450 li and occupied some 24 day's travel.

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Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains (elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak, sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba. These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and west, and always one ascends to them through a region of broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

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133 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan
563 or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at
• 487 first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou
[361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the
792 village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the
[241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We
609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

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563 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) 262 of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky 133 gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names [192] are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to [137] ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

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valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a 487
densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the 133
summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' [792] march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through [792] cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an [137] inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut [313] timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the [491] first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw [136] some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the 361 approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

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We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

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484 with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

202 We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far 133 interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by 487 forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

361 Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six 634 thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the 634 Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do 563

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

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rocky gorge and then by steep zigzags to reach the pass over the divide between the T'ao and Yellow Rivers, on the further side of which there is a complete change of scenery, green hills and fertile terraces taking the place of the desert mountain sides. From the pass the trail descends into a ravine, climbs over a mountain spur, and drops steeply to the village of Chiangchia Wan, whence it descends gradually for three hours' march through the loess to reach Lanchou and the valley of the Yellow River. Our tour of South Western Kansu had occupied us about five weeks, during which period we had covered some six to seven hundred miles.

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CHAPTER XI

FROM LANCHOU FU NORTH TO CHENFAN IN THE ALASHAN DESERT, AND THENCE WEST TO ÊPO ON THE KOKONOR BORDER

Through the desert hills to P'ingfan—The Wushao Ling—Kulang—How to raise a mule—Liangchou—Opium suppression—Chenfan—Trails from Mongolia to the Kokonor—Crossing a corner of the Alashan desert—Yungch'ang—The Pien Tu K'ou passage—Êpo—Wool, deer horns, and musk.

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We left Lanchou on the 17th of July bound for Chenfan, an oasis in the Alashan desert lying ten to eleven days' journey almost due north. For the first week, as far as Liangchou Fu, we followed the Great West Road leading to Turkestan, most of the way a good cart track with accommodation and supplies every 40 to 50 li. From Liangchou to Chenfan the road ran through a string of little oases in the desert.

Leaving Lanchou by the iron bridge the road runs for 30 li westwards up the Yellow River valley, which here opens out into a small cultivated plain, and then turns north up a narrow gorge in the hills for ten li to reach Chuchia Yingtzu, a small village in a desolate region of bare stony hills. From here the track continues to ascend gradually through barren hills of sandy loess, crosses a small pass, and descends to the miserable hamlet of Yuchia Wan, the end of the first stage of 70 li. The surrounding country is nearly desert and the water brackish. From Yuchia Wan the track undulates north-westwards through a maze of bare loess hills, treeless and waterless, for 45 li to the village of Hsienshui Ho, where, as the name implies, a brackish streamlet enables some poor crops to be grown. In Kansu the Yellow River is roughly speaking the boundary between China and the wastes of Central Asia, all the country north-west of it being desert where there is no irrigation. The road continues for another two to three hours' march through these barren hills until it suddenly emerges on to the fertile valley of

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, ~~487~~ ~~133~~ [491]

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487 and the background of bare snow-sprinkled mountains, made up a wild and desolate landscape, the scene of uncounted con-
133 tests between Chinese, Tartars, and Mahomedans in the past.

The trail continues up the valley, which is here a mile or two wide and slopes gently up to grassy downs on either side, for four to five hours' march to an old military post [491] called Chench'iang Yi. Here the river is crossed by a ford, which must be difficult in rainy weather, and the road, leaving the P'ingfan valley, runs due north over easy grassy slopes for 15 li to gain the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet), the divide between the waters which flow east to join the Yellow River and those which flow north into the desert and fail to reach the sea. Immediately to the west some rocky peaks patched with snow rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. [136] From the pass the road descends, at first over grassy downs alive with marmots, and then by a steep stony track, to the ruined village of Anyuan P'u in the narrow valley of the Kulang River. The Wushao Ling will prove the principal engineering obstacle to the railway which is projected as an extension of the Lung Hai line along the main road towards Central Asia, and will presumably necessitate a considerable tunnel. Otherwise the construction of this extension will be easy compared to the section from Hsian to Lanchou. Fifteen li down the valley brings one to the village of Lungk'ou P'u. This is a long day's march called 90 li (which means 30 miles in Western Kansu) and the track beyond the pass is bad and rocky.

On the following day a short march of 45 li by a rough road down the valley brought us to the district city of Kulang, a small town three-parts in ruins situated at the point where the stream debouches from the mountains on to the plain. Here we were given a typical instance of Chinese administrative methods. One of our mules having fallen lame, we asked the magistrate to be good enough to procure us another animal, which he said could easily be done. We were accommodated in a small yamen and our mules in an inn, and that evening the head muleteer came round in a great state and said that one of our mules had been seized by the underlings from the magistrate's yamen. Explanations were of course immediately forthcoming and the misunderstanding cleared up. The magistrate had instructed his

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underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

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133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
•487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt
312 of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these
243 oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

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634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

•487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[134] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

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plain to Yungch'ang Hsien, a small district city on the mainroad. 487 133

Leaving Yungch'ang the trail runs west up a cultivated valley for 25 li to the ruined village of Shuimo Kuan. Here the stream is forded, and the trail, leaving the high road to Kanchou and Suchou on the right hand, continues up the valley due west, ascending very gradually, for 50 li to Kaoku Ch'eng, an old walled military post surrounded by a ruined village, where we passed the night in the dilapidated yamen of the *Yu Chi*, or Major in the old army of the Green Standard, who still survived in this remote corner of the Republic, though about eight years out of date. Kaoku Ch'eng lies in a broad shallow valley sloping up to the mountains on either side, with very little cultivation. Ruined farms and abandoned fields are numerous, and signs of former prosperity and present depopulation are not wanting. A huge snow mountain is visible lying ten to twenty miles away to the south, apparently part of the snow range behind Liangchou. [491]

Beyond Kaoku Ch'eng the flat valley merges imperceptibly into a rolling grassy plain, bounded north and south by mountains, and uninhabited save for flocks of sheep and occasional antelope. The road undulates due west across this plain, running more or less parallel to the main range of the Nan Shan, a high rocky barrier bounding the Kokonor plateau. For the last ten li there is a descent through cultivated fields to Tama Ying, another old walled military post mostly in ruins, lying on the head-waters of a stream flowing N.W. towards Shantan Hsien. There are several farms of settlers in the neighbourhood, and the barley looked well, though still green in early August (elevation between 8000 and 9000 feet). On this day's march we noticed the ruins of some of the old beacon towers common to the high roads of Kansu, and these ruins, with those of the old military posts, show that this was once an important military road. At Tama Ying we were again quartered in the yamen of the *Yu Chi*, the latter an aged veteran of the Mahomedan campaigns, who was spending the evening of his no doubt active and adventurous life in this remote spot, with only the vaguest ideas of the momentous changes which had come to pass with the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty.

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487 133 From Tama Ying the trail runs south-west across rolling grassy downs, on which cattle and sheep are pastured, gradually approaching the main range of the Nan Shan on the left front. We saw large numbers of antelope on this march and in places the pasturage was extraordinarily luxuriant and the grass up to the ponies' knees. The stage is a short one of only some 50 li and for the last hour the trail runs through fields of barley to reach Maying Tung, another of the old walled forts with which this region is dotted, surrounded by farms and patches of cultivation. It lies close under the Nan Shan, whose rocky peaks rise above the snow-line, and a few li from the mouth of the gorge leading up to the Kokonor plateau. This is the well-known passage through the Nan Shan called the Pien Tu K'ou, and is a remarkable cleft in the huge wall of rock presented by the main range, from which there issues a torrent flowing north towards Kanchou.

From Maying Tung to Êpo on the Kokonor plateau is a long march, called 100 li, which took us over twelve hours. The trail runs across the plain for an hour or two to reach the foot of the mountains and then enters the Pien Tu K'ou, a narrow gorge hemmed in by precipitous mountains. The trail up the gorge is very bad, and is made more difficult by its constantly crossing and recrossing the torrent, which descends in a succession of cascades and, in the summer, is only just fordable. We were told that camels negotiate this road in the winter, when it is probably much easier. Every time we forded the stream I expected our mules to come to grief, the donkeys, which accompanied us in the capacity of grain carriers for the mules, being in places nearly submerged. At length the inevitable happened, and one of the mule litters turned turtle in mid-stream owing to the mules being swept off their feet by the current; all the contents were washed down stream and the occupant, one of the servants, nearly drowned. This incident, and the subsequent collection of as much flotsam and jetsam as we could recover down stream, delayed us for an hour or so. The gorge is uninhabited except for two likin huts which seem to have gone out of business. After some five hours' march the 233 going improves and the precipitous mountains give way to grassy slopes dotted with herds of yak and flocks of sheep

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and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Obaw) is a small walled village and former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter (wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border (though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

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487 neighbourhood to escort us down to those parts, for we had now again entered the Mahomedan sphere. Life in Êpo must be a trifle monotonous for the wool buyers. It was about the most distant and isolated spot we reached on all our travels, lying some forty to fifty days' journey from the coast or the nearest railway.

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CHAPTER XII

FROM ÊPO SOUTH ACROSS THE KOKONOR GRASS COUNTRY TO HSINING, AND THENCE BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Grass lands and snow mountains—Gold washing—Kokonor Mongols—Yungan—Pei Tatung—Passage of Tatung River and Tapan Shan—Tatung or Maopeisheng—Chinese place-names in foreign guise—Hsinch'eng and a loop of the Great Wall—Hsining—Chinese control over the Kokonor territory—Kansu wool trade—Kansu ponies—Hsining to Lanchou Fu—Aborigines—Defile of Laoya—Sandstone and loess—Copper—Lanchou water melons.

FROM Êpo the trail runs south for three very long stages, each one probably well over 30 miles in length, across the grass country on the Kokonor border. Along this border stretches an old line of walled military posts, Êpo, Yungan, and Pei Tatung, which make up the stages, and the grass lands being otherwise uninhabited except by a few nomads, it is necessary for the traveller unprovided with tents to cover each of these long marches in the day. 487 361 133

Leaving Êpo the track runs south-east up the flat grassy valley, which is dotted with the black tents of Tibetan nomads and countless flocks of sheep. After some hours' march the stream is left on the right hand and the path rises gradually to an easy pass 40 li from Êpo. The view from the summit (between 12,000 and 13,000 feet) is the same on both sides, treeless grassy downs and rocky mountains streaked with snow. Immediately to the south-east rises a gigantic snow mountain, being apparently another view of the snow range which we saw south of Kaoku Ch'eng, and which seems to lie immediately behind Liangchou. There appeared to be thousands of feet of snow on this mountain in early August, and its height must be some 18,000 feet or more. This pass, like the Wushao Ling, is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Central Asian basins, and we also gathered from the soldiers who 133 487

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133 accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from
487 the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, [136] however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots.
316 The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

342 Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen
563 in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents
563 of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating
634 northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as 634
the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs 563
and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li 487
to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August). deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 487
491

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491 are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called
p'ifatzu), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the
133 rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft
(a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak
487 hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals
to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not
without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were
eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony
lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were
shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding
487 the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the
river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and
133 almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the
river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet)
is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The
summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright
green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we
reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through
which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals
which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally
as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It
821 is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which
are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes,
and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round
their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to
educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only
rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing
in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better.
My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu
and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much
worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan,
than on even higher divides which are approached by easy
slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the
133 descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail
487 very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached,
which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary
Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached
485 this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we
descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty
well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

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712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey 648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

631 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive st.llions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile, 133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiang-t'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to [244] preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tátung River is crossed by [491] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of [361] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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244 water melon, here grown to perfection, not the insipid watery pulp it is in many provinces, but a huge mass of juicy fruit of the most delicate flavour; and the *ta kua*, a tasteless variety fed to sheep and goats, and grown for its seeds. We were told that there is only one other melon which can compete with those of Lanchou for juiciness and delicacy of flavour, and that is the *Hami kua*, from Hami in Turkestan.

487 Our round tou of North-Western Kansu, *via* Liangchou, Chenfan, Êpo, and Hsining, a distance of about 700 miles, had occupied a little more than a month.

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

AFTER returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished 487 ●
our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way 133
back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan; thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper [502]
Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of 501
knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

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501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small article it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India.

436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland
133 march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the
[36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

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the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361] bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376] plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

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to the background of desert hills. The red sandstone cliffs bordering the river are pocked with square caves similar to those on the Min River and other streams in Szechuan. The origin and use of these caves, whether they are old tombs or the former dwelling-places of an aboriginal race, are, I believe, still unknown. Here on the Yellow River several of them were inhabited and provided with ropes and ladders as means of access. I should have liked to have visited the inhabitants, but it was quite impossible to stop the heavy rafts in the swift current under the base of a perpendicular cliff of rock; it is very strange that anyone should want to live in a cave half-way up a sandstone cliff overhanging the Yellow River, with no other means of access but a rope or ladder up or down the rock, unless it be the inherited custom to do so, or as a refuge against robbers. In my experience these square-faced caves, which are of an entirely different style of architecture to the round-arched caves in the loess in which millions of Chinese still dwell, are only found in the faces of sandstone cliffs overlooking rivers.

Three hours below Powan we reached the district city of Chingyuan Hsien on the right bank of the river; it lies on an old main road from Shensi to Lanchou *via* Haich'eng which was in general use before the construction of the present road across the Liupan Shan, and appears still to carry a certain amount of traffic, mostly camel caravans. The valley opens out in this neighbourhood and there are cultivated strips along both banks for a space. Four hours below Chingyuan the river, hitherto flowing north-east, is running north-west between sandstone cliffs owing to the incidence of a range of mountains on the right front; this range appears to me to connect the main Nan Shan range with the Liupan Shan, which itself seems to run S.E. to join the Ch'inling Shan near Paochi, thus forming one continuous barrier trending across North West China from N.W. to S.E.; but this is only a guess. Near here we tied up for the night to some rocks on a shelving sand-bank.

Two hours further on the mountains are reached and the river enters a series of bare rocky gorges hemmed in by precipitous cliffs of red sandstone and shale, opening out in places to reveal a desolate wilderness of reddish mountains

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501 to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

502 The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to
133 steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtze, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

133 Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream
487 flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irriga-

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tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lambskin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

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lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It 439 evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133 hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487 distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly [484] busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all 563 Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792 which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796 very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535 Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796 graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the 782 same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

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796 devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an [782] elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

[361] Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and 438 Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner 136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new 133 ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired [485] to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

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can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

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797 the Church, and the hospital, where he daily received men and women patients. At the time of our meeting his position in the city was amply assured, but many years previously the people of Pingliang had combined to refuse him all admittance by forbidding anyone to sell him food, and it was only due to the secret kindness of one woman in supplying him with a meal of flour and water pancakes each day for several months, that he existed at all; but in the end he overcame every opposition, outlived suspicion and came to be regarded with universal respect.

080 We studied together the map of Kansu, and he told us of his own various itinerant journeys to districts reputed to be almost uninhabited, but where large audiences had collected whenever he made halt to proclaim the Gospel. Laying his finger on a spot at the extreme North-Western boundary of the Province, he said: 'Here stands the Great City of Suchow. You who care so much for Kansu, this is the town which awaits your coming!'

CHAPTER III

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA TO LANCHOW

• 487 On the second day after leaving Pingliang, we took the Pass which rises to nearly nine thousand feet over the Lupan Shan. All the morning we had followed the course of a rushing stream, which we crossed and 494 recrossed many times. It was still early winter, and the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of our litters, so that we often had the unpleasant experience

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502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

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138 the way. At a distance of about two miles a high
712 gate-tower of many storeys came in sight, flanked on either side by a clay wall, which on the south stretched for seven miles to the foot of the Tibetan mountains. On this side lay green meadows richly watered by springs, and for this reason the name Kiayükwan has been given, meaning 'The Barrier of the Pleasant Valley.' The position of the fortress has indeed been well chosen in view of excluding invaders from the west, this being the narrowest point between naked hills on the north and south. Under the shadow of the walls a stream is crossed by a wooden bridge, and from here the path mounts steeply to the door of the southern quarter, where all the inns are situated. We passed through two great vaulted gates into the first enclosure, which holds within it the ruins of a small town, now mostly uninhabited. The splendid outer walls, with their loophole battlements and towers, and the Yamen and military barracks, still occupied, give an impression of mediaeval importance to a place which otherwise would be only a tumbledown village.

487 A most imposing gate led out on the north side, and beyond this, as far as eye could reach, was an undulating desert over which the wintry wind was blowing. A hundred yards from the gate a stone tablet proclaims this to be 'Earth's Greatest Barrier.' The scene was desolate beyond words, and if ever human sorrow has left an impress on the atmosphere of a place, it is surely at Kiayükwan, through whose portals for centuries past a never-ending stream of despairing humanity has defiled. Disgraced officials, condemned criminals, homeless prodigals, terrified outlaws, the steps of all these have converged to that one sombre portal, and through it have for ever left the land of their birth. The arched walls are covered with poems wrung from

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487 broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

> 'When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan,
> My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye can see it: '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

805 527 THE Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day!'

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bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE OASIS OF TUNHWANG

TUNHWANG is, in the opinion of the inhabitants of 484
neighbouring cities, so gay a place as to merit the
name of 'Little Peking,' but as four days particularly 487
hard travelling separate it from Ansi, which is the
nearest town, we were warned of hardship ahead in
getting there. We were therefore advised to fill every
available bottle, to carry a sack of bread and one of
flour, and to occupy every space left, with feed for the
animals. On leaving Ansi we made a straight line [133]
for a long volcanic range which we had already sighted
on coming, and which we now followed the whole way.
The aspect of these hills was different every hour,
seeming now near, now far, and blue, purple, or silver-
grey, according to the course of the sun. They were
bare of all vegetation, and scored by innumerable
watercourses, which disappeared into a gently-sloping,
barren, gravel plateau. The so-called inn, which [485]
marked each stage, was but a rude shelter inhabited by
two men, and the only water was a brackish well. The
last night was the hardest of all. The road had [135]
stretched over an expanse of salt, glittering in the star-
light. We had expected a good rest when we reached 484
the inn, but on arriving were told that the fodder supply
being now nearly exhausted, there would not be enough
left for another feed, so we must leave in four hours'
time, if the mules were to have strength left to pull us
through the deep sand now lying ahead. Accordingly,
after a brief halt we started, and at 4 a.m., chilled to
the bone by the biting wind, and utterly weary for want
of sleep, we felt almost at the end of our powers. The

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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

487 494 175

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

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provincial capital, our continued presence in Suchow was of no further assistance to him.

Of the various routes by which we might reach England, that which would take us through Central China seemed the most precarious, as the armies of the War Lords were now on the move, and were preparing to besiege Sian. The route which would take us through Kashgar, Osh and by the Trans-Caspian Railway was temporarily unfeasible, and there would have been barely time to attempt the Karakorum Pass before the early snows made it impassable. For several years it had been our cherished plan to take a missionary journey across Central Asia, following one of the ancient trade-routes, and preaching the Gospel at every stage of the way. This now seemed to be the time for carrying the plan into execution.

After much deliberation, we decided on a route which would take us via Kiayükwan, Yümen and Ansi to the Turkestan border at Hsinghsinghsia; then across the desert to Hami; through the Pass of the Tian Shan Range at Tsikioking, and so to Kucheng and Urumchi; and from thence by a road still leading north-west, through Manas to Tsuguchak. From Chinese travellers we had learnt that we might expect to cross the Russian border at Kuswun, proceed to Lake Zaisan, and there board a Russian river steamer which would take us up the Irtish to Omsk, where finally we could join the Trans-Siberian Railway. We were also informed that if we arrived at Lake Zaisan later than the end of September, the last steamer of the season would have left.

Many had been the Chinese and Turki travellers with whom we had talked during the past three years, questioning them concerning the ancient trade-routes of Central Asia. The reports were so varied, however, and the calculations of the distances covered and the

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi Desert.
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

[FOLDED MAP (A)]

[end map]

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan,

[FOLDED MAP (B)]

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Map of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) marking each oasis on the main trade route across the Gobi
THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE WRITERS.

FOLDED (C)

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[FOLDED MAP (D)]

it under heaven."

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good.

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

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gained control. Finally around 1081 Lanchow fu was again conquered by the Chinese under their brave eunuch general Li hsien, with the help of the Tibetans who, insofar as they were farmers, were subject to the Sung dynasty. (Tsing yuan, too, was snatched from the Hsi Hsia kingdom in the same year.) Since then the city has remained united with the kingdom. But the importance of the place may be seen from its earlier changeful fate.

The Yellow

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River which is of any visible use to the land and its people only insofar as it flows outside the Great Wall, cannot be easily crossed anywhere; certainly not on the Great Chinese Plain where the inhabitants call it their sorrow and affliction on account of its destructiveness. It once took me a full day on a ferry to get through at Kaifeng fu between the countless mud banks which are always in motion and constantly changing. Along the railroad line Peking-Hankow in Honan it forms an almost insurmountable obstacle even for our modern technical resources, because of its insecure mud bottom. Even though it does not contain a great deal of water, it is never easy to cope with at Lung men and in its entire middle course as far up as Lanchow fu. Finally, in Lanchow fu, almost where its Tibetan upper course begins there is a place where not only can the two banks be connected by a bridge without great difficulty, /149/ but where roads also lead down to it. The highway which connected Chinese culture with the Western world here crosses the Yellow River. Inasmuch as roads, to say nothing of highways, in China have, up to now, depended more on the accidents of nature than on the will and skill of man, and Kansu, which is by no means a flat country, possesses very few highways, it follows that every place where this natural road could push through was of particularly outstanding importance. This road, the ancient "silk road," leads out from the original sites of Chinese culture, out of the Wei Ho Valley and the Fen Ho Valley basin from Hsingan fu by way of Ping liang fu to the northwest, to Lanchow fu. It anxiously avoids large rivers which, as for example the upper Wei Ho, have cut deep ravines into the mountains and which only bridle paths and mule tracks can follow. It leads across loess country devoid of stones, past a few loess brooks and often for long distances on high ridges. Each year the summer rains tear up great holes in the road and interrupt traffic, but in the dry winter months trade and traffic flow cheaply and easily. Roughly, this road follows the watersheds between

487 the Wei River and the upper Yellow River. North of it the loess is still more compact, and on the way to the largest loess dune there was almost no better way of getting through. It is only when one again gets outside the Great Wall - as we have seen - that there is a larger trade route, from Tai yüan fu through Sui de tschou and to Ning tiao leang, but it permits wagon traffic only along certain stretches and leads across the Hwang Ho between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, but in not a very comfortable fashion. The next larger traffic artery which conveniently connects the west with the east is the Kweihwa - Bau tu - Ninghsia road which avoids the Yellow River but leads through nomad country and thus its safety is entirely dependent on the more or less peaceful behavior of these nomads, and thus also for political reasons it has for centuries not been regarded as a large traffic artery.

631 But Lanchow fu is not merely the Hwang Ho bridgehead of the "silk road"; it is also the juncture of the roads leading up from South Kansu and Szechwan, as well as for the Tibetan roads that come from Hsining fu and Ho tschou. For this reason the city has also been made the seat of the tsung tu or tschi t'ai of Schen kan, that is, the residence of a vice-regent. Under the Manchu dynasty, under Emperor Kien lung around the middle of the 18th century, when Chinese power headed by Manchu had completely overcome the Kalmuk and the large territories of the West had to be newly conquered, the old, large province of Shensi was divided up into a smaller Shensi and a Kansu. (1) At that time the position of tsung

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1. The name Kansu (pronounced: Gan su) was formed from the characters of what were once the two most important cities in the western part of the province: Kanchow and Suchow. Shensi means "west of the pass"; it is the country that lay west of the strait of Tung kwan ting which we learned about in the second chapter. Shenkan, therefore, means the vice-kingdom of Shen (si) and Kan (su).

As a result of the last revolution the title of Tsung tu has now been abandoned and replaced by Tu tu.

tu, of the viceroy or governor-general was created, who first of all acted as civil governor of Kansu, but who, besides, /150/ had the general supervision of the civil- and military administration of Shansi and the vast Central Asiatic territories, which are called Sin kiang (pronounced: Hsin Tschiang) by the Chinese, i.e., "new

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There
are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361 has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487 and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133 these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631 springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow 661 fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

T 122 pass through everywhere. By means of it even the road to Lhasa was open to me. But from the very first moment I was worried for fear my treasure, the passport, might be taken away from me, could be revoked or might even be a forgery.

I now urged our rapid departure and I set out as soon as I had received the notice that the military escort which the amban had promised at the time of the Chinese New Year would be sent after me to the border.

T 121 My task was now to finish the exploration of the Hwang Ho within the boundaries of Tibet and then to push on ever farther through unexplored territory, through the wide white spots on our maps of Tibet, to the southeast until I should be stopped by the Lhasa government or until I had reached the Valley of the Brahmaputra.

C 487 With this end in view I left Hsining fu and followed the most southerly of the three valleys which converge near the west gate of the city, upward, spending the first night in Schang bsin tschuan (meaning, roughly, "upper new town"), a small loess town with a bu tse or fort made of loam and a /261/ small garrison. Half the populace consist of Chinese, the other half are Tu fan, that is, Tiberan farmers, and it lies only a few kilometers south of the Gum bum monastery with which my readers became acquainted in Chapter Six. The loess ends here and this is also the end of the Chinese wagon road. From here one can travel on only with beasts of burden.

C 712 Just beyond this place, at sunrise the next morning, we passed by a low wall and small guard house containing a few ragged soldiers, and herewith we crossed the boundary of the land containing the most industrious farmers of our planet: the Middle Kingdom, and entered the kingdom of steppes and mountains. This is where Tibet begins.

C 487 Even directly beyond the little wall the land seemed uncultivated, wild and unclaimed. Soon we climbed steeply up a narrow rock ravine and often labored over slippery masses of ice which filled the entire valley floor like a glacier. Often men had to be sent ahead to cut steps into the ice for the animals and spread earth and sand. In spite of this, many of the animals fell, slid helplessly down the ice slopes on their knees, broke their saddles on the rocky crags and corners on either side of the valley, or had to be laboriously unloaded and re-loaded. Here, already, one of the yak bullocks fell with a wrenched shoulder and had to be

slaughtered. The little brook which runs through this valley ravine had, in the long winter months, prepared this obstacle for us. It had refused to let itself be bound by the winter's cold, but had, a violent fellow, again and again broken through the ice formations, flooded them, thickened them and piled them up until the result of its labors resembled a glacier. C 487

And yet by noon already my caravan climbed up the steep and narrow pass of the La tsche Mountains, the Lao ye Shan as the Chinese call it, at an altitude of over 3,800 meters.

The mountain range which I herewith crossed is part of the long chain emerging at Koko Nor from the mountain masses which have been leveled off into a sort of high plateau and coming to an end in the Lan chow fu region among the pliocene clays and the loess of North China. Altogether I crossed this range at six different places. Like several other ranges which emerge from the northern part of the East Tibetan highland, it gradually decreases in height toward the east. Like all the other mountain ranges north of the 32° north latitude, it contradicts Richthofen's theory of a sharp drop in the Tibetan plateau, a Landsraffel, on the Chinese side. Below Hsün hoa ting Shan the chain of the Lao ye is broken through by the Hwang Ho. Farther up it forms the watershed between the Hsining River and the Hwang Ho. C 133 487

The path across this pass was poor. The animals gasped pitifully under their burdens and we made very little headway. Every few minutes the beasts would stop, panting for breath. Our progress was fitful.

For the first few days of our journey I had rented an additional three dozen mules or so; thus my eye fell upon an imposing file climbing up the steep slope. The caravan moved up toward the pass like a giant worm, winding its way laboriously, desperately twisting to the right and left, /262/ contracting and expanding, but nevertheless making headway and steadfastly striving toward its goal. Amid much shouting and the never-ending "aoaoao" of the Chinese drivers, we finally passed through a tight notch of a narrow ridge and arrived at the top, and from there we climbed down again on the south slope which was much steeper than the northern one, into a narrow rocky valley.

We passed near a Chinese wall (Ts'ien bu tsch'eng) in which a lieutenant with a small squad of men guards a frontier outpost. Soon after, we again saw a few fields, passed Tibetan farm houses, and saw Garang, the seat of a Tibetan prince of Ts'ien bu (rank). Long C [712] T 361 792

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My caravan en route in the Sorgh-[illegible] Mountains.

Arrival at the new camp site.

disappear without a trace if we had walked into the trap. 000

At eleven that evening we were in the inn at Kue de. The newly /278/ bought yaks had suffered considerably. They were all overtaxed and two of them were lame.

Thus the proposed journey from Kue de south through the territory of the Ts'aner and that of the Lutsang-Tibetans and on to the Aru Rardscha monastery and thence across the Hwang Ho, was not advisable. My yak-purchase, so frought with adventure, had convinced me that I could only have fought my way through in bloody combat. As a single European and with my few native companions I would have endangered the newly-equipped caravan The advantages did not seem worth the price. Besides, it was extremely doubtful whether the Tibetans would even permit me on the Aru Rardschan gomba ferry across the great river.

Thus I had no choice but to ride back the old way. On the next day I crossed over to the left bank of the Hwang Ho and at the southern foot of the Lao ye Shan at the Chinese military station of Ts'ien hu tsch'eng I gathered together my entire caravan. Meanwhile the large yak herd had been able to graze there undisturbed. During this time the animals had stored up a great deal of surplus energy.

As I mentioned earlier, the Chinese have guarded the Tibetan part [712] of the road from Hsining fu to the oasis city of Kue de by means of two 487 military posts, Ts'ien hu tsch'eng and I ts'a sche. West and northwest of the former post there spreads out an uninhabited mountain region with peaks of 4,000-4,500 meters. Only on the south side of these mountains, that is, west of the station of I ts'a sche which I first visited there are pastures which are visited by nomads for certain periods. But from Ts'ien hu tsch'eng northwest into the mountains there extends a longitudinal fissure with old moraine remnants and along this leads a "caravan road" which, however, is seldom used because the region is regarded as unsafe and thus for long stretches there is not a trace of this "road." Nevertheless, it conveniently connects with Schara khoto, that important military station which had served me as a refuge after my defeat at Koko Nor the preceding January. In 1904 Lieutenant Filchner and I had also set out from there, and Prschewalski, Rockhill, Kozlov had already passed through there. After all that had happened, I finally had to make up my mind to go through the very same gate. The only consolation I had was that the road I used this time to reach the town, had not been traveled by any European before me.

It took us three days to get through the mountains between Ts'ien 000

133 bank of the river also; and the high terraces of red clays and sand which I mentioned earlier when I visited the oasis of Kue de, also belong to it. These terraces show that the plain formerly extended much farther. But the name "tala" refers only to the part on the left shore of the Hwang Ho, and is feared by all the people of the vicinity because of its scarcity of water and dryness. The tala soil consists of sand and rubble, and great stretches of its surface are covered with dunes which are often amazingly high. The Tibetans call it rdo tang, "stony plain," because of its many stones.

Here, too, the Hwang Ho is a most useless fellow. It has cut its bed so deep and thereby buried the level of the underground water so far down that no brook is permanently able to rise to the surface through the rubble and sand. We are confronted on these steppes with an ancient tertiary valley which was later buried. Geologically speaking, the Hwang Ho arrived late in this region and once it had turned into the valley, it could not free itself from it; moreover, it was forced to follow the old, buried rock channel toward the east and was not even able to clear out and restore the original shape of the valley. The stream's power of erosion has heretofore affected only the depths and has dug out a narrow canyon which the river races through in youthful exuberance.

487 133 Four European expeditions had come within the vicinity of the tala before me. But all of them traveled along its edges and stayed on the important traffic routes along the foot of the mountain range in the north and south. These have gradually become wide, stony roads, through thousands of years of use. On the Filchner expedition we had, at my suggestion, tried to take a new route. But at that time we struggled unsuccessfully to find a route from Bayan Nor straight across the tala, and we were finally obliged to follow the main road which Rockhill and Grenard had taken before us. "You cannot go differently, there is no other way!" we had been told at that time. "It takes three long days to cross the tala, three days without water; the horses and oxen won't hold out that long." A year and a half later I happened to hear the ting of Dankar say that in 1905 on his trip into the Ngolok country he had come right through this desert, and therefore I would not let myself be frightened off when a new exclamation of "impossible!" reached my ears. Without making a lot of inquiries I traveled south from the Bayan Nor. Luck was with me on this new advance; we came upon a dried-out valley that did not wind too much and along the bottom of this our oxen made rapid progress, in spite of the many stones.

the broken teeth, which had been "given" me in January at the Koko Nor, had found the water. 000

On this day I lost two yaks that came from the Ts'aner. All the other animals reached the water hole, although some of them not until late that night. The two yak bullocks that were lost had had to be favored for a week already. They had taken turns carrying a skull of a Tibetan which I found between the dunes at the Si ni Ts'o. It was the lightest weight imaginable, but my men swore that it was this skull or rather the gui, the spirit of this dead man, that had exhausted the two animals and finally killed them. It weighed so heavily on their necks that they would have broken down even if they had been the strongest bulls, so my Mohammedans as well as my Buddhists solemnly declared.

In order to refresh my caravan to a certain extent I was forced to put in two more rest days at the water hole. One of those days was lost fetching the packs that had been left behind. I spent this time hunting in order to have some fresh meat. But there were not many living creatures to be found except the tschiang packs. I caught only a few hares and some prairie hens. The tschiang were extremely [136] cautious. They are very inquisitive animals, they always had to know what the mules and ponies were up to, but they never let me as a human being come closer than 400 meters. The flat terrain and the almost complete absence of vegetation made their vigilance easy.

On the afternoon of the second day our water hole dried up and we could not find another far and wide. The snow field, too, on the mountain beyond, which we aimed at from the distance, had now melted. We had obviously been lucky in crossing, and I did not fail to point out my good fortune to these superstitious people in the proper manner, in order to dispel any doubts that might still be left about the crane shot.

At the foot of the southern border range and parallel with it runs 487 a large yak road. This is a natural road running along for hours, straight as a die, and varying in width from six to ten meters, like a sheaf of little paths, /304/ sometimes close together, sometimes farther apart. This is a route used by wild game from time immemorial. Today it is the road of the Schar ba (the people from the east), that is, the merchants from Sung pan ting in Szechwan. Every year these people lead hundreds of bullocks carrying tea and all kinds of goods and trifles along this road in month-long journeys, and trade these things for wool, skins, furs, rhubarb and musk. We discovered this road on our next day's march and followed it in a southeasterly

[text continues on p.513]

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487 direction. It brought us into a new, wide lateral valley that is situated beyond the sacred Amne Bayan and runs parallel to the principal range of the Semenov Mountains and the southern border of the tala
T 361 steppe. Here we found a small stream beside which we pitched camp
619 number 15. Farther southeast, in the distance, we could see the black tents of the Ats'o Lhardi Tibetans. We counted fifty tents. They looked like angular boulders, like mounds of termites against the still wintry, yellow prairie. We were still so far away from them that we could not establish communication. The entire tribe which carries on its own, independent marauding policy is said to have sixty families. Here, already, the Tibetans prefer to pitch their tents rather close together in order more easily to ward off attacks of other tribes.

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133 The region in which the tents stood, the lower part of the lateral valley, is called "hoka" which is a Chinese designation consisting of ho, "the river," and ka (kou), "the mouth" of the river. In the Kue de dialect kou is always pronounced like ka. Here, again, there is an old Chinese castrum which has long since been abandoned; the direct road from Kabatalen across the tala to the south leads past it.

The new longitudinal valley which we had reached at camp number 15 is 50 - 60 kilometers long. It emerges from the chains of the Semenov Mountains at a sharp angle. Like all the other valley depressions in the region, its bottom is filled with masses of rock fragments and thus it is wide and forms a steppe. The hydrographic conditions of this mighty valley are extremely peculiar, for there is no brook running along the valley. Instead, the small streams that come down from the slopes and ravines, at various places break through the mountain range that separates the longitudinal valley from the valley plain. In this way various watersheds have been formed in the bottom of the longitudinal valley. These are so low that at first glance it seems incomprehensible why the flowing water has not made its way along the valley, especially since the bottoms of these watersheds are made up of rubble and sand which would offer little resistance, whereas the ridge of the mountain barrier which the brooks have evidently cut through consists of perpendicular, hard stone layers (permocarbon). Naturally, these abnormal rifts have not been made entirely by the present-day brooks. They have been caused by the filling-in and leveling of the longitudinal valley by the enormous, oft-mentioned rubble masses. The latter was so tremendous here that the valley floor was shoved up higher than

133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibel chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibel is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives, they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 485 712 Up on the top of the Siansibel Pass we came upon the large caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 316 The descent south from the Siansibel Pass is extremely gentle. Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

000 recovered. In my case it was only the dampness that was unpleasant, but my men were afraid of the evil spirit which was supposed to have brought us the disease.

June 6. My little fox terrier, Jack, was the one who was happiest when we traveled on. All he knew was travel. While I was sick and would not leave my tent in spite of all his invitations, he looked at me sadly and anxiously. He finally curled up on my blanket and lay motionless. But today when he saw me on my horse, he seemed transformed. Tirelessly he leapt up on the saddle with me and jumped down again. Then the little white /322/ beast ran about like a weasel, racing the dogs for hares and driving the marmots deep into their burrows. Our long delay had had the most salutary effect on the yak bullocks and the horses; they had grown so lively that it was very difficult to load them.

C 487 I had sent H'an ahead to find out how we should best travel on in the Tschürnong Valley. He returned with the worst possible report. He said that the ravine was much too steep and we would not be able to go much farther with the bullocks. He said the road was on the other side of the valley. The river had risen as a result of the monsoon rains and the difficulties and dangers of crossing were thus multiplied.

I left the Tschürnong Valley and continued up the lateral valley in which we had camped. After a few hours we crossed a moderately high pass and traveled northwest in a parallel ravine. On either side there rose magnificently-shaped mountains. At their foot were fresh green meadows, their peaks gleamed dazzlingly white. Wherever the ravine was a little wider we saw remnants of nomad encampments. There must have been countless numbers of people living here during the past winter. Now antilopes, marmots and hundreds of hares were the sole masters.

T 792 782 As before, I rode ahead of the caravan along with Da Tschang, spying out the road and pursuing my topographical and other surveys, when we noticed a few horsemen to the left of us on a narrow ridge. They were sharply silhouetted against the sky. Hardly had they spied us when they uttered a barbaric "Juchu!"

On the highest point of the ridge we could see a large pile of stones, a lab (r)tse. When they reached it, the riders slid from their horses, stuck their riding whips on which their horses' reins were fastened, into the ground as pickets, and in a trice had erected a small altar, and began fanning some embers which they had obviously

133 bottomless mud that covered everything. At each step the animals sank up to their hocks into the sandy-gravelly earth that was saturated with water. There was almost no vegetation. Here and there grew a few pulvinus plants, otherwise there was nothing but bare sand and angular stone fragments.

133 Once again we crossed the water-shed between the Hwang Ho and Central Asia which has no natural drainage. Devout travelers had 487 marked the place with a large heap of stones and a lab (r)tse made entirely of white quartz fragments, crowned with huge wild yak skulls. Southeast of the pass - we could reach it simply by following a small valley - there was a large lake almost palpably near. It was the Tiberan Merduch' ts'o (1) (Khara Nor according to Roborowski). It

1. The Sidia Tibetans called it thus or Mergenduch' Ts'o.

seemed child's play to reach it on that same day, and from a distance a green shimmer promised ample food for the animals (Plate LXVII). But though to the eye the way seemed easy, it was very difficult actually to traverse. The entire descent down to the lake was a continuation of the same barren morass. Only on the narrow trails used by the kyang, the animals did not sink down to their bellies in mud. The aerial distance from the pass had measured 10 kilometers to the lake. But the caravan was obliged to make laborious detours. A few of the men were constantly occupied unloading animals that had got stuck, pulling them out and reloading them.

"Gung schi, gung schi! - we congratulate you, we congratulate you!" cried my men when, in the late afternoon, we encamped on solid, dry earth at Camp 31 which was, however, still far from the lake. "You have been very lucky, sir, the mountain spirits do not wish you ill, you have not lost a single animal!" We had, of course, proceeded cautiously and had always sent ahead scouts. The good mood lasted when, /324/ contrary to all expectation, we were able to brew hot tea in the camp. The sun had come out from behind thick clouds for only a few minutes but that had sufficed to prepare our fuel for us. The wild yak dung had dried astonishingly quickly as a result of the strong rays in this altitude. An added factor was the wide strip along the lake which showed a covering of grass. The water table which reached the surface farther up and on the mountain slopes, flowed underground here, even the brooks were buried in sand before they reached the lake.

menacing silhouette of the heavy, pointed horns of a yak bull. "In the name of Gung kang tschüs dyong!" whispered my companion, overcome with fright, "the mountain spirit in person!" The old fellow seemed to regard himself as such as he stood there motionless, his narrow front turned toward me, and staring at me. For a long time he considered whether he should let himself be driven away from his precious, cool resting place by the stones I threw at him, or whether he should drive me away. The wild yaks prefer to rest on the windiest slopes and passes. Farther away in the uninhabited mountain wastes one seldom climbs a height /23/ without encountering at the top an old bull. It is almost as though the animals longed to return to their vanished glacial home; one finds them on the most barren peaks, lying in the snow as though they were dreaming. The Tibetans, however, say that these solitary philosophers lost their mothers when they were very young and that is the reason they have become hermits.

487 I was fortunate in my impromptu choice of the crossing (1) into

1. On our maps the Bayan kara mountain range is in this region. Strictly speaking, the Mongols use this name for only one pass on the way to Lhasa. The Chinese geographers, however, have long since used it, or rather "Ba yen ka la Shan" for the long chain which forms the water shed between the Hwang Ho on the one side and the Yangtze Kiang and the Min Kiang on the other.

the Yangtze basin. In the very direction in which I intended to travel on, a circuitous valley led downward. It gradually increased in size. I followed it throughout the rest of August. Every day my sorely-tried animals found sufficient pasturage and the marches also continued without serious difficulties.

We even found traces of human beings after we had passed through a zone of sand dunes in the upper part of the valley. This had a soothing effect on my anxious caravan. Their confidence rose that I would succeed, even without a guide, to lead my small band out of this labyrinth of mountains and valleys to their destination. "Sang tsche" (altars) on which the wild yaks occasionally tested their horns, old cooking sites (the familiar three stones) appeared by the wayside, if they were not concealed by the flowers and herbs that grew more abundantly here. Perhaps formerly this route was used more often. It seems to lead from the region of the Tossun Nor to the Tang La and finally to Lhasa. The great number of stone slabs that were covered

000 100 meters, and whatever might be hiding farther beyond in the ravines could not be distinguished.

That night we slept on the rise above the tents, in a semi-circle with our rifles in our hands. What could it be? What drove the dogs again and again like mad out into the black night? And that in spite of the rain that already before midnight began beating down on us and finally turned to snow!

"Tsche li bu gan tsing" (It's not safe here") everybody said in the morning. "Ghosts live here and tease people." - "The dead have been exposed near here," was the way Tsch'eng speculated further. Everyone was glad to get away quickly.

Just beyond the campsite I left the Yangtze Valley by way of a low but snow-covered pass, because steep rocks impeded the further journey on this side. North of the first chain of mountains, parallel with the river valley there stretched an absolutely straight longitudinal furrow between snow-covered peaks. In this lay a high pass, barren and inhospitable. Only a five-meter square wall-like obo that had a few stone slabs with prayers carved into them and was crowned with a pair of yak skulls reminded us that before us other people had found it necessary to set up camp in this frosty and windy place.

487 From this pass I descended into the broad transverse valley of the river Tschü Chu Mar (red water), which had broken through my huge, straight longitudinal furrow, making a deep ditch. For some time I was obliged to ride on in an icy storm cloud that was filled with something resembling hail. I pressed on in the blinding storm as though in a hood of mist and thus got almost into the middle of a tremendous herd of wild yak. The hail ceased as quickly as it began. I /32/ attempted to count the herd and had reached 3,400 when the black masses pressed so close together that I had to give up. It was a veritable army that now crossed the river before my eyes. The crack of my rifle with which I got myself a victim, had at first instilled panic in the animals, but soon they quieted down. The animals at my left had to swim across the deep river just where they had reached it, but the others who had succeeded in turning up-stream were soon seen to halt in well-ordered ranks and cautiously send out bulls as scouts who selected the best places to cross before the main body, one troops after another, ventured on the insecure slimy bottom. On the next day when I myself was looking for a favorable crossing-place for my caravan, I realized how accurately the bulls had found the best place. The Yüchü Tibetans had told me about this crossing-place and had called it "Tschü Mar rab wden" which means "the seven fords across the red

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•487 water" (Plate LXX of Volume I (1)). As a matter of fact, I had to
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1. The Tibetans say that the Chu Mar (red river) together with the schDschre-rtschyang-tschü (yak cow and wild ass river) forms the schDschre tschü (yak cow river). The latter is the common Tibetan name for the Yangtze Kiang. It is usually written De tschü or Dre tschü. The name probably stems from hbri mo (yak cow) which I heard pronounced "mdsche" or "schdschre."

cross seven larger river branches here. It was obvious that only a few days before the water level had been much higher. In all the rivers of High Tibet the amount of water changes very much during the summer months. When I crossed, only the goats and the dogs had to swim, as had the wild yak cows the day before. They were all carried far downstream. The chief difficulty for the pack animals was to find a way through the mud banks that protruded between the individual branches.

On the other side of the ford I decided to travel along the continuation of the broad and at the same time dry longitudinal furrow by which I had come, and go in a west-northwest direction in order
000 to put a greater distance between us and the Yüchü. (2) No human

2. I was not absolutely sure where I was. Because of its size I regarded the Chu Mar for a long time as the Yangtze Kiang itself. Our best maps failed us here completely.

being is more easily turned into a robber by favorable circumstances than a Tibetan. During today's consultation Tschaschi confessed that he, too, like the other Kue de Tibetans with whom he made the return journey from a pilgrimage to Lhasa (3) had turned back at the

3. In all of northern Tibet, among the Banag kaksum of the Koko Nor region as well as in Amdo, "Lhasa" is not pronounced like the usual "l" followed by "h", but like the English "th" followed by an extra "h". The word is familiarly derived from Lha meaning god and sa meaning earth, place.

Dang la pass in order to steal a few yak and ponies at night in Nag

000 to our hips. (1) We marched the whole day and when darkness came

1. It was the upper part of the river which we had crossed the week before the attack. In the meantime it had become amazingly small. It was only now that I noticed this was not the Yangtze Kiang, but the Napchitai ulan muren of the Tsaidam-Mongols and the Tibetan Chu Mar.

we were only on the other side of the plain where giant sand barchan blocked our path. Here we made camp, dead-tired from the unaccustomed marching and the heavy burdens. Meanwhile dark clouds gathered in the west and soon a Tibetan thunderstorm with hailstones as large as peas struck our exposed little band with elemental force. Thereafter it poured all night long. Our covers consisted only of a thin piece of felt and we lay on a fur, and this whether it was raining or snowing. Far into the night we saw the numerous campfires of the robber band, at the place where the attack had been.

487 On the next day we inadvertantly came upon unusually distinct and wide road tracks and soon after we found numerous old cooking pits, a camp site, around which stone altars stood on hills. We had struck the Goba road which here, north of the Kuku schili Mountains (in which, /43/ therefore, the surprise attack had taken place) runs in a northeast - southwest direction toward its great goal, Lhasa. Then I knew for certain that the high chain of snowy peaks to my north belonged to the Marco Polo Mountains, that is, that it was the eastern part of the so-called Arka tagh or "rear mountain range" that became more familiar to us through the Swede Hedin.

000 We still had a great deal of courage. Inasmuch as the range of peaks of the Marco Polo Mountains in the north appeared to have deep saddle-like passes, we soon left the Goba road in order to find a direct road north to the Tädschinär-Mongols. I struck out in this direction all the more confidently because on all my maps, even the one taken out of the Stieler atlas, a valley-cut through the mountains was indicated, albeit with a dotted line, showing that it was uncertain.

On the second day walking became even more burdensome. We also felt the unpleasant effects of the thin air, which had never bothered us much when we rode. Most of my men complained of dizziness and headaches. For some of them the mountain sickness began with vomiting and I myself once collapsed, unconscious. The few things that my men had selected from among the trade articles which we could not take with us, were thrown away like ballast from

000 Turning off suddenly we then sought the protection of a lateral valley, one to two kilometers from the road. Meanwhile it has grown pitch-dark. The horses are tethered and graze throughout the night, as far as the length of their rope permits. They stop for only brief half hours to lie down to sleep. We always looked for a spot for them that had the best possible grass and, if at all possible, was sheltered from the strong west-wind. When we were ready to lie down our hands and feet were stiff from cold and we curled up like worms in order to keep the last bit of warmth from escaping. At this time the thermometer goes down to -16°, and once on a pass it dropped to -20°, and the west-wind never seemed to stop. The last shirts we were able to rescue were long since in shreds, our trousers consisted only of traces. In fact, like three Ngolok, in grimy, dishevelled furs and with sheep boots and no stockings we rode for three days along the Blue Sea, the Ts'o-ngombo. /80/

•487 Our road consisted of an old well-worn yak path. It led from the Dabassu depression over a pass 3,750 meters high in the south Koko Nor Mountains, and then straight on, only one or two kilometers from the shore of the lake toward the Chinese border market Dankar.

133 The shores of the large inland sea are flat and sandy in the south. There are no projecting rocks. It is a broad flat valley filled with water, exactly like the neighboring tala was (to judge from the shell remains) before the Hwang Ho drained it in the east. The lake is probably at no point more than 100 meters deep.

There are many small brooks flowing into it. The Tibetans can count 108, as many as there are beads in their rosaries. All of them already had thick crusts of ice and therefore caused us difficulty. Many of them have deltas extending into the lake and form small lagoons. In the northwest is the largest tributary, the Bukhain Gol, which with its sediment has formed a peninsula extending 25 kilometers into the oval of the lake. From a great distance, from the heights of the south Koko Nor Mountain range, the discoloration of the water in front of this peninsula makes one realize that there is extensive shallowness.

Twenty-two kilometers from the southern shore the sacred island dances like a skiff on the blue restless waves of the Ts'o ning (1).

1. Mongolian: Kuisu (navel), or according to Meng gu yu mu dyi: Khuisun tolkhä. The Dankar Chinese call this island Hai sin Shan and say it is a mountain in the heart of the lake.

city. He afterwards confessed that he never expected to see me again. My new undertaking seemed too risky to him. Above all, he felt that I had taken along too few people. I, too, was convinced that we were too weak, but my financial condition was to blame for that. The first night we stayed in Tschen hai pu and on the second day of our journey we reached Dankar. On the next stage I covered the 70 li up to Schara khoto. I had decided to take the road traveled by K'am traders as far as the Hwang Ho and the Ngolok country. I had traveled this road with Filchner in 1904, but at that time we did not know that this was a much-frequented way. It is the easiest route and the one on which it is possible to make the most headway.

On January 23 we camped in the middle of the Remo Yung (Mongolian: Ara Gol), a few kilometers from the ruins of Tsaghan tsch'eng; and on the following day we rode past the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains and at dusk reached the peasant colony of Tschabtscha. The weather in the highlands was clear and beautiful every day. There were only a few individual cumulus clouds that swept past us and over the dry, barren tala steppe that is visible south of Tschabtscha. At noon in protected spots the temperature went up to zero, and once it even went to +2°; at night it cooled off to -26° and once it even went to -31°. It was bitter cold, for the wind never seemed to die down and it cut to the bone.

Although Tschabtscha lies at an altitude of 2,990-3,040 meters, a permanent village settlement has developed here and from year to year more and more Amdo-Chinese and Tibetans come here, among them many who have been guilty of some kind of mischief elsewhere. In answer to my question I was told that 250 families live in the scattered settlement. Most of them have come within the last ten years. Originally the land belonged to a Mongolian gung (duke) who today is in the Tsungkuk Valley near Gomba soma. Barley, oats, buckwheat, flax, even potatoes and some wheat are grown here. Three favorable months make this possible in spite of the northern latitude and the great altitude. One of the chief factors is the sunny, southerly position of the valley pocket. The village nestles in the declivity of the South Koko Nor Mountains between /100/ a few low foothills, and is protected from storms. Another factor is the loess that is quite thick here and was piled up because the South Koko Nor Mountains formed protected nooks into which the dust that was blown here from afar could settle. Finally, not the least important factor is the Tschabtscha tschü, a lively brook, that comes down from the mountains and can be utilized for irrigation of the fields, so that close

000 his knowledge of the Tibetan language was very modest, but his position made it necessary for me to pay heed to his "face." He was always addressed as "mister" and was given a servant; he rode my best ambler and was given 10 taels a month - more than he had ever earned before - besides free board.

T 360 With these people and my costly caravan I again found myself in the environs of the Tschebtsa' Fan tse. But we saw them only at a distance in the shape of black tents and black dots. The winter camps of this tribe lie in the gorges of the South Koko Nor Mountains. On the southern slopes they and their herds are protected only from storms. When at half past seven in the morning we left the Huyu Yung Tschü the temperature was /102/ -22°. The river was 20 meters wide and smooth as glass. We threw a few shovels full of sand on its surface and crossed it close to our place of encampment. However, by the time we were across the west wind had not left much of our sand; in spite of all precautions several mules fell down and the wind increased from minute to minute. We made straight for the Gungga Nor which is let in between steep sand masses, exactly like the Si ni Ts'o and is connected with the Huyu Yung Valley by a broad lowland, although it does not drain openly toward this river. Its waters are sweet. I kept to the east of the lake where there is no path, but I could not follow the shoreline because the masses of broken stones and sand of the tala or rdo tang form too sharp an incline toward the slippery ice surface. Soon we had to climb up the tala itself. And on top we were met by the west wind which had turned into a raging storm. It shook and tossed us poor riders as though titans were trying to lift us from the saddle. From 10 o'clock on the air was so thick with dust and sand that we could hardly see, and we had to huddle close together so that we did not lose one another. We should have lost our direction in the pathless desert, devoid of vegetation, if I had not constantly kept the compass in my hand. The animals did not walk, they fought their way forward with each step.

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000 At three o'clock we finally found a dry gap in the ground where we had some shelter. We could no longer battle the wind and were safe between the high dunes. I discovered that the wind velocity here measured almost 33 meters a second.

After the animals were unloaded they huddled close together. With their rear end turned toward the wind, they sadly hung their heads. They were not unsaddled any more because of the cold. In this respect we followed the custom of the country. We humans drew our fur coats over our heads in order to protect ourselves from the

way they are written, that /128/ even the most scholarly lamas are uncertain about orthography their life long.

Besides this ten-year-old, the be hu had two other sons, the eighteen-year-old who had taken part in the journey to Dankar and was the future candidate for the rank of chieftain, and a slightly older son who was in a monastery in the Yangtze Valley, as an incarnation. Since, according to Tibetan law, the second son had now reached his majority, his father had already selected a wife for him. The pretty daughter of the chieftain of the Anirba tribe from the Dsa Chu Valley was to be taken into the family in a few weeks. The be hu hoped to win a valuable coalition with this union and thus be able to exert counterpressure on the obtrusive, impudent superiority of the Dergi.

February 21. This morning the temperature in the valley was -10° C and there was a 10 centimeter layer of new snow. We left Tendo at 10 o'clock. My plan was first to visit Lab gomba, then go by way of Dscherku, the chief town of the region, on south until I met with serious opposition and would be forced to stop. The road to the Lab, Labe, or Labeg monastery led over the mountain and pass called Nien ge la. The pass is not very deeply cut into the mountain chain which separates the (ndu) Tendo Valley from the La (be) Valley, and is 4,650 meters high. In the snowstorm we came through the Dergi village above Tendo unexpectedly and therefore also unimpeded and beyond this the way became ever steeper and led straight up to the pass. I had been given two Tendo men as guides. They marched sturdily at the head of the train and seemed to know no exhaustion nor to have any difficulty in breathing, whereas my Chinese could not be persuaded to dismount, but on the contrary and to my chagrin, clung to their panting animals like bags of meal, even when the beasts slipped on the slope which pitched like a roof or slid down on their knees. Moreover, the west wind was so strong on the height that I chose not to ride for fear of freezing my toes. Near the pass we were overtaken by a messenger who brought the good news that the Tendo chieftain had just been presented with a fourth son. At the pass I gave the messenger a khadar and a piece of silk as a birthday present, and then he hurried on to Lab gomba in order to notify a priest and fetch him, so that he might give the child a lucky name.

From accounts of the two Tschang I knew that in K'am uncounted precipitous crossings awaited me; but no one had told me that as Chinese they intended to ride over all these passes. I was therefore doubly anxious because of the mountains and the loss of animals they would cause me. The men I had with me this time were utterly

T 609 in Tombu mda. So when twilight fell no one thought anything of it when we pitched our tents. The neighbors as well as our host were glad to bring more fodder straw. Their wives and daughters helped prepare and eat supper and stayed on for a long time by the flickering fire, joking and singing.

During the night there was a heavy fall of wet snow. For this reason we all slept inside the tents and kept only the dogs outside as watches. It was shortly after midnight when they suddenly began to bark just outside my tent. Even my hoarse old Tschimo joined in which she did only when there was something really annoying in the vicinity. We therefore all ran in the direction of her half-muffled voice, out into the cold night with our guns and drawn swords. There was no one to be seen. But in the snow there were footprints that led from a fresh break in the outer wall on the valley side, straight up to my horses and back again. Pieces of meat lay strewn about, which were meant for the dogs and beside the broken wall we picked up a fur coat into which my black néh'ere had sunk his teeth. Outside the wall there were more footprints that led along the outside of the village.

In the morning when we broke up camp a fresh snowfall had covered all tracks, and our hosts were as affable as they were the day before. The mule was sent to its buyer after I had followed the custom of the country and plucked a few hairs out of its mane. Then all the neighbors and their wives helped tie up the packs and after a cordial farewell, amid the merriest farewell greetings of the women and unmarried girls, we entered the village street, passed the house-fortress and went up the southern one of the two ravines above whose juncture the village of Tombu mda with its 60 families had been built. We had gone about a half hour when we met two young men in the woods who were waiting for Tung sche and begged him to induce us to return the fur coat. They promised him a rupie for this service. I then learned for the first time that the trophy had been packed by my Dungani among their things and taken along. The two men had the eyes of rogues and had the impudence to approach us with a burning matchlock. They lied to us that the thieves were young men from the neighborhood who only wanted to have some fun and scare us.

C • 487 According to my calculations Tombu mda lies at an altitude of 3,805 meters (Dutreuil de Rhins-Grenard: 3,934 meters), but a few kilometers to the south the path again goes up to 4,535 meters (Dutreuil-Grenard there reached a pass that even went up to 5,000 meters). As we went on, the sky again rapidly clouded over after the sun had shone earlier; the prevailing west wind of the extreme heights

could no longer win over the lower current from the east, so that we ran into a thick sea of fog in which we could only with difficulty find our way. This occurred before we reached the first of the two passes that lead over to Dscherku. Added to that, there was almost a foot of snow which covered all the naka and nadung holes and pools of the mountains and which once more exhausted us. The pack animals fell constantly, had to be pulled up /138/ and repacked. One of the mules developed a heart weakness, staggered at first as though it were drunk or afflicted with the mountain sickness, and fell again and again after I had long since removed its load. It was the first victim of this winter journey. Its hour struck just before the caravan reached its first stopping place. It had formerly been such a playful creature who, of all the long-ears, could best kick with its hind legs. Now we had to leave it all by itself in order to rescue the others and ourselves from this hostile world. The poor animal stood upright, as though rooted to the spot and seemingly turned to stone, on that slope. We left it an old felt cover - when may a Tibetan passer-by have removed it from the animal? With great effort we turned the stiff animal so that the wind struck it from behind, then heartless humans that we were, we drove the others on into the driving storm and the fog. (1)

1. Two days later when I sent someone out to look for the animal, the felt blanket had been removed and the animal was dead. As proof, its long gray ears were laid before me.

The broad, gentle, rounded form of the mountain that we met high up made it even more difficult to orientate ourselves in the midst of clouds and whirling snow. If it had not been for the deep snow we might have thought that we had been transported back to the Tschang tang, so gentle were the slopes, so basin-shaped the valleys, so slight the ridges which were notched by passes, so seldom was primary rock visible in the masses of loose detritus. On a later visit to these mountains I noticed a few isolated slabs of rock that showed scratches and looked as though they had been transported for a more or less great distance through last year's snow or ice. The last moraines seem to have gone somewhat below 4,000 meters. Now, however, there is no spot far and wide where the snow lasts over a period of years, although some points reach over 5,000 meters.

After we had crossed a small longitudinal valley up there, which followed the direction of the stratification toward the southeast, we

C 487 had to cross a second pass, not much lower than the first. Shortly before that we passed through a small zone of limestone forming a chain of small cliffs, as they were so often to be found on the upper Hwang Ho and the Schoga Gol.

C 133 Whereas the Yangtze Valley and its nearest lateral ravines had pointed V-formations and typical aspects showing that they could only have been cut out by flowing water, this mountain again had only flat slopes and the valleys and ravines ended in wide hollows. Small moors and moraines lay in bulging masses on the slabs of sandstone and slate that were still steep, in fact almost vertical and made up the central mass of the mountain range.

At last the storm tore asunder the blanket of cloud around us. The tangled chaos of rocks which I had gazed at and marveled at even north of the Yangtze Kiang, stretched farther and farther to the south and southwest. There were peaks upon peaks and chains upon chains, but nowhere was there a human habitation to be seen. From the pass the way led down to the south between bare rubble slopes, along a little brook. Where the ground had thawed in the sun and there was no snow we were hemmed in by deep swamps. However, we finally again reached the thick plant covering; soon thereafter we found two black tents and grazing yaks. Two large valleys coming from the south and the west, converged in front of us. We turn a sharp corner and are suddenly in the midst of the houses of Dscherku ndo.

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CHAPTER XIV

Northern K'am

T 609 My reception in Dscherku ndo was more friendly than anywhere else in Tibet. All the inhabitants of the village, countless women, girls and children crowded around us, around my interpreter Tschang and around the big Tschang, and a joyous "Odyi, odyi!" came from a hundred lips. And those who did not cry "welcome" stuck out their tongues as far as they could, grinning in between. A strange man with a friendly face took the bridle of my horse and led me in front of a house that was prepared for us when news was received of our coming. Everybody laughed and greeted the people from Hsining. Hundreds of hands busily helped unload the packs and carry them into the house, so that there was nothing for my Chinese to do. They

there at the entrance to a large lateral valley; they belong to the ferrymen. On the bank itself there were walls four and five feet thick and half again as high as a man. Every single free stone of these walls was a half yak-load of Chinese tea which, pressed and sewn into black yak skins, was waiting to be transported to Central Tibet. In the next few days 800 oxen were supposed to come and take them into the interior along the route I had just come. 491

From the ferrymen I learned that along the lively little stream Tscho Chu which is eight meters wide and one meter across and has its mouth near Tschomdo, there is a road to Tsiamdo by means of which one can go through the free kingdom /166/ of Lhado in eight days and reach the town of Tsiamdo and the large Batang-Lhari-Lhasa road. Foolishly enough, I told my men that same evening of my intention to follow this road south. The next morning Yin lu tse and Ma "Thirty-six" had disappeared, never to return. Yin lu tse had struck up a great friendship with Tschang tung sche and "Thirty-six" had left behind in Dscherku ndo a girl with whom he was seriously in love. Thus it was perhaps only a coincidence that they escaped this particular night. I now noticed that every day one of them had come to me with a request for a larger advance. Both of them also asked me to give them guns for the night because there were robbers in the vicinity. But since I kept the guns inside my tent and, as usual, had locked the horses' chains and kept the key in my pocket, even when I am asleep, I did not lose so very much. But a gold and silver tauschiert sword decorated with carnelian, that I had bought in Dscherku ndo from a Gerdschi chieftain, was gone. The two Dungani that had been left behind, Hai and So, were loudest in their accusations against the fugitives. "They took along our only kosher cooking pot," they complained in despair, "and on top of it the kosher traveling provisions for the next fortnight." "Just yesterday 'Thirty-six' took a whole month's salary from me, in order to buy himself some silver earrings," Li added in his deep bass. Meanwhile Da Tschang crept secretly into my tent and explained: "Just yesterday 'Thirty-six' asked me to give him the only shirt I possess; by God, it was worth 2 taels in Hsining. If I buy a new one here it will cost me 10 rupees. If you want me to go on with you and not turn back to Dscherku ndo in order to fetch my shirt, then please pay me the 10 rupees for the damage which your servants did to me." He never for a moment forgot his part and always knew how to derive profit from a situation. He was the only one of the remaining four men who spoke Tibetan reasonably fluently and he was the only one who understood the South Tibetan dialects. 487 000

T 392 old roamed around the houses and tents in which, besides the monks,
361 there were also a few old and sick people living. South of the
monastery is the rgensa, the winter abode of the Läwa nomads. How-
T 342 ever, in summer the winter houses of this tribe are not recognizable
as houses. All the wood that is needed for the roof or the walls in
building, is buried in the earth in spring, so that strangers cannot
use it as firewood. Here wood for building is already considered
precious for it must be dragged a three days' journey into this re-
gion which is poor in wood, and besides that it must be bought from
the neighboring tribe. (1)

1. I once also saw the winter houses in the territory of the Tschirchama tribe. There, too, all the wooden parts were buried in the ground during the summer. But the houses had stone socles one-half to one meter high, which almost looked like the walls of an ancient city that had been destroyed. W. Filchner erroneously called them a fortress. It was only a rgensa, the Shdyaru rgensa. He was also somewhat mistaken about the forms as they are pictured on p. 390 of the book: Rätsel des Ma Chu. Regular forms never occur.

T 501 Rao gomba, not very famous as a sanctuary, is important because
of its ferry across the Me Chu. A few steps from the scattered
houses of the monks lies a well-built ferry boat constructed in the
well-known box shape of North China and the Hwang Ho boatmen.
We made use of this on September 2, after I had stored all dispensi-
ble objects, all my chests, in the house of a priest. Under the
C guidance of an old Läwa Tibetan who looked as emanciated as a
• 487 mummy, I went south with only the tsung ye, one of the Tschang La
133 guides, Brdyal and Tschemotscho (Plate LXIX). Our horses pulled
the box boat across the Me Chu, and were obliged to swim the en-
tire width of the river. The water is almost stagnant. On the other
side we quickly saddled our horses and without much ado or many
detours our guide led us across a swamp two kilometers wide, on the
northern shore of which live the Gedu nomads and on the southern,
the Chamä. Later we went for 7 kilometers straight as a die through
hilly country to the south; a little farther to the west lay the original
monastery of the Chamä. The only tall growth consisted of rhubarb
bushes with blossom stalks three meters high. They belong to a
species that looks like the rheum tanguticum. The bulbs are seldom

Tangsker
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dug out here because there is no possibility of drying them without having the sun reach them. Isolated high rows of dunes overgrown with grass stood close beside bottomless swamps. They testify to the winter condition of the region when one dust column after another whirls across the ice-covered surfaces. In the afternoon the old man led us through the Botsong Chu, a swamp lake three kilometers wide and to me unknown, but in any case of very great length. Large patches of it consisted of completely open water and in between were reeds, sedge grasses and floating water plants. The air was +9.5°, but in spite of this the temperature of the water was /Plate LXVII, (sections 1, 2, 3, and 4) appears between pp. 289 and 290 in the original text. / /290/ +14.5°, as a result of the strong radiation on the flat basin. Thus, it did not seem at all uncomfortable that before we entered the lake we had, at the advice of our guide, tied all our important belongings, instruments, fire implements, etc., into our trousers and wound the latter around our heads and then, with the exception of this head covering, entered the water as God made us, pulling our horses along or, in very deep places, letting ourselves be drawn by the horses' tails. Evening saw us happy, albeit with some teeth-chattering, near the tents of the Chamä kadya where we lay down to sleep. Here the black tents always stood in groups of about a dozen forming a large circle into which at night the many sheep and the less numerous yaks were driven (Plate LXV).

C 487 133

The night temperature had been +3° and a ride south of only 20 kilometers (aerial distance) brought us the next morning to So tsong gomba, the monastery of the Tangsker Tibetans. Close beside the scattered houses of the monastery flowed the Hwang Ho.

T 361 792

It was the first radiantly beautiful day. In the morning for some time thick veils of fog had covered the hills. But when we rounded the last corner the mysterious stream lay open before us. I trembled with joy and excitement over the mighty panorama, which to see had cost me so many new efforts, but which I could now enjoy and absorb to the fullest extent.

C 133

In gigantic curves the muddy and here already yellowish-gray waves of the "Yellow River," sunk in alluvions, came toward us from some distant mountain range far to the southwest (at 250° according to the magnetic needle), only to take on quite suddenly now the direction followed by a broad tributary coming from the south-southeast and, together with the clear waters of this stream, to turn toward the northwest.

Just at the crown of the turn lies the monastery So tsong gomba

channel not very deep, although the rocks are not hard and offer little resistance. The configuration of the Hwang Ho in its upper part from its source to the bend and at the Tibetan bend itself gives the appearance as though, at the time of extensive glaciers in Tibet or during the period of large accumulations of erratic boulders and the formation of gravel, the waters had not flowed north, but south, toward Szechwan. The uppermost part of the Ma Chu-Hwang Ho looks like a part of the Yangtze Kiang. But one wonders what the drainage was like on this part of the earth's surface before the gravel and clay masses were stratified and embedded in the valleys. The old Hwang Ho probably drained only the Koko Nor territory and then flowed rather directly into the channel of the Wei Ho and into the region of Hsining fu which was already in existence before that. The upper part of the present-day Ma Chu-Hwang Ho, from its source up to the present-day Tibetan bend, may even at that time have been a tributary of the Yangtze Kiang. The deposit of masses of gravel on the eastern edge of Tibet is, to be sure, so tremendous that this assertion can be made only with the greatest caution, for our knowledge of these regions suffices for only an inadequate summary of present-day geographical conditions. C 133

I rested another whole day near Rao gomba in order to care for my horses. There were still five of them very lame as a result of the many swamp holes and ditches, and all of them needed rest very badly. Wang Tsung ye stamped his foot like a child when in the morning I gave the order not to saddle the animals but to drive them to pasture. But my good angel did not cause me to change my mind in spite of the young man's curses; it was probably also he who caused the many lame horses in the first place. But we were not aware of its guardianship until the next day. 000

The road from Rao gomba to Tao tschou led due north for an entire day's ride as far as Lhamo se and from there three full days in a northeasterly direction. At first one crosses a swampy valley country 15 kilometers wide, the plain of the Me Chu which, however, soon turns its large curves in a westerly direction. Then one follows the nDam Chu, a tributary of the Me Chu upstream. After one has crossed it at the rDo ro ford - the little river was there 18 meters wide and 1.3 meters deep and the ford is stony, as its name implies - one reaches the plain of Nima long or Nima rung. This region belongs to the 12-Bu tribe of Radang with not quite 200 families. It is excellent pasture land, very seldom do low waves of hills rise out of its swampy surface. /296/ The Obo-kopje is like a landmark behind us C 487. T [B19] C 133

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We rode past the east end of the Mou Ts'o, a beautiful blue body of water that extends 3 kilometers toward the northwest. Near its western end I could see the smoke of the Mou (Muru) tents. In the north-northwestern part of the Mou Ts'o are the winter houses of the Mou tribe and not too far from them Gamo rgendya, the tribal monastery. Beyond the Mou Ts'o and its swamp which caused us two tumbles, we went along a valley of meadows into the chalk mountains. Just before that we crossed the large Sung pan road which we had left on August 30 near the Dah' rgenggo Plain and which had since then avoided the large swamps of Re- and Me Chu which I had sought out, and constantly followed the southern slope of the chalk range. It continues in the same northwesterly direction. From the Mou country it leads into the Lharde country and to the monastery of Tschaga wechi. Beyond the Lharde country one gradually reaches the abodes of the Mongols which I mentioned earlier, first of all those of the Wäse. (1)

1. The most important Mongolian districts in this region are the following: rDiasa, Toro, Wäse, Sertsching, Tso ch'o, Ari, Gadspima.

At half past one we were on a saddle of the chalk mountains which here has a strike of N 78° W, at an altitude of 3,705 meters. From there one could see the well-worn road to Lhamo gomba. After it crosses two smaller ravines which turned west to the Hwang Ho, it leads across a second saddle of 3,635 meters which forms the water shed between the Hwang Ho and a river of Täwo Kiang ts'a. The chalk mountains formed a high plateau beside the swamp land and its limestone islands.

000 As we neared the first pass, a high point beside it came to /298/ life. Horses were being driven behind a slope and we discovered a few naked human beings. As we rode on they called to us. In answer to their rough: "Arro! Stop! Who are you? Where do you come from? Where are you going?", Tschemotscho reassured them: "We are Somo men and are accompanying a huo fo ye to Labrang." It was a side-detachment from Radang which considered their enemies capable of the tactics of enveloping them and falling on their flanks. Because no Chinese appeared, the warriors had taken off their clothes for the time being and were taking a sun bath. While we were being cross-examined, the poor tsung ye trembled for me and the whole afternoon he could not calm down. He now beat the pack horses with

all his might. But darkness was beginning to fall when we reached the valley at the bottom of which lies the sleepy monastery of Lhamo gomba. The beautiful weather was over again, rain and snow had begun to fall and lasted half the night.

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September 7. From our camp it was only 2 kilometers to the houses of the monastery which lies at an altitude of 3,375 meters. At first I reached a few dozen lay houses built of wood that stand on the edge of the brook like Swiss hay barns, and there I discovered that the large Lhamo se is made up of two separate monasteries known as Sa tschi gomba and Gerdi gomba. The southern one belongs to Szechwan, the northern one to the province of Kansu. The Tibetans who live in the valleys and on the mountains around the monastery form a tribe of their own called Tawa. As among all Mah'ah'kana and many Koko Nor Tibetans, here as well as among the Twelve-Bu, the "lh" is pronounced like the English "th" or "t" in general, and thus in Sung pan I always heard about Thamo gomba or Tamo gomba instead of Lhamo gomba, and now I heard Ta wa instead of Lha pa, just as they always speak of Tasa instead of Lhasa. The body of water which divides the two monasteries is the upper part of the Täwo kiang ts'a River which reaches China at Kiai (Gai) tschou under the name of Hei Schui or "black water." Both Lhamo monasteries are already subject to the Dschoni tu se, the Tibetan king of Mongolian descent whose seat is in Dschoni on the Tao River, 40 li east of the old city of Tao tschou, and who is or was also the ruler of the entire Täwo Kiang ts'a territory. Seven hundred akkas are said to belong to the monasteries together; but ordinarily only about half of them live here, the rest live scattered about in the tents of the nomads. The buildings of the southern one of the two make a particularly favorable and neat impression. Its golden roofs and roof-support and red lines stand out against the dark background of tall timbers which extend up in back of a lateral valley. The green mountain slopes are crowned with white jags of rock like threatening towers and bastions and give the narrow ravine into which the monastery is squeezed a strange, mysterious appearance, suggesting the presence of gods and good btsan. The latter have imbued the Tibetans with sacred awe and have formed the flourishing holy shrine of the Gelugba faith. The good goblins have even caused a warm spring to gush forth here. (1)

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1. From Lhamo se a road leads to Kue de, which the Scharba merchants often use. One travels first of all farther northwest to the low watersheds of the rivers.

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On the first day one reaches the land of the Samsa who are supposed to be very bad robbers; on the second day one gets to the Laringo or Larungo hsi tsang who once plundered the Holderer-Futterer expedition; from there in /299/ another three days one reaches the headwaters of the Tao Ho or Lö Chu and the Da ts'ang Mongols and without effort reaches the Tsei Chu along which live the Horsun Tibetans with their 800 families. After another two days one reaches Ratsong and the Ts'ien hu country of Lutsang (Tibetans) and the sphere of influence of Kue de ting. Another day's march takes one to the Wan schu tribe and two days later to the T'san and then to the city of Kue de.

T C 726

/299/ At Lhamo se the lively monastery brook which has already come far from the west from the grass lands, turns north for two kilometers and then again at right angles to the east. Not too far from the second bend lies the small monastery of Kosaniba. Behind it are the winter houses of the Radang and there, at the timber line, we came upon the encampment of Chinese troops, which consisted of rounded stone walls with poor loopholes, inside which the Chinese lived in inadequate tents and barracks. However, the officers and soldiers were still for the most part off to the "war" against the Radang, only the generalissimo of Szechwan along with 800 men had not gone into the field. Those who were left behind were angry and in an irritable mood and made me feel unmistakably that they were not at all edified by my appearance. The relationship between the two provincial contingents also left much to be desired. The plan of attack against the horse thieves was not designed to reap martial laurels. Caution is the better part of valor. The Chinese officers did not dare undertake anything independently, and always glanced helplessly sideways toward their superiors and to the wishes of the central government whose commands betrayed obvious suspicion as to the ability of their subordinates. The military rabble from Kansu had met with bitter opposition and from now on they wanted simply to feign attacks while the leader of the Sung pan soldiers who kept neutral in this new dispute, thought he would play the role of middleman. The war against Täwo kiang ts'a (written: Tão rgya mts'a) which was supposed to number 800 warriors, had also ended only by means of schang leang. The leaders were, to be sure, well advised from the very beginning and had attempted to push through from

above, from the open, treeless steppe and not by the direct route into the ravines of Tāwo. But since, at the initial advance, 15 horsemen of the front detachment had fallen into ambush and were partly cut down and partly captured, the action during the rest of the summer months consisted only of threats until finally, with the help of the neighboring chieftains, and only because of the presence of troops, it was sche tsing schuo h'au leao, i.e., it was settled with talk. The Tāwo agreed to a partial disarmament and gave up 100 swords, 50 fork guns and 50 lances, but were permitted to keep the goods amounting to 12,000 ounces of silver which they had stolen from the Chinese merchants and on account of which the summons had come from Lanchow; there was not one single decisive action during the long summer on the part of an expedition that was almost as large as that of the English who marched into Lhasa in 1904. My escort had counted on getting new food supplies among their comrades. Behind my back they had traded in my supplies at Rao gomba so that only two rations were left. But the camp was itself short of rations because of the Radang incident. For everybody /300/ had thought the war was over and they would soon go home. No one had sent supplementary supplies. Thus my heroes nowhere found a merciful hand that would replace the rice and tsamba they had sold. However, because of the scant supplies I, too, unfortunately, suffered and was forced to cover the final distance at top speed. Within two hours we were again mounted and after three days in the saddle from morning till night we reached Tao tschou.

I E 726

Our first day's ride lasted until far into the night and took us over a plateau, through valley pockets and across flat passes where the waters that run eastward through the Tāwo Kiang ts'a territory, separate from those that flow north to the Tao Ho. Broad areas of steeply bent gray-green sandstone and slate with an east-west strike continued to interchange with wedged-in patches of crumbled white calcium carbonate; above this in many places there was a horizontal layer of hard, red Nagelfluh. The highest point we reached shortly before twilight at a pass of 3,765 meters. The mountain ridges here have an average height of somewhat over 4,000 meters. It was all good pasture land. For the time being there was no more forest from Kosaniba and the Chinese encampment on.

C 133 487

On the second day we had to go up and down steep inclines across the source waters of the Tao Ho tributaries and again climb a watershed of 3,800 meters. But by noon we reached a narrow wood ravine and entered the valley of the Wong Chu which breaks through the

C 133 487 mountain masses with many bends but in a east-northeast direction and for a long time flows almost parallel to the upper Tao ho. We had to ride through the rocky stream-bed 18 times and each time the underside of the packs dragged in the water.

On the first day we had still seen a few dozen nomad tents, on the second day we did not see any inhabitants anywhere and met only a supply- and munitions-train of the Kansu troops. When the escort spied us from afar they greeted us with a senseless and, fortunately, poorly-aimed gun salvo. It was only on the third day after we had traveled a few hours that we came to the upper-most Tibetan settlement, the little village of Dotsa, which lies at an altitude of 2,900 meters and belongs to the community of rDiadung. Here wild oats T 241 and some barley was planted in the valley bottom beside low, one-story houses. The fields in the 200-meter-wide valley floor are still extremely poor and stony. Every other year they must lie fallow. An hour farther down - the forest valley meanwhile widened to 400-500 meters - the fields became better and to the right and left of the broad Wong Chu, barley and turnips were being harvested, and women and men were busy loading their barley and even a little wheat on yak and transporting it to the scattered farms and into the large village of Merema where the sheaves are stacked on high, airy T 231 trestles next to their houses to dry, just as in Kin tschuan. Already at the first houses there were again grunting pigs, representatives of the small race of domestic pigs with light hair and pointed ears which all the farmers of southeastern Tibet also raise. Here, too, the men T 301 went out to the fields with their swords hanging on their belts and the 302 women wore back-pendants that hung down to below their waist, similar to those of nomad women. At the temples they wear their hair braided, and into the braids on either side is tied a shell that has been filed down to make a firm ring, /301/ or a bronze ring set with red corals, and the two rings are joined with a piece of cloth which among the wealthy is studded with brass shells and corals (see Fig. 15). The hair at the crown of the head is braided into a thick mesh and is wound on a piece of leather 10 centimeters wide, which runs down the middle of the back and at the bottom is decorated with many small brass buttons.

T 792 At noon the large Gelugba monastery of Gaser gomba appeared on the left side of the Wong Chu; the Chinese also call it simply Gawo se or Gomba se. (Plate LXVIII). It is the chief monastery of the region and is supposed to have two huo fo ye, both of whom were, however, "in the process of exchange" at the time, and, as I was

T 792

told, had just a year and a half before "died and had not yet been found again." The buildings of the monastery as well as a great many lay estates were already conspicuous from a distance because of their neatness and their fresh colors. Many lay houses were in the process of being built as a result of a war which had raged here two years before during which the monastery and village had been burned. But the difficult war times had already been forgotten. The loam houses, mostly one-storied, had been rapidly restored and the farmers on their fallow fields sang gay tunes behind their plows in front of which puffed vigorous yak bastards with Chinese neck yokes. On a meadow in front of the monastery the akka youth were playing with a large leather ball which they kicked with their feet and caught with their heads. Many wore full beards but there were also many with goiters and their faces looked broader than those of other Tibetans. However, the inhabitants claim to be genuine Tibetans; Chinese and Mohammedans are tolerated only as traders. On the road near the monastery I met a walled encampment in which 100 horsemen were preparing to travel up the valley. It was a halting place, the riders belonged to the hsie tai near Kosaniba and were obliged to cover his path of advance and retreat. Below the monastery the road left the comfortable valley course; we again crossed the forest-covered mountains by way of a 3,360 meter high pass. Thereupon we entered a narrow wooded valley which did not end until late afternoon when a large river with clear green waves flowed directly across our path. Before me the Tao Ho, the Tibetan Lö Chu, wound through the mountains between precipitous walls. Meanwhile I had come down to 2,700 meters. In the autumn the river is here 90 and 100 meters wide, with a middle depth of 2.10 meters and a velocity of 1.7 meters. Judging by the shore marks, I should say that there is twice as much water in summer. But here in Kansu there had been dry weather for weeks already. This river, also, like the Han Kiang in the Tsinling mountain range and like the Dre Chu in K'am, follows the course of the narrow reef of vertical layers of slate; it has dug such a narrow circuitous bed into this, that up and down it is visible for only a few hundred meters; as though like a child wanting to play hide-and-seek, it immediately slips behind tall theater wings which give absolutely no indication as to the direction in which the valley continues.

T [526]
T [64]
C 487
C 133

One crosses the Tao Ho at Putanga, a Tibetan bit of land with few Chinese families. There a box-shaped vessel is tied to a rope which is stretched across the river. On the opposite, the left bank of

C 133
T [50]

T 792 after the tall structures on the Tso Potala in Lhasa. Just in front of it is a walled grove and opposite on the mountain slope a large and beautiful park of spruce is treated as a reservation which the monks here, too, tend carefully, and in which it is strictly forbidden to harm any animal, any of the many wild hares and little mice.

T 533 As I ambled through the monastery streets and had just turned a corner I saw a strange picture in front of the main temple. Without masks or silk garments, bare-headed and barefooted, a large group of vigorous young men in their every-day priestly robes whirled and danced to the sound and beat of musical instruments. Are they whirling dervishes? Do the Buddhistic lamas here perhaps prepare for the Beyond by dancing? None of the on-lookers gave me any information and it was only in Hei tso that I learned I had happened on a rehearsal of monk-actors. The superb elasticity of these Tibetans was particularly evident with the absence of the usual theatrical baubles connected with a large performance. All their movements were as lithe as cats' but at the same time exact in detail and in chorus. Unfortunately, no one cared about my admiration. I was not to stand long, a silent on-looker, among the other people; only too soon a stone hit me and coarse fellows appeared who pursued me with two-meter-long leather whips until I ran behind the last priest house and the last prayer mill hut.

C 487 T [593] T 628 The distance between schTsu gomba and Labrang is figured at two days, but I was obliged to climb down to 2,750 meters and on the second day climb a pass 3,525 meters high. I was alone again, Mr. Ruhl having turned back at Hei tso. On the first day I passed the monasteries and hermitages of Kadya gomba, Retscho gomba, Taschi gomba and Lungwo gomba. It must have been the road which Potanin before me had followed. I should gladly have traveled through somewhat farther west but the tribe of Bora amtsoch' which lay west of schTsu gomba was in a state of bloody revenge with an equally-matched neighbor; the ratio of number killed stood at 15:21 and it was said in Hei tso that peace would only come when one of the tribes was completely defeated or the score of losses on either side was equal. (1)

1. In 1844-1846 the tribes around the monastery of schTsu, or, (Chinese) Hei tso had risen up against the Chinese and were "calmed" only after long negotiations. Since then all Hsün hoa ting Tibetans have been divided into 20 domains.

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date and my Hsining amban passports were faked and not valid. 000
When I reached Ta tsien lu the German consul in Tsch'eng tu fu had demanded per telegraph to know where I was going but had not, of course, even remotely considered providing me with recommendations to Sung pan ting when I replied to him, also by telegraph. /Plate LXXIV faces p. 320 in the original text. / /321/ Tsch'eng ör fu ting of Sung pan ting who at each interview asked me for such recommendations, finally went so far as to send false reports and gossip about me to Tscheng tu fu and the German consul did not represent the interests of his countryman over against the Chinese, he did not examine the reports to see whether they were in accordance with the truth, he only sent them on and forthwith forbade me to make a new journey into the Ts'ao ti. Fortunately, I was already on my way and learned of what had happened only at the coast, on my way home. /Figure 14 appears on p. 321 in the original text. / /Table LXXV faces p. 321 in the original text. /

/322/

CHAPTER XVII
Conclusion

There are thousands of little roads and paths from the Labrang monastery into the Ts'ao ti, by means of thousands of threads is the mighty and rich lama residence connected with the wild hordes of the steppes. But down to China there is only one single road. This follows the winding course of the River Sang Chu on which the monastery is built. It leads past a few other monasteries and hermitages, past scattered Tibetan villages and small farms, and miserable fields wrested from the turbulent waters and the rocky slopes. Dense forests close it in and rocky peaks covered with glistening snow look proudly down on the wanderer who laboriously works his way over large stones, up and down, along passages bordering rock walls, through fords and other nuisances. C 487.

At last, on the third day, the mountains are suddenly lower; at a bend in the valley just below a Tibetan village an old wall blocks the valley. At the ruins of a gate, called kwan men, there are Chinese soldiers who gruffly demand a small sum from every countryman. We ride through the kwan men and suddenly the valley opens up and becomes the wide, fertile valley plain of Ho tschou, which from here extends 40 kilometers to the northeast. (1) The next step C 439

1. At this kwan men the shipment of Tibetan wool down

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the river of Sang Chu begins, and it is transported on rafts made of tubes. Since 1900 trade in North Tibetan wool has taken on very significant aspects and the prices for raw wool have thus soared all at once in all of Kansu. The Yang hang, the agencies of foreign export firms, have thereby not become popular with the people, however; on the contrary, since all food supplies have risen concomittantly, the export firms are blamed for it, and rightly so.

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takes us into the loess country of Kansu and a white, dry hood of dust lies over the landscape. There are no more rocks to be seen. Only thick loess and beneath it red loam are the materials out of which the hills on either side of the valley are formed. There is one village after another. Soon the road is seething with people. They are hurrying to the market of Hanchow, in carts or mounted on donkeys, or mules, and covered with dust. For a little while the Tai tse Shan which my Sang River must break through on the way from Labrang sends me a farewell greeting from Tibet. A defiant warrior, a true Tibetan watchman, stiff and rigid with steep battlements, it gazes down upon China and upon the pale and barren loess. Too soon, however, it is lost to view; the loess haze lies too dense and thick over the valley. It had been only four days since it had rained and already the eye could not penetrate the fine dust for a great distance.

Two years before on my way from Di dao tschou I had become acquainted with the clay basin of the Ho tschou region where it extends from east to west. This time /323/ I traveled through it in a straight line to the chief city of the province, Lanchow fu. I had now reached the Chinese highways and the region of the hostleries in which I could get nourishing food for the animals; therefore I traveled from morning till night and in spite of my slow pack animals, the many mountains and poor roads, covered 100-140 li a day (50-70 kilometers).

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Very near the city of Ho tschou - exactly east of it - a mule track climbs up to a narrow, winding loess ridge which holds up the traveler for a day and a half and takes him through a labyrinth of deep ravines up to the banks of the Tao Ho (Plate LXII). At a depth of 20-30 meters loess covers the 300-400-meter mighty red clays and sands which in the main are deposited horizontally and in narrow ravines have been washed away by the flowing water, down to a substrata of granite. In the places where there is loess, civilization is possible. However, in the vicinity of the Tao Ho River it became

008 entertaining Scotsman knows that on this evening I could not have fallen into better hands, and that in the short hours before midnight my diaphragm had to withstand almost inhuman salvos of laughter. I hoped to meet other old acquaintances in Lanchow fu, but this time I was disappointed. My friend Van Dyk was with his bishop in the mission of Liang tschou fu for the annual retreat of the fathers. So, much to my regret, I could not even shake his hand in gratitude for his active participation in my efforts in safeguarding in his home the booty of my individual expeditions.

491 I stayed in the chief city until I had found a freight transport with which I could make a contract to have my baggage brought to Hsingan fu as soon as possible where I could pick it up again. Inasmuch as Mr. Shields helped me in this matter, I was able to leave the city in a few days. I rode on the large military highway between Lanchow fu and Hsingan fu, the road which also follows the telegraph line and which in the '70s the re-conqueror of Turkistan, the great Tso ts'ung tang, had had bordered with poplars for a distance of hundreds of kilometers. At one time, in order to protect this avenue, he put a death sentence on every wanton destruction of a tree. The trees still stand for stretches covering many days' journeys, but the track often cannot follow the old avenue for long stretches. Loess makes the ground too loose. Rains have often lengthened and deepened the valley fissures by hundreds of meters and thus the rows of trees border ravines which today no man can cross; meanwhile traffic often had to take an entirely different direction.

361 At the stopping place of Ngan (An) ting hsien the camel- and
•484 /325/ mule-drivers who take care of a large part of the freight traf-
133 fic between Kansu and Shensi, take a somewhat more southerly route than do the carts. I continued to follow this mule track and decided to combine it with a stop-over at Ts'inchow, the richest city of Kansu. In the vicinity of Ngan ting hsien the country is still rather thinly populated. Only after 100 li did I get to Niu yin, a town of 100 families, and 20 li beyond came Ma yin which has 400-500 families and a larger market. Close by, the brook breaks through a granite range, the first solid rock that I saw since the Hwang Ho ditch near Lanchow fu, and behind Ma yin the loess became thinner and only a few decameters thick. The density of population increased visibly and the Mohammedan element which is very numerous along the road near Huining hsien and Lung te hsien, Ping liang fu, fell into
133 the background. I had now come into a definitely mountainous

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and a few oil lamps in the main street. A dao tai li had made himself very unpopular with the population two years before because he wanted to force them to sweep the streets and because he numbered the houses. He aroused superstitious fear in doing so and it almost came to open rebellion. 178

Following the broad fertile valley of the Hsi Ho, one travels from Tsinchow at first for a few hours between rice fields and persimmon trees beneath which poppies are grown - Tsinchow was, before the war on opium, /327/ the center of opium-growing. In the afternoon we crossed over in a ferry to the northern shore of the Wei Ho (1,120 meters above sea level). Only a poor foot-path follows the course of the Wei River, and this serves the small amount of local traffic. The main road, a mule track leads over Tsing schui hsien with about 3,000 inhabitants (1) and 15 li from there to the east I 487 [349]

1. A day's journey farther to the north is the important and busy spot of Tschwang kia tschwan under the jurisdiction of the Tsing schui mandarin, in which only Hui hui live and in which the chief ahun of the entire region has his residence.

In the Tsing schui district I saw for the last time a veiled Chinese woman. The custom that a young woman wears a black face veil in the first years of her marriage if she shows herself in public, is as frequent in the district of Tsinchow as in that of Hsining fu. [562]

came out of the loess-covered clay mountains of the Tsinchow basin into granite and entered a tangled and lonely wooded mountain range which is connected with the Liu pan Shan and the mountain of Kung dung Shan (40 li southwest of Ping liang fu) to which pilgrimages are made. We soon lost our way completely in the ravines, had a wet bivouac in the woods and did not get to the large mule track and across the highest point on it, the Da kwan Shan pass (2,250 meters), for two days. From this high point we looked south across long, equally high ridges to the peaks, already snow-capped, of the Tsin lung range, while in the east we already saw the low-lying loess of the lower Wei Valley basin. I was now only a few hours from the commercial city of Lung tschou which is still 980 meters high, and soon one admires from below the mountain wall which extends in almost meridional direction from Tsin ling Shan to the Lo Shan, Niu tou Shan and Ala Shan and separates the present-day province of

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•487 Shensi from Kansu. I had come down another level into the lowland, a formation of land which our map had not yet indicated. Down in the province of Shensi I again stood on my familiar Shensi-Ordos clod of earth. Here, too, at Lung tschou, the Chinese have since olden times worked coal pits which yielded good coal. But because the roads are too poor, the coal is sent only for a distance of a two-days' journey, beyond Kien yang hsien.

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My journey continued without stopping, ever deeper into the rich, the beautiful, the new China. In Kien yang hsien I was invited for supper by two gracious Swedish ladies who were doing quiet missionary work all alone here in this outpost. A further day's march brought me into the city of Feng tsiang fu, and the next day saw me in the city of Ki schan hsien; herewith I had reached the big old Szechwan road. Everywhere there were magnificent hotels by the side of the road. Large carts loaded with snowy cotton were heading into the cities. In one day I road through half a dozen chief cities of districts. At Sien yang hsien for the last time we crossed the Wei Ho which at that city is muddy and thick and only 360 meters above sea level. Here the Szechwan road on which I traveled at the end and the cart road to Lanchow fu unite. There are seven large ferries to take care of the heavy traffic during the high waters in summer, while every winter a trestle bridge is built. Round about on the flat hills are old earth mounds which have been the burial places for countless emperors of the old dynasties, those of Hsingan fu, the Tschang ngan of old.

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000 /328/ Ever since I had left Lanchow fu I was goaded on by the fear that on account of my detour I might arrive in Hsingan fu later than my carts and chests and that my property might get lost if there was no one to receive it at its place of destination. But now, after much telegraphing back and forth, it turned out that they had not even left Lanchow fu. Again my mind had not worked sufficiently in the manner of the Chinese merchants. It had occurred to some clever individual to use my shipment in order to smuggle a few boxes of water-pipe tobacco through the customs. But it had been done too boldly and so everything, my chests as well as the tobacco chests, were confiscated. Finally Mr. Shields was called in by the draymen to help because he had recommended the hang to me. When he came to the custom station the officials and soldiers were rummaging, amid pouring rain, among the bird skins, butterflies and the various oddities. Without Mr. Shields' help I would again have had to undertake the month-long trek to Lanchow in order to get my belongings.

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety [443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also [584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

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N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells N [315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil [489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation [497] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent 316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology 315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are [654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in 316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
[181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
*563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.
[372]

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T. H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	5	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally [136] called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought [731] years 1928-1931.

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J. L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 175 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

241 175 After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

241 423 Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [427] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

13 farming purposes is not great. Deserts, high mountains, and
241 loess covered plateaux limit the expansion of further cultivation.
311 The margin of cultivation can be extended but not without the great cost involved in reclaiming land and constructing irrigation networks. The dearth of rainfall in many sections of the Northwest and the shortness of the growing season also handicap farming. The destruction of wooded areas and gradual ruination of the top soil in the past has resulted in severe erosion and the elimination of important organic substances necessary for soil fertility.

241 The absence of transport and communications has encouraged
433 greater subsistence farming and less production for markets.
489 The inability of the farmer to sell his surplus and obtain a profit-
[438] able return so that he could increase production or practice more diversified farming, has stunted the growth of internal markets in the Northwest region. The inability of the Nationalist Government to link the internal markets of the Northwest to China Proper by a series of transport and communication systems, and provide for a free flow of capital, as well as short term low interest rate loans, has seriously retarded the development of agriculture.

241 We have seen from our data that while the above problems are
311 quite serious, there exists no real problem of tenantry or popula-
[435] tion pressure on the land. Furthermore, given high prices for
[433] their goods, as occurred during the second world war, the farmers of the Northwest, in some instances, could by more intensive farming methods raise the level of output significantly.

241 Both T. H. Shen and J. L. Buck (agronomists) feel that if
311 there were some restoration of fertility to the land in terms of resodding and planting root crops, and if a large portion of the
433 hilly sections could be turned over to the raising of livestock, certain sections of the Northwest would come to have a distinct comparative advantage economically so far as the production of livestock is concerned, and greater incomes would be forthcoming to the rural inhabitants (this assumes such products could be cheaply exported and necessitates a proper balance between farming and livestock raising).

241 One of the most vital factors not yet mentioned, is the neces-
433 sity for constructing irrigation works and to further extend those already in existence. This entails also the building of large reservoirs; the small magnitude of irrigation works is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the development of areas like Sinkiang and Kansu, since most of the land there is desert.

However, to carry out the above projects which would overcome some of the obstacles to the expansion of agricultural production, it would be necessary that large capital outlays be available. Serious consideration of greatly expanding the area under cultivation might, however, lead to higher costs than any administration could bear, and in turn result in diminishing returns.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 509 [473] [648] *[175] The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 489 433 The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

*668 489 499 178 Transportation and communications development in Northwest China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

*668 491 648 Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the T'si-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 648 509 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

*668 489 433 It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N
[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

N
*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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S 175 648 support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Government searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942 on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the N *175 *648 • 491 supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as a communication link over which large commercial caravans passed for many years, even after the war. This development S 175 648 brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner-Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

S 175 648 While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Chaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand S [167] Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943, and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

*668 *175 316 5. The excavation of a new coal shaft near Sian started on August 24, 1955, and is expected to be completed in 1958. It will become part of the Tungchwan coal mines.

*668 *175 315 2. Kansu.

The most important industrial project in Kansu is perhaps the Yümen Oil Field. Since the Communists took over, extensive reconstruction work has been carried out in this major oil center of China with the help of experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and East Germany. The Com- [433] munists boasted that production has increased many fold. If the index of production in 1950 was 100, that in 1951 was 140, and 1954 was 430. In 1955, they planned to produce thirty percent more crude oil than in 1954, and capital investment allocated for the sinking of new wells was twenty-five percent more than in 1954. Latest record of drilling is 234.3 meters in one day, and products include petroleum, kerosene, lubricating oil, diesel oils, tar and paraffin wax. The total output has never been revealed, but it is known that more than five thousand workers are employed.

*668 *175 The Communists have also paid attention to the development of industrial production in Kansu in general. In 1955, twenty-one state-owned or semi-state-owned factories and mines were built or renovated, and all of them are in operation. The [377] more important ones are as follows: (1) a power plant in Lanchou, [258] which increased the supply of electric power by fifty percent; [316] (2) six oil-extracting plants in Kuting and Wuwei, which, when fully completed, will increase the production of vegetable oil in Kansu nearly two hundred percent; and (3) five small coal mines, which increased the coal production by 88.2 percent over 1954.

It was reported on April 4, 1953, that one of the country's [316] largest copper deposits was found in Kansu, the Pai-yin-ch'ang copper mine, which they planned to develop under the first Five Year Plan as one of the major industrial projects in that [382] area. There is also a report that a refinery has been built in Lanchou. But details on these developments are lacking.

*668 *175 315 316 There are comparatively few industrial activities in Chinghai. However, with the development of the Chinghai-Tibet highway, the Communists are hopeful that rich oil and coal deposits may be found in the Tsaidam Basin. Tsaidam is one of the country's major areas scheduled for oil-prospecting in 1955, and drilling has already been started there. Besides, [491] mining of anthracite coal has begun in an undisclosed location in Chinghai, which was discovered by the builders of the Chinghai-Tibet highway in August 1953. Truck loads of the coal are now going regularly to Lhasa and other points along the new highway.

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried
• 491 out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na-
[496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of
[487] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 The commercial centers of this province are as follows:
635 (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war
435 times, the total value of imports and exports of this province,
*175 including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

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439 435 #175 B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

439 487 491 Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

366 635 The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

439 435 #175 According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
439 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year
435 amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:
175

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N
*668 II. The Communist Period
43 Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N
[178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind

As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.

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*668 The following changes, however, may deserve special attention:
496 First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of
• 491 course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to
178 complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which

N links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in De-
*668 cember 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lan-
491 chou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been im-
178 proved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

*668 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic.
• 491 (See section Communications.) With these improvements in
178 transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 Another important change is the increase of production of the
178 Yumen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile fac-
433 tories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although
[315] there is no information on the distribution of these products, it
[288] is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of
[439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton
178 plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton,
248 Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
[438] plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local con-
[439] sumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or
655 less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main
43 instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various co-operatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [496] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

A. Railways

*175 496 In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

[504] Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

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*175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

B. Highways

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• 491 Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 491 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N
491 It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
487 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
S in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
[491] Hsining and Urumchi.
[487]

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*668 In Chinghai Province, three short lines were completed by
• 491 January, 1954, namely the renovated Lao-ya-hsia sector of the
499 Kansu-Chinghai Highway (Lanchow-Hsi-ning Highway), the sector
*175 south of La-chi-shan on the Hsi-ning Kuei-teh Highway originally planned by the Nationalist Government, and the new Hsün-hua-Tung-jen Highway, with a total of 360 kilometers. Among the publicized trunk lines, the most notable one was the 2100 kilometer Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway. The first part of this line was constructed along the old Chinghai-Sinkiang route, and was originally built by the Mohammedan leader Ma Pu-fang during 1946-1948 (from Sining to Chin-hung-shan), from Hsining to Gormo along the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin, then the highway turning south via Ku-ku-shih-li reached Chi-ting-si-lin, the common point of Chinghai, Sikang (now part of Szechwan) and Tibet, and thence leading to Lhasa in Tibet. The complete Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954. It linked with highways radiating northwest to Sinkiang and east to Lanchou, and met Sikang-Tibet Highway at Lhasa to keep close contact with the Southwestern provinces. Of the old roads, there was the Chinghai-Sinkiang Highway (Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan Highway) which was damaged before 1949, the Hsi-ning-Gormo section of about 800 kilometers which was restored in 1954 as part of the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, and the rest repaired in May of 1955. Along the old Hsi-ning-Sikang route construction began in early May of 1955 on the Hsi-ning-Kuolo Highway of 627 kilometers leading to the Kuolo Tibetan National Autonomous District. Consisting of sections of the Hsi-ning-Hua-shih-hsia (424 kms.) and Hua-shih-hsia -Chi-mai (203 kms.), the Hsi-ning-Kuolo line was completed in November, 1955. The completion of these highways further facilitated the interflow of supplies between the agricultural and pastoral areas and supported the economic construction of the national minorities.

S
491 In Sinkiang, the traditional arterial highways were centered at Urumchi. To the south, one highway at Kurle was divided into two branches and met again in the west at Kashgar to form a circle link around the Taklamakan desert; to the east the highway led through Turfan, Hami toward Lanchou; to the north, a line ran along the Manas River to Sharasume (Cheng-hua); and to the west there were two highways stretching to the Sino-Soviet border, one to Ho-cheng and the other to Ta-cheng. Along the Old Silk Road, from No-chiang, one highway was extended eastward to Tun-huang in Kansu. There were three highways connecting Urumchi with Russia through Ta-cheng, Hocheng, and Kashgar, to link with the Soviet-Turksib Railway stations at Ayaguz, Ilisk, and Andizhan respectively.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 509 [473] [648] *[195] The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 489 433 The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

*668 489 499 178 Transportation and communications development in Northwest China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

*668 491 648 Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 648 509 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

*668 489 433 It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness

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*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
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[648] safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956. p. 114.)

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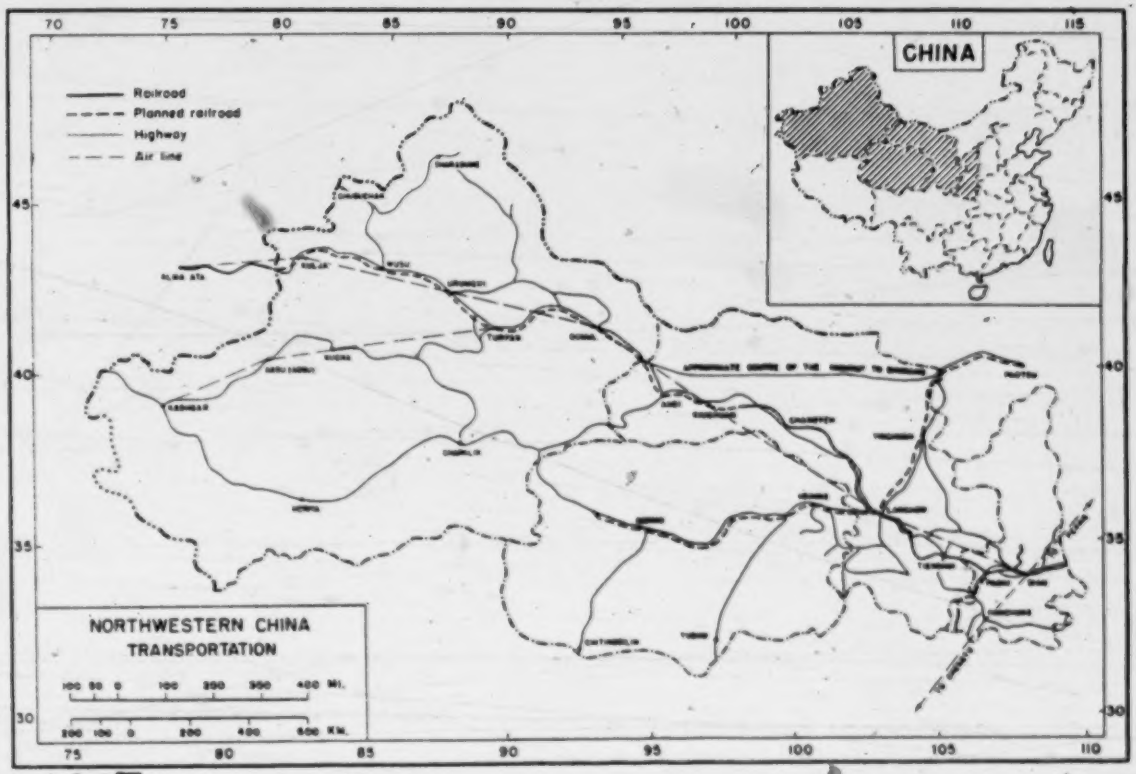
*668 Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
433 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
[382] between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[491] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
N city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
[498] leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
433 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumçhi Automatic Electric Plant,
382 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
39 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[489] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11



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103
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[following page 704]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484] constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.

491 From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

487 712 The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River, which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

PLATE II

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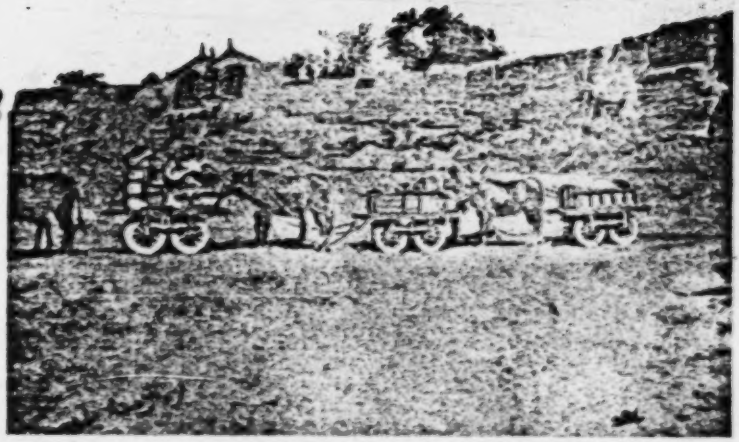

FOUR-WHEELED OX CARTS NEAR T'UNGKUAN

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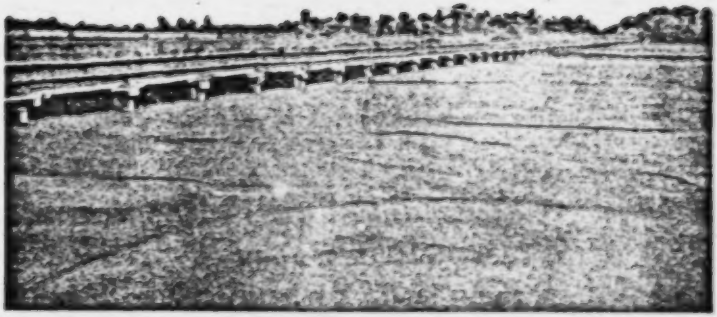

STONE BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO HSIAN FU

[Facing p. 5]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [512] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin 788 Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

492 We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the [491] Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants. 487

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains. 133

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective. 487 491 505 487 133

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains.

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tiring. A path fit for carrying coolies is ledged in the cliff side, but mules and ponies have to pick their way over the stones and boulders in the stream bed, constantly crossing and recrossing the river, which is only just fordable, as it washes the base of the cliffs alternately on either side. The following day's march, called 60 li, to the village of Hsiaoho K'ou is precisely the same and most tiring. The district of Hsünyang is entered rather more than half-way near a picturesque temple overhanging the water. Hsiaoho K'ou lies at a point where the river, making the most intricate turns and twists on itself and almost surrounding a precipitous hill crowned by a fine *chaitzu*, is joined by a tributary from the east.

Ten li lower down, at a hamlet called Liangho Kuan, the Ch'ienyu Ho is joined by another stream from the west called the Hsün Ho, which issues from a similar gloomy gorge in the mountains. This latter river seems to contain the greater volume of water and is considered the main stream.

From Liangho Kuan small boats can descend the Hsün Ho to its junction with the Han at Hsünyang Hsien, whence the latter can be reascended to Hsingan. It was of course suggested by everyone that we should here take to boats, but as it would have taken about a week to get to Hsingan by water as against three days by road across the mountains, we decided to continue overland. Since the trail continued, however, to descend the river gorges for another 40 li, we were able to avail ourselves of boats for that distance. The magistrate of Hsünyang had provided a regular flotilla for our huge party, and the boatmen were obviously relieved to find that we were only going to take them for a short distance instead of descending to the Han; for the supply of boats was of course a sort of official corvée for which they got little or no remuneration. The best boat, a brand new one, had been laboriously dragged up the rapids of the Hsün Ho and hidden away round a bend to prevent its being impressed; but the magistrate's underlings soon got wind of it and it was unearthed together with its morose and disappointed owner, and placed at our disposal. As our mules and ponies were all tired and footsore from the rough trails they had been travelling on, I tried to ship them

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491 for a rest; but having embarked them with difficulty in the largest boat, the boatmen pronounced it too dangerous a proposition in the rapids, and they had to continue their overland scramble. We had a pleasant journey downstream, passing through deep gorges and shooting a succession of small rapids, but as we ran aground periodically it took about three hours to do the 40 li to the village of Chaochia Wan, where the gorges open out into a pleasant little valley with cultivated slopes dotted with wood oil trees.

487 At Chaochia Wan the Hsingan trail leaves the gorge of the Hsün Ho to cut across the mountains to the S.W. for 133 two days' march. The first stage to the village of Map'ing Ho is only 50 li, but it is a hard day's march. It is only when one starts to climb out of these Han valley gorges that one realises their depth. For three hours after leaving Chaochia Wan we scrambled up a mountain side, most of the way too steep to ride, in a downpour of rain. On reaching the pass (about 4200 feet) the weather cleared somewhat, allowing fleeting views through the clouds over a maze of wild reddish mountains patched with trees and jungle vividly green in their spring foliage. From the pass there was a steep drop of a few li, like the ascent by slippery clay paths and flights of irregular stone steps, then an easy descent along a ridge, and finally a precipitous drop straight down the mountain side to the hamlet of Map'ing Ho lying in a ravine running S.E.

From here there was only one stage left, called 90 li, to Hsingan. The magistrate of the latter city, who met us here, suggested an early start, as the 90 li were, he said, "very big and over several mountains." Fortunately we took his advice, for what with the passes, the badness of the road, and the rain, we were nearly twelve hours *en route*.

Leaving the valley of Map'ing Ho the trail enters a defile to the S.W. which leads up to a pass (3300 feet), the boundary between Hsünyang and Hsingan districts, and then drops down into a stony gorge which is followed to the hamlet of Liuli Kou. From this place there are still 60 li left to Hsingan, and the weary traveller feels entitled to hope for a run down the valley for the rest of the way. But it is still the same story of an endless succession of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. across a road running S.W. and

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487 countries. Yet a series of macadamized trunk roads would be an inestimable boon politically and economically to the country and the people and could be constructed at a comparatively small cost; some of the large sums spent annually for the upkeep of unnecessary military forces in the various provinces might with great advantage be diverted to this end.

133 Leaving Hsingan the Han River is crossed by a ferry above the city and the trail then runs westwards up the [491] valley plain of the Yo River, which is navigable for small [241] boats from Hanyin down. Its valley forms a rich little alluvial plain growing rice and wheat and supporting many farms and villages, and offering an admirable route for a railway westwards, which can thus avoid the gorges of the Han in this neighbourhood. To the south a range of mountains rises steeply to a height of a few thousand feet, separating this little plain from the Han River, while to the north the valley slopes up to low hills of red clay backed by mountains. Seventy li from Hsingan the township of Hengk'ou is reached, the end of the first stage, situated at the junction of the Yo River with the Heng River from the north. It has the honour of being the native place of the present Military Governor of the Province, General Ch'en Shu-fan, the old rule, which has many advantages, that an official is debarred from serving in his native province, no longer holding good.

487 From Hengk'ou to Hanyin is called 110 li, but the road is good and the li very short (at least four to the mile), so that with ponies and pack mules the distance can easily be done in a day. The Chinese li is commonly considered to be the equivalent of a third of a mile, which, however, is only the case in out of the way parts of Kansu. Elsewhere north of the Ch'inling Shan ten li to three miles may be taken as a fairly accurate average. In the upper Han valley, as in Szechuan, the li averages about four to a mile, or even more in the mountains; the difference north and south of the Ch'inling Shan being probably due to the use of animal and coolie transport in those regions respectively.

Ten li beyond Hengk'ou the hills close in on the river to form a *kuan*, or barrier, and the path crosses a low spur to descend again into the valley, here less than a mile in width, up which it continues past several large villages, crossing and recrossing the stream by fords, for the rest of the way to Hanyin.

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [36]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [49]

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than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

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road, here a good cart track, runs across an undulating wheat prairie, dotted with hamlets and walled farms, with the Wei River out of sight on the right hand, and the great barrier of the Ch'inling mountains on the left. Three townships are passed, Yapei, Hengch'u, and Huaiya, the second being of some interest as the home of a famous Sung Dynasty philosopher. The amount of wheat grown on these plains of Central Shensi is very great, especially nowadays since the suppression of opium cultivation. There is no better wheat flour in China than that of Shensi, and it forms the staple food of the population, eaten in the form of bread (*mo*) and macaroni (*kua mien*). With this excellent wheat flour, good mutton, and plenty of game in the mountains, the foreign traveller is well off as regards food. A sound rule for travel in the interior of China is to avoid all tinned foods and rely on native supplies cooked in foreign style; the former only increase one's baggage loads and are quite unnecessary; native food made up in the native style is unappetising to most foreigners as well as being dangerously dirty.

Mei Hsien, a second class district city, is a small place, but like Chouchih is the centre of a rich agricultural region comprising the plain between the Ch'inling Shan and the River Wei. The latter flows a few li to the north of the town. The city has suffered greatly from rebellions and brigandage during recent years.

From Mei Hsien to Fenghsiang Fu is called 110 li, but the road being good and mostly level, the distance can be covered in one long march. The Wei River, in the dry season a thick yellow stream a hundred yards wide and few feet deep, is crossed by a ferry and the road then runs westwards with the river on the left hand and a loess bluff on the right for 35 li to the village of Ts'aichia P'o. At the time of our visit this low-lying land was almost entirely devoted to indigo and dotted with the peculiar-looking brick pits in which the plants are mashed in preparing the dye. This is an old industry revived on account of the scarcity of aniline dyes. The indigo forms a useful rotation crop for the relief of the land exhausted by the everlasting wheat. We saw little else but wheat, cotton, and indigo during our tour of the loess of Central Shensi, growing on

T.T. the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively.

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000 the uplands, river plains, and irrigated lands respectively. Leaving Ts'aichia P'o the road climbs the loess bluff to 133 the north, emerging on an undulating plain 500 feet above 487 the river, this being about the usual thickness of the loess 243 deposits in Western Shensi, and then runs N.E. across 361 wheat-growing prairies, past numerous hamlets and walled farms, ascending gradually to reach Fenghsiang Fu.

361 Fenghsiang Fu, now a first class Hsien, lies at the western end of the open Wei valley, where the mountains of the Kansu border meet the Ch'inling Shan and bring these fertile loess plains to an end. It is a large city and used to be quite an important place, but its commercial prosperity, destroyed during the rebellions and other troubles of the past six years, has not yet revived. The inhabitants have a bad reputation, and, like the town of Paochi on the Wei River a day's journey to the south, it has in the past been [491] a hotbed of the Ko Lao Hui. Its position near the junction of the Ch'in Chou road into Kansu and the high road to Szechuan gives it some importance, and cart tracks radiate from it across the plain in all directions, ceasing abruptly at the foot of the mountains.

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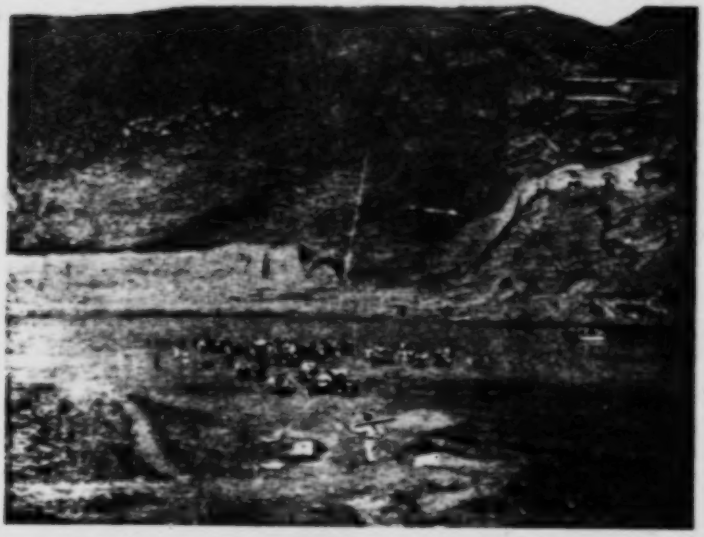
PLATE XII

133

CANYON OF THE CHING RIVER, WESTERN SHENSI

491



FERRY ACROSS THE CHING RIVER

[FACING p. 53]

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579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, *robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful* revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally; 491 with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li, to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which, 133 except at one point about half-way where it contracts into a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. 361 T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

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ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts. 487

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns. 361 778 769

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids. 487 133 [491] 361

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of 487 133

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487 through the cities of T'ungchou Fu and Weinan Hsien across the plains along the Yellow River, but we followed a slightly longer route further north across the loess uplands 133 *via* Hoyang, Ch'engch'eng, P'uch'eng, Fup'ing, and Sanyuan, a week's journey by a good and mostly level trail. The season of the year was now late June and the rains had not yet broken, so we expected a scorching hot journey across these plains; but fortunately we struck the season of high winds which blow for a few days before the rains break, and had quite a pleasant journey until the last day or two, when we were overtaken by the opening downpours of the rainy season and had a hard struggle to get across the waterlogged plain of the Wei River.

From Hanch'eng Hsien to Hoyang Hsien is a long march [491] called 95 li. The road, now a good cart track, leaves Hanch'eng by the South Gate, and crossing a fine stone bridge runs down the valley through indigo fields for 20 li, where it debouches on to the Yellow River at the township of Chihch'uan Chen, a prosperous little city with an important likin station tapping the trade with Shansi. This [36] place, like many other non-official townships we passed on the road to Hsian, is larger and wealthier than any district city we saw in Northern Shensi. At Chihch'uan the road leaves the Yellow River and climbs up on to the loess plateau some hundreds of feet above, across which it runs south-west and west, past the townships of Pailiang Chen 388 (in Hoyang district) and T'ungchia Chuang, a centre of the vegetable oil industry, and many smaller villages, for the rest of the way to Hoyang. This plateau is just like all the other loess uplands, an undulating wheat prairie intersected by rifts and valleys; and the passage of two of these cañons hundreds of feet deep makes the march a long and arduous one.

[361] Hoyang is a fairly large city, the centre of a first class district; but it is a poor-looking place inside, like most of these purely agricultural prairie towns, and is not to be compared with Hanch'eng, which probably does a good deal of trade with prosperous Shansi. It lies in a slight depression of the rolling loess uplands, now covered with short wheat stubble. Supplies of all kinds are abundant on this road, but game is scarce; though an occasional pheasant was to be seen in the bare fields.

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From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang. 487 133 [634]

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. 361

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng. 487 [491] 133 361

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues. [651]

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of 487 133

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PLATE XIX

491

STONE CAUSEWAY ACROSS LOESS RIFT, E. SHENSI

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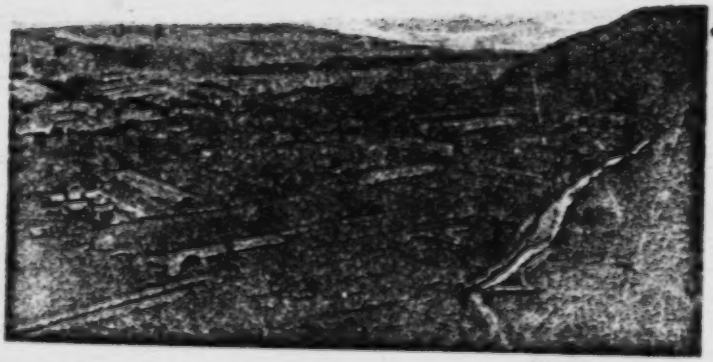

INDIGO FIELDS IN IRRIGATED LOESS VALLEY NEAR HANCH'ENG

[FACING p. 84]

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797 thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

487 From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which 133 occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road [344] runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached [491] and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the 248 season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of 439 Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

491 We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

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ponies and mules and I never heard what happened to it or whether there was anyone inside. The Chinese pack saddle is made in two parts, the framework containing the baggage resting unattached on the saddle proper, an excellent system permitting of quick and easy loading and unloading; but it has the disadvantage that if the mule falls in fording a difficult river, his load is likely to disappear for good. A few li after crossing the Wei River the village of Tsaot'an is reached, whence the road continues south across the plain for 25 li to reach the north wall of Hsian Fu.

491 [492] 487

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CHAPTER VII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO CHENGTU FU IN SZECHUAN BY THE MAIN ROAD

The Szechuan road—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—Hsienyang—Hsingp'ing—Wukung—Fufeng—Ch'ishan—Paochi—Shensi mules—Passage of Ch'in-ling Shan—Fenghsien—Loess—Feng Ling—Ch'aikuan Ling—Liupa—Paoch'eng—Manchu Restoration—Mienhsien—Gold in the Han mountains—Sources of Han River—Ningchiang—Entry into Szechuan—The Chialing Chiang and Kuangyuan—Chaohua—The narrows of Chienmen Kuan—Chienchou—Tzutung—Mienchou—Lochiang and the cities of the Chengtu plain—Chengtu—Szechuanese and Yunnanese.

487 FROM Hsian, the capital of Shensi, to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, by the main road is a distance of 2225 li, say a little over 500 miles (the li in this direction averaging about four to one mile). Travelling the regular stages, it is possible to cover this distance in less than a month, but as our caravan was rather exhausted by its long wanderings, and the heat was at times very oppressive, we journeyed slowly and with occasional rests, and took five to six weeks to reach Chengtu.

This road is about the most important overland route in China, though the traffic on it has somewhat diminished since the introduction of steamers on the upper Yangtzu between Ichang and Chungking, well-to-do travellers nowadays preferring to make a détour by way of Hankow and thus to avoid the hardships of so long an overland journey. As well as being the main and practically the only artery of communication between Shensi and Szechuan, it is a section of the great highway from Peking to Lassa. For the tourist who wishes to see the interior of China, a journey from Peking *via* Hsian to Chengtu by this road, and thence back by river to Shanghai, would provide a tour of great interest through some of the finest scenery in China Proper, besides entailing a minimum of the hardships inseparable from travel in the interior, supplies and accommodation being abundant
487 all the way. After leaving the Wei valley it is a mule trail,
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paved most of the way and comparatively good in Szechuan, but very rough and rocky through the mountains of Shensi. Lying most of the way through Southern Shensi and Szechuan, where paved paths and flights of irregular stone steps are the rule, it is unsuitable for ponies, and it is advisable to take a chair, at any rate from the Han valley onwards. We started with ponies, having used them on all our journeys through the North West, but were compelled to take to chairs when we got into Szechuan, as the steps and paving stones knocked our ponies' feet to pieces. Walking and chairing is a pleasant enough method of travel, but very slow, the rate of progress in the mountains being only about eight li per hour, which makes the stages long. 487 491

The Belgians have secured a concession for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan. It is a peculiar line to have chosen and one which will involve considerable engineering difficulties in Shensi and Szechuan. In nine cases out of ten the railway surveyor is unable to find a better trace for a line than that followed by an ancient highway of commerce, but if this railway is to follow the main trail between Hsian and Chengtu, its constructors are going to have a difficult job. The traveller by this road can therefore beguile the monotony of the journey by speculating as to the feasibility or otherwise of constructing a railway along it; it will certainly not be easy to find a less difficult route.

We left Hsian Fu on the 29th of June in a downpour of rain and floundered through the mud across the plain to reach Hsienyang Hsien, fortunately only 50 li away. This city, a poor-looking place in appearance though the centre of a first class district, is built along the northern bank of the Wei River, which is crossed by a cart ferry. It has some importance as being more or less the head of navigation on the Wei River, and as lying at the point where the great highway from Hsian, T'ungkuan, Peking, and the coast bifurcates, one branch continuing N.W. to Kansu and Turkestan, and the other turning W. and S.W. to Szechuan and Tibet. One cannot but speculate on the innumerable travellers who have passed through its miserable little main street, knee-deep in dust or mud, bound on their weary way to the outposts of Chinese rule in the deserts of [361] [491] 000

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500 hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

487 From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many 491 prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past 438 the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

[634] Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, 133 which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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[361] debouches into Szechuan and where another road emerges
487 from Kansu *via* P'ik'ou. Being a mountainous border
133 district it is full of brigands, who do not, however, seem so formidable or so destructive to trade as their colleagues in Northern Shensi; at any rate much traffic continues on the big road.

We were now at the end of July, and as we emerged from the higher mountains of Shensi into Szechuan the
[136] heat became daily more terrific. Mosquitoes too, which are not noticeable in Kansu at all owing to the elevation, and which only begin to be bad in Shensi towards the autumn, became daily more voracious.

From Kuangyuan to Chaohua is a short march of 55 li. down the left bank of the Chialing Chiang, which here winds a good deal between more open mountain slopes. The
[491] river is crossed by a ferry to reach Chaohua, a small third class district city, built on a point of land at the confluence of the Chialing Chiang and a large tributary called the Pai Ho from Kansu. These rivers have cut deep narrow valleys in the precipitous mountains, which seem to run in all directions.

Leaving Chaohua the road climbs to the top of a ridge between the two rivers and continues along the summit in a westerly direction for 40 li with finally a descent to the village of Tashumu, whence it ascends another ridge leading S.W. The trail is here a good paved path, ascending and descending where necessary by flights of stone steps, and the march along the summits of the ridges affords a series of fine views over the surrounding mountains. Seventy li from Chaohua the path drops steeply into the gorge of a stream flowing north, up which it continues for another hour, passing through a gate in a remarkable defile under steep precipices of conglomerate rock, to reach the large
[361] village of Chienmen Kuan, the seat of a deputy magistrate under Chien Chou.

On the next day's march the path follows up the valley for a short distance, and then climbs again on to a ridge which leads in a south-westerly direction. The paved path is much of the way bordered by venerable trees hundreds of years old, whose welcome shade accompanies one at intervals right through these mountains for several days'

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PLATE XXIV

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TREE-LINED HIGHWAY THROUGH CENTRAL KANSU

TREE-LINED HIGHWAY THROUGH CENTRAL KANSU

[FACING p. 105]

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM HSIAN FU IN SHENSI TO LANCHOU FU IN KANSU BY THE GREAT WEST ROAD

The Great West Road—Hsienyang—Lich'uan—Ch'ienchou—Yungshou—Pinchou—Ch'angwu—Kansu border—Chingchou—P'ingliang—Kansu Mahomedans—Wat'ing—The late General T'ung Fu-hsiang—The Liupan Shan—Lungtu—Chingning—Rest-houses and inns—Brackish water—Trail of desolation left by Mahomedan campaigns—Huining—Disadvantages of being a magistrate on the high road—Beacon towers—Anting—Kantsao Tien—Lanchou—Kansu climate—Wool factory—The Governor of Kansu—The C.P.O.—Missionaries—Recent events in Kansu.

FROM Hsian Fu in Shensi to Lanchou Fu in Kansu by the Great West Road is a distance of about 1400 li (say 425 miles), which is covered in eighteen to twenty days. If the road from Hsian to Chengtu and Lassa be considered the most important overland route in China, this one, from Hsian to Lanchou and Kashgar, has every claim to rank next. Unlike the former, which is only a mule trail, it is a cart track all the way. Passing from the coast into the heart of North-Western China through a natural gap in the mountains formed by the valley of the Wei River, it continues into Central Asia along the narrow strip of fertile country occupied by the Chinese between the mountains of Northern Tibet and the deserts of Mongolia. It is both one of the longest and most ancient highways in the world.

The first stage, a short one of 50 li across the plain to Hsienyang Hsien, crossing the Wei River by a cart ferry just before getting in, is the same as the first march on the Chengtu road. Outside Hsienyang the Szechuan and Kansu roads bifurcate, the latter leading north-west across the undulating loess plain for 70 li to Lich'uan Hsien, whence it continues for another short march of 40 li across similar country, ascending gradually, to Ch'ien Chou. During the month of May these plains are covered as far as the eye can reach with healthy-looking crops of wheat and lucerne; the latter, a most useful crop in Western Shensi and Eastern Kansu, is used for fodder; in the Han valley, however, a

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Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation. 634

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou. 491

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley. 487 133

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The [443] 485

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granite walls. The path runs for a short distance along the river, and then enters a belt of sand hills from which it emerges on to the river again at the village of T'ungkuan P'o, lying at the entrance to the gorges. From here to Lanchou (20 li) the road is a broad highway up the open cultivated valley of the Yellow River.

Lanchou Fu, now officially known by the name of the district, Kaolan Hsien, is by far the most attractive of the provincial capitals of China I have visited. It is built along the right bank of the Yellow River at a point where the hills close in on the river, the valley expanding into small plains to the east and west. The greyish yellow city walls and towers blending with the yellow waters of the river and the desolate yellow grey hills all around, the whole relieved by the bright green of the irrigated fields in the valley, combine to form an attractive picture which will long remain with those on whom the deserts and mountains of the North West exercise their mysterious charm. The modern iron bridge across the Yellow River, constructed a few years ago by foreign engineers, is rather an eyesore, but its great utility more than makes up for its appearance. Across this bridge, which at the time of our visit was in a very decayed state as far as the woodwork was concerned, passes an almost incessant stream of traffic, carts, ponies, mules, camels, and sometimes yak, bound eastwards for China and westwards for Turkestan. So far as I know there are only three bridges across the Yellow River, this one, and the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukou railway bridges in Honan and Shantung; which is, however, a better record than the Yangtzu can show, the latter having no bridges across its course anywhere. The walls of Lanchou are well built and kept in good repair, and the whole city has an air of compact strength, comparative cleanliness, and prosperity. It was never taken by the Mahomedans during the rebellions of the past, and it was also one of the few provincial capitals to escape being looted by soldiers or mob during the revolution of 1911 and subsequent troubles, and its shops appear rich and well stocked. Owing to its situation at the junction of the Yellow River with the highway from China to Turkestan, as well as numerous other roads leading in various directions, it is by far the most important centre in

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312 Hsien, surrounded by rich irrigated lands, is a city of some importance, occupying a strategic position between Lanchou Fu and the Mahomedan strongholds round Ho Chou. It [277] is also a centre of the water pipe tobacco industry and of the trade in lumber, the latter rafted down the T'ao River [313] from the forests of the Kokonor.

From Titao to Weiyuan Hsien is a distance of 110 li 487 across the watershed between the T'ao and Wei rivers, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the 133 hamlets of Yaotien or Ch'ingp'ing, where there are inns, 50 and 80 li out respectively. Leaving Titao the road runs up a shallow cultivated valley bounded by hills of red clay in an easterly and then a southerly direction for 80 li to the hamlet of Ch'ingp'ing, where the valley is a mere ravine. From here it ascends a grassy ridge which is followed for two hours' march to gain the watershed pass, and then drops steeply to Weiyuan Hsien. The railway from Hsian to Lanchou which, it is proposed, shall follow up the Wei valley, will here presumably require a tunnel through this watershed to reach the valley of the T'ao. Weiyuan is of some interest to the Chinese as lying on the headwaters of their historical river the Wei. We found it a small but well-kept city, rejoicing in a particularly progressive young [491] magistrate. The river is here quite small and easily fordable, and its valley though narrow is cultivated and has a prosperous appearance.

From Weiyuan to Kungch'ang is a march of 90 li by a good road down the valley, generally a mile or two wide, well cultivated, and bounded by bare hills. Numerous villages are passed, the largest being Shouyang Ch'eng, half way. Kungch'ang Fu, now known as Lunghsi Hsien, is a large city in extent, but having been destroyed during the Mahomedan rebellion is still half in ruins. Another march of 90 li, still down the valley, brings one to Ningyuan. Forty li out the hills close in on the valley which becomes barren [491] and stony. The Wei River is forded twice on this stage and also the Nan Ho, a large tributary from the south. The latter was in flood and gave us some trouble. Immediately after crossing the Nan Ho there is a steep ascent and descent over a ridge which blocks the valley at this point, followed by an hour's march down the open valley to Ningyuan.

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487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at
438 the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
• [491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' [792] march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, [792] which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, [137] though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber [313] is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the [491] first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw [136] some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

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PLATE XXXIV

492

MONASTERY OF SHAKOU SSU

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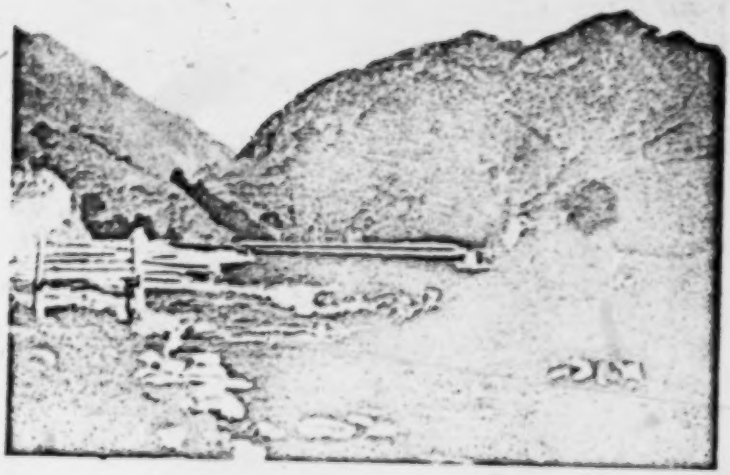

CANTILEVER BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO LABRANG

[FACING p. 147]

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PLATE XXXVI

491

CANTILEVER BRIDGE BETWEEN LABRANG AND HOCHOU

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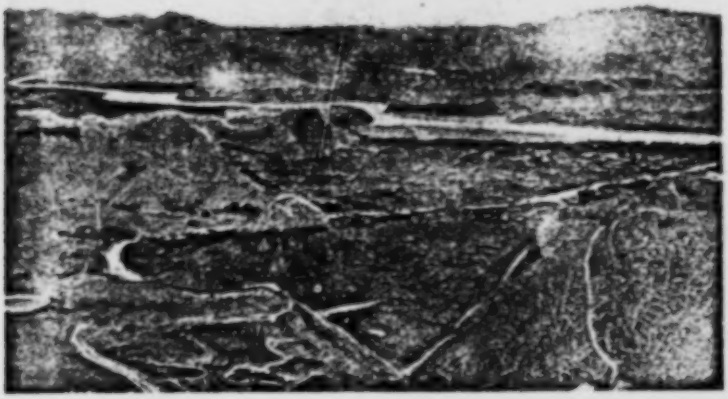

T'AO RIVER VALLEY BETWEEN HOCHOU AND LANCHOU FU

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meaningless jargon of transliterated Chinese characters, does more harm than good to the cause of Christianity. A translation of the Old Testament, distributed, in accordance with the declared policy of the Bible Societies, without notes or comment, cannot but compare unfavourably with the austerely pure classics of Confucius. In striking contrast to the work of the Bible Societies is that carried on by the Christian Literature Society in its dissemination of wholesome modern literature.

From Ho Chou to Lanchou Fu is a three days' journey called 210 li. The road runs in a north-westerly direction across the fertile valley to reach the Tahsia River, which is crossed by a well-built wooden bridge. From here it ascends steeply over hills of loess and red clay for a few hundred feet, and then runs along a ridge between two deep narrow valleys for 35 li to the village of Sonanpa. The divide between the T'ao and Tahsia rivers is crossed just before reaching Sonanpa, a village with inns perched up on the top of the ridge, where we passed the night.

On the following day's march the road continues along an undulating ridge, gradually descending, for four hours' march to the village of Tawant'ou, lying on the edge of the loess mountains overlooking the T'ao River valley, into which the road drops by a long and very steep descent to reach the township of T'angwanch'uan. This place is about half-way between Ho Chou and Lanchou Fu and is the largest centre passed on the way. The T'ao valley in the neighbourhood is irrigated and fertile, but the surrounding hills are bare of all vegetation, and the country is absolute desert where irrigation ceases. The geological formation of the hills, loess superimposed on red sandstone weathered into pinnacles and pillars of all kinds of shapes and designs, presents a most curious sight. In the valley the noonday heat of the midsummer sun reflected off the desert rocks was terrific. The T'ao River, here about 80 yards wide, deep and rapid, is crossed by a ferry, and the road continues north-east through desolate sandy hills to Manp'ing, a miserable village, the end of the stage and 80 li from Lanchou. This place is in the district of Shani, which is mostly desert.

From Manp'ing the road ascends through a desolate

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [36]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [49]

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487 and the background of bare snow-sprinkled mountains, made up a wild and desolate landscape, the scene of uncounted con-
133 tests between Chinese, Tartars, and Mahomedans in the past.

The trail continues up the valley, which is here a mile or two wide and slopes gently up to grassy downs on either side, for four to five hours' march to an old military post [491] called Chench'iang Yi. Here the river is crossed by a ford, which must be difficult in rainy weather, and the road, leaving the P'ingfan valley, runs due north over easy grassy slopes for 15 li to gain the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet), the divide between the waters which flow east to join the Yellow River and those which flow north into the desert and fail to reach the sea. Immediately to the west some rocky peaks patched with snow rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 feet. [136] From the pass the road descends, at first over grassy downs alive with marmots, and then by a steep stony track, to the ruined village of Anyuan P'u in the narrow valley of the Kulang River. The Wushao Ling will prove the principal engineering obstacle to the railway which is projected as an extension of the Lung Hai line along the main road towards Central Asia, and will presumably necessitate a considerable tunnel. Otherwise the construction of this extension will be easy compared to the section from Hsian to Lanchou. Fifteen li down the valley brings one to the village of Lungk'ou P'u. This is a long day's march called 90 li (which means 30 miles in Western Kansu) and the track beyond the pass is bad and rocky.

On the following day a short march of 45 li by a rough road down the valley brought us to the district city of Kulang, a small town three-parts in ruins situated at the point where the stream debouches from the mountains on to the plain. Here we were given a typical instance of Chinese administrative methods. One of our mules having fallen lame, we asked the magistrate to be good enough to procure us another animal, which he said could easily be done. We were accommodated in a small yamen and our mules in an inn, and that evening the head muleteer came round in a great state and said that one of our mules had been seized by the underlings from the magistrate's yamen. Explanations were of course immediately forthcoming and the misunderstanding cleared up. The magistrate had instructed his

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to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus. In the eastern provinces where the upper and middle classes are more or less in contact with the West a strong native public opinion now exists against opium; the same cannot be said of the backward North West; and it is there that the authorities will have to watch for recrudescence of cultivation. As regards the suppression of smoking and consumption generally, the same success has by no means been attained, and in out of the way parts it appears to be indulged in much as formerly. In view of the increasing scarcity of the drug, however, and the rising price, this cannot really be the case, and if suppression of cultivation is strictly adhered to, the existing stocks will gradually be exhausted, and the rising generation will grow up without contracting the opium habit.

We rested at Liangchou for a day, being entertained by the officials, and then left for Chenfan, distant three marches. The first stage was 65 li to a group of farms called Chungchia Ta Men lying on the edge of the desert. For the first three hours the road, a good cart-track, lies through rich irrigated country, and for the rest of the way belts of sandy desert alternate with irrigated fields. The water, where it is not obtainable from irrigation channels, is very brackish. From Chungchia Ta Men the road continues north across a sandy plain between the desert on the right hand and cultivated lands on the left. Farms with wells are passed 20 and 40 li out. Hsiangchia Wan, the end of another stage of 65 li, is a thickly populated oasis on the edge of the desert, lying just east of a range of barren hills which form a prominent landmark from afar. The snow mountains behind Liangchou now fade out of sight. From here to Chenfan Hsien is a distance of 70 li. The trail still runs north over a sandy plain covered with scrub and rough grass with a river on the left hand, the latter formed by the junction of various streams and irrigation channels, and flowing north to water the Chenfan oasis and beyond to lose itself in the sands of the desert. Branches of this stream have to be forded at various points; though quite shallow, they contain dangerous quicksands and should be approached with care. Thirty-five

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plain to Yungch'ang Hsien, a small district city on the mainroad. 487 133

Leaving Yungch'ang the trail runs west up a cultivated valley for 25 li to the ruined village of Shuimo Kuan. Here the stream is forded, and the trail, leaving the high road to Kanchou and Suchou on the right hand, continues up the valley due west, ascending very gradually, for 50 li to Kaoku Ch'eng, an old walled military post surrounded by a ruined village, where we passed the night in the dilapidated yamen of the *Yu Chi*, or Major in the old army of the Green Standard, who still survived in this remote corner of the Republic, though about eight years out of date. Kaoku Ch'eng lies in a broad shallow valley sloping up to the mountains on either side, with very little cultivation. Ruined farms and abandoned fields are numerous, and signs of former prosperity and present depopulation are not wanting. A huge snow mountain is visible lying ten to twenty miles away to the south, apparently part of the snow range behind Liangchou. [491]

Beyond Kaoku Ch'eng the flat valley merges imperceptibly into a rolling grassy plain, bounded north and south by mountains, and uninhabited save for flocks of sheep and occasional antelope. The road undulates due west across this plain, running more or less parallel to the main range of the Nan Shan, a high rocky barrier bounding the Kokonor plateau. For the last ten li there is a descent through cultivated fields to Tama Ying, another old walled military post mostly in ruins, lying on the head-waters of a stream flowing N.W. towards Shantan Hsien. There are several farms of settlers in the neighbourhood, and the barley looked well, though still green in early August (elevation between 8000 and 9000 feet). On this day's march we noticed the ruins of some of the old beacon towers common to the high roads of Kansu, and these ruins, with those of the old military posts, show that this was once an important military road. At Tama Ying we were again quartered in the yamen of the *Yu Chi*, the latter an aged veteran of the Mahomedan campaigns, who was spending the evening of his no doubt active and adventurous life in this remote spot, with only the vaguest ideas of the momentous changes which had come to pass with the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty.

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nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow 634
River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not 563
far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across 487
undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August). deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 487
491

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491 are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called
133 *p'ifatzu*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the
487 rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin-raft (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is rather exciting. Inducing the animals to swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony lamed. The water was icy, and the wretched animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, notwithstanding
487 the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the
133 river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountains and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of four hours or so by a bad rocky trail. The summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We missed the view as we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse near the top of some animals which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a most formidable barrier. It
821 's noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces; it is a waste of time trying to explain even to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the least objection to your believing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience of high passes on the borders of Kansu and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

133 The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail
487 very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia T'ai. By the time we reached
485 this spot, although the snow had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

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487 valley narrows to a rocky gorge, and the cart track branches off towards P'ingfan. The mule trail through this defile,
133 which is some 40 li in length, is a nightmare of a path, especially in wet weather, being very rough and narrow, ledged in the cliff side above the roaring waters of the Hsining River; two-thirds of the way through there is an opening and an inn, Yangchia Tientzu, where we had a welcome rest. From the eastern end of this gorge to Hsiangt'ang, the end of the stage, is a distance of ten li. The peculiarity of the valley in this neighbourhood is that the cultivated fields are entirely covered with large stones which are placed there on purpose, in order, we were told, to
[244] preserve the moisture in the ground. These stone-covered fields produce most excellent melons of various kinds, and the sight of the huge juicy fruit apparently growing out of bare stones is a remarkable one.

Just below Hsiangt'ang the Tatung River is crossed by
[491] a good wooden bridge at the point where it debouches from a defile in the mountains on to the valley of the Hsining River; it is here less than twenty yards wide, but very deep and rapid, and flows between almost perpendicular cliffs of rock; though it contains much the greater volume of water, it joins the Hsining River in the form of a tributary, issuing from a cleft in the mountains on to the open valley of the latter. From here the trail continues down the arid valley, being rough and stony most of the way, especially where it climbs in and out of side nullahs or ascends the face of the cliff. Fifty li out a ruined wall and fort are passed, barring the valley at a narrow point, and just before reaching the village of Hotsuitzu, the end of a stage of 75 li, the river washes the left-hand side of the valley, and the weary traveller is forced to follow a narrow footpath high up the face of the sandstone cliff; here a block of sandstone, becoming detached from higher up on the cliff and hurling itself into the torrent below, only missed by a few feet bringing the career of the principal member of the expedition to an abrupt termination. The valley round the village of
[361] Hotsuitzu is desolate in the extreme, bare red sandstone with a layer of yellow loess superimposed like icing on a cake. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this loess was not laid down by water. One of the arguments in favour

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of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu-hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

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rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773
sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491
incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485
Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture; no opening had been left for a window; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276
ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster. 731

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent. 491 741 731

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead. 797

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected 583 292 533 485 563 783

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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
483 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
291 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
286 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

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bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan-chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

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Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures. 491

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more. [363] 797

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is 733

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the sixty miles are far too long a journey for you to walk.'

CHAPTER X

A TIBETAN LAMASERY

THE Kanchow oasis reaches to the very foot of the Tibetan hills, and of all the North-Western towns which we visited, this city is the one most frequented by Tibetan travellers. We constantly met them strolling about the streets, or bartering their gold, silver, peacock-feathers and skins for the necessary grain which their nomadic life, as well as the climatic conditions, make it impossible for them to produce. The Christian community was deeply interested in these people, the more so since a recent visit to a Lamasery, where some of them had been hospitably entertained. It was therefore decided that a band of us should spend some time at the Kang Lung Lamasery, on the occasion of their yearly temple dances.

The first stage of the three days' journey was done by cart, and brought us to a large farmstead owned by a Christian man, who was making arrangements to supply us with sufficient mules, horses, and donkeys to carry us and our goods over the mountain pass. We were a party of twelve, and carried the tent in which we were to sleep, a folding-organ, a load of books, and a good supply of rice and flour. Five miles outside Kanchow is a wide and treacherous river, difficult to cross in the summer when snows are rapidly melting, and when thunderstorms in the mountains are frequent. Experienced men watch the river, and word was brought to us on the morning of our departure, that the waters

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were too high to permit of a safe crossing before midday. 491 ●
The sun was therefore high in the heavens before we started, and we reached the bank still uncertain as to whether we might not be obliged to return home and come back again the next day.

The water was very high, and divided itself into ten separate channels, some wide and fairly shallow, others narrow and deep, so that the furthest bank was half a mile distant. It was a critical moment when the mules and carts plunged into the muddy, roaring, tumultuous stream, in which large stones were swirled round and round like pebbles, by the force of the current. Only by long experience does a man learn how to keep his head. He must know, as the Chinese express it, 'how to look at water,' and how to restrain his eye from being drawn off by the rushing eddies from that distant bank which seems so far away. Happily, animals have this gift by nature, and keep cool and quiet, even when the driver may have temporarily lost his bearings. Bullocks are the most reliable under these circumstances, for they at once take to swimming when their footing fails.

We were more than an hour fording, and as we approached the furthest bank, the shaft-mule of our cart stumbled badly, so that for a moment we thought we were going to be swept away. A shout went up from the men on the bank as they prepared to plunge in to our rescue, whereupon the mules, realising the danger, recovered themselves with a tremendous effort, and promptly drew us into shallow water.

It was already dark when we reached the house 574
where we were expected. The fierce dogs were chained, the other animals had been fed, and the sheep folded so that the farmer's brief leisure hour had come. We were met at the door by the whole family, who emerged

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574 to greet and welcome us. Rooms had been swept and got ready, and we were immediately served with bowls of hot, slightly salted milk, and fried doughnuts. Willing hands relieved our tired drivers of the work of feeding and stabling the mules, and within an hour we sat down to an abundant evening meal of the best food procurable. A sheep had been killed in view of our arrival, so there was meat and vegetables, with hot steamed bread. The kindness we received in this home is but typical of the grace of hospitality as understood by the Chinese, and such as has ever been extended to us on innumerable occasions by rich and poor alike.

Before dawn the farmyard was noisy with the braying of many small donkeys, hired and borrowed from neighbouring farms for our use. All our baggage was transferred to the pack-saddles, and shortly after sunrise we started to ride across the burning sands of the plain, towards the shady ravine, the entrance to which we could only just discern in the blue hills ahead.

491 The whole of the day was spent in following a narrow, uphill path through the gorge, where we crossed and recrossed a brawling mountain torrent. About mid-day we passed the watch-tower marking the frontier, and then knew ourselves to be actually on Tibetan soil.

000 By early evening we called a halt, and pitched the tent on a grassy plot near a hut, which was the only human habitation we came upon. In it lived one old man, who cultivated a tiny garden, and whose house supplied the only possible shelter to the traveller over-taken by a blizzard. A large saucepan was filled from the stream, and a meal of boiled rice, this time without any accompaniment of pickles, was cooked over the camp fire, and round it we hungrily gathered, each

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first time, foreign onions, which were large and of a very good quality. Homespun cotton materials were also to be bought, as this district[1] unlike many others, produces a very fair cotton crop, which the men spin, and weave by hand on primitive looms. Kaotai also supplies a very superior kind of anthracite, which when burnt in a brazier is practically smokeless, giving off intense heat for hours; its fumes, however, are unpleasant to those unaccustomed to them.

From Kaotai there are two roads to Suchow, used alternately according to the season of the year; we took on this occasion the upper one following the foot of the Richthofen Range, where, between the oases, tracts of coarse gritty sand are found overlaid with small black pebbles, which presented an excellent and firm surface for our carts.

The first stage in this direction brought us to the ruined city of Camel-Town, an ancient settlement, dating from the time when North-West Kansu was under the sway of great Mongolian chiefs. Tradition has it that this was the centre from which King To-lo, probably a ruler during the time of the Mongol supremacy which terminated about the middle of the fourteenth century, controlled his tribe.

This was the first of the large buried cities we had yet seen, and interested us greatly. The massive clay walls of the enclosure still stood, showing the extended area once inhabited, but now the only building not completely ruined was a temple, with a lean-to of one room, in which lived an old man and his wife. It was an isolated spot, bearing a bad name for brigandage, and no carter spends the night there willingly. We had arrived late in the afternoon, having started early in the morning, so we had declared our fixed determination to get a night's rest here at any price. While

[1] [Kaotai -- Analyst]

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our roof, after which she was restored to her own family, and, to the lasting credit of the Suchow Chamber of Commerce be it said, their pressure compelled the unwilling official to endow the child with a sum of money, in compensation for the loss of her foot.

So far so good; but that Governor of the Suchow gaol also secretly vowed vengeance on the Christian community and on its leader, against whom he proceeded to work persistently and undeviatingly, until Dr. Kao himself was a prisoner in his hands!

CHAPTER XXI

BEYOND THE GREAT WALL

BEFORE the end of May we revisited Kanchow, this time taking the lower road which, though still boggy, was passable, but before we reached Kaotai we had crossed many swamps and flooded fields. We also met with salt-encrusted friable earth, where at each step the outer crust broke, and our feet sank into the soft soil beneath. Here no single blade of grass can live, not even the desert lizard darts across the track, and the sunshine reflected from the ash-grey ground diffuses a dead and bluish light. Two miles outside the gate of Kanchow city a crowd of Christian men, women and children stood to welcome us. During the past year this community had been subject to serious persecution, which was even now heading up to a crisis, yet the services were crowded, there were many desiring baptism, and before the summer was over ninety-eight men and women confessed Christ publicly. The whole of June was spent instructing these catechumens, but during the month of July we made an expedition to a

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484 you.' We had not gone very far when a mounted soldier galloped alongside. 'Ask him his honourable name,' said the senior member of the party from the recesses of the cart, 'and how many children he has.' This led on at once to a friendly conversation, and soon we were supplying the soldier with pears, and a share in the lunch we were carrying, while in return he gave us an immense amount of information, more or less reliable, about the whole district. The road proved indeed 491 difficult to find, and as, from the moment of leaving the 133 fertile land surrounding the city, until we reached 172 Chienfutung, we did not meet a single human being, we should have inevitably wasted much valuable time had we been unescorted. For some time we ploughed our way heavily through the loose sand, to emerge finally on a gravel *glacis* of uncompromising sterility. Eastward stretched a range of sandy foothills, whose outlines were always changing under the bidding of the winds, but which, tradition affirms, hide beneath them the ruins of a very early civilisation, while ancient records speak of at least two towns, at one time ruled by Mongol princes, no traces of which can now be found. The whole impression given, is that of a thickly-inhabited district overtaken by some cataclysm, which has left Tunhwang to stand alone—an island of verdure in an ocean of sand. After three hours' travelling, the coarse grit gave place to boulders, with flakes of mica glittering on the ground; then, following what seemed to be the bed of a former river, bordered by cliffs of conglomerate, rising gradually to a great height, we were led to the back of the sandhills, where unexpectedly we entered upon a green oasis planted with fine young poplar trees, some still vividly green, while others had already changed to clearest yellow. Here were the rock-temples.

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either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788

Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 491

We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

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the work of man, but the Crescent Lake is the work of the gods,' we were told. It was only three miles from the city, but proved to be so curiously located that one might easily be only fifty yards from it and yet remain unconscious of its existence. We were warned that the road was heavy, so we left in good time, having harnessed our three best beasts to the small cart. An hour's drive brought us to the foot of the sandhills lying to the south, and then we looked right and left, knowing that so far we had not missed our way, yet being quite unable to determine in which direction we should continue.

Finally we turned to the right, when almost immediately our shaft-mule had a bad accident. Failing to disentangle her feet from the soft ground she was pulled over by the two others, falling on her head with nose and mouth completely buried in the loose sand. A yell from the driver brought our second man to the rescue, and they were fortunately able to lift the poor creature up before she was completely smothered. Meanwhile Elder Liu, who had been made responsible for the enterprise, went on ahead, climbing a sand-dune about three hundred feet high. A signal from him, and we proceeded to follow, undertaking one of the most difficult of ascents, as at every step we sank well above the ankles, and finally were obliged to take off our shoes and climb in stockinged feet. When we reached the upper ridge, still we saw nothing beyond the vast expanse of sandhills, but one step more and below, in the narrow space dividing us from the next hill, lay a most exquisite miniature landscape—a small, crescent-shaped lake, in colour a sapphire-blue, while owing to a strange optical effect, the sand slopes around took on a wonderfully soft, mother-of-pearl iridescence. Behind the lake and opposite to us stood a small temple and

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first arrival in Suchow we had heard constant mention of this place, and had made many enquiries how best to reach it. It was very difficult to locate, and seemed to be two or three days' journey from every other oasis in the neighbourhood. We had the conviction that difficult though it might be, Hwahaitz must be visited by the preaching band. One of the Suchow enquirers superintended a business which had a branch in that place. Travelling through Kiayükwan we had unexpectedly met this man riding along the road, and told him of our determination. His instant reply was: 'I have just left there on my way to Suchow, but I will now turn back. You will find me waiting for you at Hwahaitz any time you get there. Fit it in as you can.'

At the close of a long day of preaching we cooked and ate a meal, then rolled up our tents, packed our carts, and left the grassy glades for the stony Gobi. A group of our new friends came to see us off, and among them was 'Lydia,' who had spent the afternoon in our company, sitting with a group of women teaching them the only text she knew: 'Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.'

The sun was setting when we crossed the main road, which would have taken us on our legitimate stage, and turned off due north into a region of bare volcanic hills without a sign of life. Even the single telegraph wire, as we left it behind us, had a friendly and alluring aspect. The moon was but a few days old, and soon abandoned us in a district more weird than anything we had previously seen, and we threaded our way by a path often scarcely wide enough for our cart wheels, and between high volcanic ranges of terrifying outline, from whose sides boulders had constantly fallen, blocking the narrow roadway. Once our front mule

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491 shied in terror at something none of us could see, but
133 which the carter found to be the carcase of a camel. For hours we progressed in this valley[1] of desolation, and about 2 a.m. emerged into a small patch of watered
244 land, where a few families cultivated melons. We do
312 not like these watered lands in the darkness. Deep ditches are dug in all directions to convey the stream of water, sometimes to one part of the land, and sometimes to another. In and out of the dry ditches the cart bumped and stuck, whilst the animals strained at the high banks. Often the ditch was full of water, and this was worse, as through these rivers of uncertain depths the cart must go, and the experience is nerve-racking.

Before long, the barking of fierce dogs (another of the night-terrors) was heard, and our driver stood behind his mules preparing his whip for a possible fight. The farmer, however, was friendly and hospitable. The young men of the household got up, chained the dogs, and gave us the freedom of the threshing-floor for the night, where we slept in our carts. Early in the morning we gathered the people together, and to their great delight held a gospel service with singing accompanied by the harmonium.

When we left, our hostess gave us a basketful of oil-buns—dough rolled into thin cakes and fried in linseed-oil—and we proceeded on our way, still chasing the elusive Hwahaitz. In three minutes we had left the
[133] watered land and were once more in Gobi. A group of
136 five magnificent black vultures caught our attention. They were so huge and so statuesque in outline that it was not until our young men had used the field-glasses that they were convinced these were really living creatures and not a group of rocks. The head was quite bald, and the movement in walking resembled the

1 [Between Chikinpu and Hwahaitz -- Analyst]

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~~Sinkiang AF-1~~

000 The days spent there were very hot and tiring, but eminently worth while.

CHAPTER XXXI

JADE GATE TO ANSI

491 To get away from Hwahaitz proved a more arduous business than reaching it had been, and fifty miles of the dreary Gobi still stretched between us and the town of Yümen—Jade Gate—which was our next objective. [312] In the whole of these fifty miles there was only one spot where water was obtainable, and this was merely a brackish spring near to a hut in which lived an old couple. We left Hwahaitz at 4 p.m. on a very hot day, but after sunset it turned bitterly cold. At 2 a.m. we reached the hut, where, having rolled ourselves in a coverlet, we lay down on the sand, but by 4 a.m. the wearisome spectacle of the sun staring at us over the rim of the world, fetched us reluctantly back to our wanderings. By 3 p.m. we joyfully sighted the distinctive tower of Jade Gate, and a more exhausted, travel-worn party seldom entered its portals, but as this was our third visit to Yümen there were plenty of friends to greet us. The gay little town was now looking its best, the opium fields were in bud, the wheat was green, while the freshness of early summer was still upon the foliage. We spent some days in the city, and discovered that a few changes had taken place since our 534 last visit. The Mandarin, with whose wife we had been friendly, had left, and his successor had modernised the entrance of the Yamen. A decoration of crossed flags ornamented the main entrance, over which a clock face was painted, the hands pointing as usual to

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778 by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

133 We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a
494 landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape.
●491 The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, and the caravans which normally move up and down this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

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~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 100
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charm- 491
ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

[1] [Residents of Petuntz -- Analys[illegible]]

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~~Sinkiang AL1~~

485 no profit under the present conditions.[1] A petition had
been addressed by the innkeepers to the Governor,
bringing to his notice the fact that unless they were
granted a sufficient government subsidy, they, too,
would return to the city, in which case the road would
become impassable to travellers, there being no one
left to collect the necessary fuel for their use, nor anyone
to keep the well clear of sand. In this locality we were
133 among low, bare hills of a dark and threatening appear-
491 ance. They were formed of a rock of a deep purple
colour, their surface being covered with loose fragments
which were constantly breaking away under the
influence of the weather, and the ridges presented a
sharp, spiked outline. We observed also traces of a
greenish granite, while in places the ground was covered
with small pieces of white porphyry which looked as
though a slight snowstorm had fallen.

491 Our next stopping-place was Tachüan—'Great
Spring'—and from thence we came on to Malienking—
494 'The Iris Well.' We here had been overtaken by a
party of travellers from the province of Honan, an
official hurrying to Kuche on the Kashgar road, to take
over the seals of office from a Mandarin who was
seriously ill. For several days we kept together,
greatly to our advantage, as Mr. Yüan had excellent
animals and was travelling very light, so that at each
stage he got ahead of us and kindly gave warning of
our arrival, with instructions that a room should be
swept for us and fodder prepared for the animals. On
000 several occasions this courteous gentleman slept in his
cart in order that we might have the use of the only
guest-room, and each day he and his suite joined us at
family worship (his tall Moslem carter standing on the
fringe of the little group, signifying his approval as we
read the Scriptures), all reverently bowing in prayer

[1] [Restricted travel, see p. 187--Analyst]

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Sinkiang AI 1

when we asked for protection from the dangers of the road, as they recognised instinctively that : 'Happy is the people whose God is Jehovah.'

It was great joy at one small oasis[1] to be greeted by an old friend, a man who had registered his name in Ansi as an enquirer. He had been appointed as inspector of the poles which carry the single telegraph wire across this part of the desert, the gales so constantly uprooting them that the whole route is divided into sections, each of which is placed in the charge of a responsible man whose business it is to keep them in repair. At a further stage of the journey where the work was not so well arranged, we often found the poles lying flat, our mules' feet being in danger from the entangled coils upon the ground. The line of the trade-route is indicated by this single telegraph wire, which often seems to the despairing traveller the only assurance he has of human things not seen—men, families, cities, and the normal objects of life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RAVINE OF BABOONS

At Iris Well we were only thirty long miles from Hsinghsinghsia, the military frontier station of Turkestan. We were anxious to arrive by daylight as we had reason to anticipate delay, and we hoped that twenty-four hours would be sufficient for transacting all business relating to passports and permits ; it was a great relief, therefore, to see the clouds gathering, which meant the promise of a cool day. Taking advantage of this we hurried up all our preparations, and left in good time. At midday we reached the frontier proper—a waterless

[1] [Near Malienking -- Analyst]

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133 shore. (1)

1. I often measured the amount of mud present in one cubic meter of water from the Hwang Ho and found that it averaged close to six kilograms; after a day of rain in Bau de tschou I even obtained 6.9 kilograms per cubic meter.

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578 /146/ I reached Lanchow fu on November 4, after having had to travel on the last day only through the large loess-filled valley basin of this city. On the night before there was a final scene which I shall not withhold from my readers for it seems to me characteristic for the way of living, the thoughts and aspirations of the poor Kansu people. It had grown late by the time we reached the town of Hsiao ho kou. And it had cost me considerable effort to succeed in having a gate opened. When I had finally found shelter at a small inn, a fight broke out which looked serious to me. Women scolded and shouted and two old Chinese fathers pulled each other's pigtails and tried to knock one another down, trampling and kicking. Even though the yard where I had left my animals was only 8 meters by 8 meters large and on each of two sides there was only a low small house of three sections /kien/, yet the hotel was run by two parties. And I had nine animals! The two owners had disagreed as to who was to feed the ninth animal and pocket the small amount of money for straw (about 25 pfennig). When they finally separated, one of them pulled one of my nags over to his side by its halter while the other held on to the animal's tail. No amount of persuasion on my part had any effect and yet I did not care to play the part of Solomon and pronounce judgment!

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CHAPTER IV

/147/ In Kansu and on the Border of Tibet

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491 Lanchow fu is the capital of the province of Kansu. And whenever a man from Kansu told me about his Lanchow fu and all about the cost of flour and bread, tobacco and liquor in the city, he always told of the wonder of the world to be found there, namely, the pontoon bridge across the great Yellow River. "You foreigners surely have nothing like that," I was assured. "There is nothing like it under heaven." [text continues on p. 241]

it under heaven."

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good.

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

491 wonder why this weak-looking work of man did not cause untold damage annually with the very swift river current. On several of the large iron posts that looked like cannon bores and were rammed into the earth along the bank in order to hold the large ropes and chains of the bridge, I found an inscription which revealed that the bridge had been put together in this manner long ago under the Ming emperors (in the fifth year of Emperor Hung Wu, 1372 A.D.), and was thus an arrangement that was centuries old. The government was obliged to pay out 10,000 taels (30,000 marks) each year to keep it in repair. And the cost of repair was actually said to have consumed a few thousand taels each summer. A hemp rope alone of the kind necessary to give added support during the summer
[661] floods, cost about 1,000 marks in our money. But from the 10,000 taels the officials who in the eyes of the people represented father and mother, must have been able to pocket a tidy little sum. (1)

1. After negotiations lasting one-half year - for a long time the "parents of the people" would not hear of a change - a German firm succeeded in getting a contract to build a narrow iron bridge across the river a year after my arrival. This was built during the years 1908-1911.

712 Thus Lanchow fu is a bridgehead, a fortress, which defends a convenient Hwang Ho crossing. From time immemorial the place was regarded as important and was occupied by troops. Long before the beginning of our era, during the Ts'in and Han dynasties, we find mention of a fortified encampment here. (2) The Yellow

2. In the feudal age in China, during the Tschou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the boundary of present-day Lanchow fu bordered on the territory of the Hsi Kiang (Chinese), who, one suspects, were Tibetan nomads. At times the place was also entirely inundated with Hsi Kiang. At the time of the Ts'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.) and of the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the district became more and more Chinese. But the chief city of the district lay somewhat farther south. The present-day settlement was begun by Emperor Wen ti, the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-605). In the year 764 during the Tang dynasty everything was again lost to the Tibetans and remained in their hands, with some interruptions, until, after the year 1000, the Hsi Hsia kingdom

491 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times
661 by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous num-
494 ber of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in a rather short time. In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting
437 point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773
sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491
incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485
Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture; no opening had been left for a window; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276
ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

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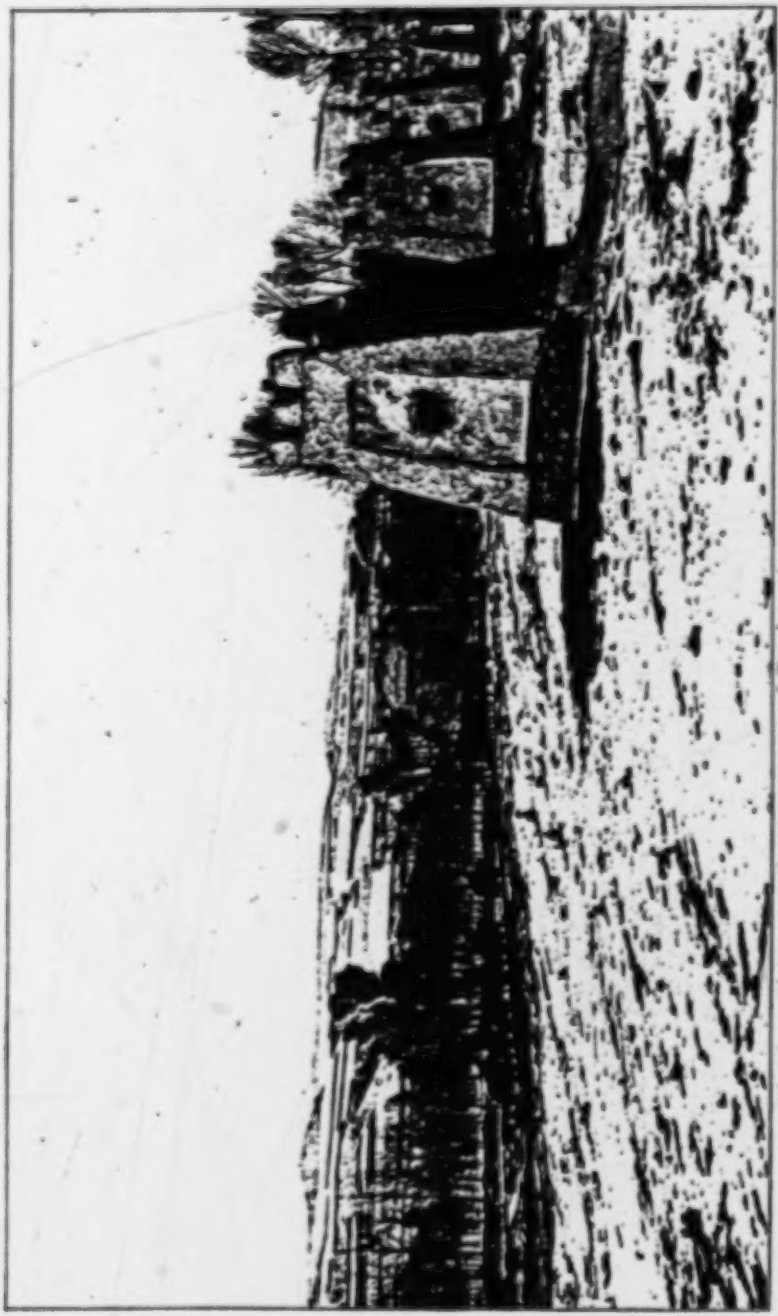

The last Chinese milestones west of Dankar ling.

133 March 27. We followed the deep ravine of Ka ts'a farther down. On the edge of the brook there was only a narrow strip of winter ice. Palm catkins were in bloom and the buds of the trees that covered the steep slopes had begun to swell. Early spring had begun here. At night the minimum temperature was still -5°, but during the day the thermometers went up to as much above zero. Married couples were plowing on the narrow strips of fields farther down in the valley; two yak oxen were unwillingly pulling the clumsy hook-shaped plow under the vigorous beating of the powerful young women.

After we had passed a few villages and a small monastery we were again at the banks of the Yangtze Kiang. The valley was now still deeper than I had seen it up in Lamda and Tombu mda. It had here become a deep impassable gash in the rock through which a greenish-blue ribbon was winding its way between naked brown ribs of rock. The clear waves were entirely free of ice, only here and there deep in the valley the eye caught sight of a little white flake where the water dashed against cliffs or fell over boulders. From our great height the stream which at this point is over 700 kilometers from its source, looked quite insignificant. (Plate XXXI). One felt as though one could look into its heart. High above its present water-mark was the line of its summer rise. It then has four times as much water as it has now in early spring. There is of course water from the melting winter snow but this amounts to so little that it has no effect on the water level. At the end of March the west winds have diminished in force but they still prevailed and the southeast monsoon had not yet set in.

485 March 28. We spent the night in our tents which we had set up beside a village. The inhabitants were used to passing travelers and did not look at us very closely so that they had nothing to criticize. They demanded a quarter rupee from us for using the campsite, for dry argol and a huge pile of straw which my animals cleaned up during the night. Although in Dergi as well as in Nan tsien only coined money is accepted, there is no small change, and thus for payments of amounts less than a rupee, a piece of silver is cut up, and one pays literally a fourth, a third or half a rupee.

491 The night was cloudy and in the morning thick, wet snow covered us. When it cleared at eight o'clock we quickly packed up and, after an exhausting ride at full speed up hill and down dale, it was two o'clock when we reached the ferry across the Yangtze Kiang which is supposed to be called Tschomdo and where the big road crosses over to the left bank. There are two huts of loam standing

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there at the entrance to a large lateral valley; they belong to the ferrymen. On the bank itself there were walls four and five feet thick and half again as high as a man. Every single free stone of these walls was a half yak-load of Chinese tea which, pressed and sewn into black yak skins, was waiting to be transported to Central Tibet. In the next few days 800 oxen were supposed to come and take them into the interior along the route I had just come. 491

From the ferrymen I learned that along the lively little stream Tscho Chu which is eight meters wide and one meter across and has its mouth near Tschomdo, there is a road to Tsiamdo by means of which one can go through the free kingdom /166/ of Lhado in eight days and reach the town of Tsiamdo and the large Batang-Lhari-Lhasa road. Foolishly enough, I told my men that same evening of my intention to follow this road south. The next morning Yin lu tse and Ma "Thirty-six" had disappeared, never to return. Yin lu tse had struck up a great friendship with Tschang tung sche and "Thirty-six" had left behind in Dscherku ndo a girl with whom he was seriously in love. Thus it was perhaps only a coincidence that they escaped this particular night. I now noticed that every day one of them had come to me with a request for a larger advance. Both of them also asked me to give them guns for the night because there were robbers in the vicinity. But since I kept the guns inside my tent and, as usual, had locked the horses' chains and kept the key in my pocket, even when I am asleep, I did not lose so very much. But a gold and silver tauschiert sword decorated with carnelian, that I had bought in Dscherku ndo from a Gerdschi chieftain, was gone. The two Dungani that had been left behind, Hai and So, were loudest in their accusations against the fugitives. "They took along our only kosher cooking pot," they complained in despair, "and on top of it the kosher traveling provisions for the next fortnight." "Just yesterday 'Thirty-six' took a whole month's salary from me, in order to buy himself some silver earrings," Li added in his deep bass. Meanwhilo Da Tschang crept secretly into my tent and explained: "Just yesterday 'Thirty-six' asked me to give him the only shirt I possess; by God, it was worth 2 taels in Hsining. If I buy a new one here it will cost me 10 rupees. If you want me to go on with you and not turn back to Dscherku ndo in order to fetch my shirt, then please pay me the 10 rupees for the damage which your servants did to me." He never for a moment forgot his part and always knew how to derive profit from a situation. He was the only one of the remaining four men who spoke Tibetan reasonably fluently and he was the only one who understood the South Tibetan dialects. 487 000

/facing 320/

• 491

On the ancient military road between Hsingan fu and Tung kwan ting.

Narrow pass formed by loess in the large highway near Tung kwan ting.

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Plate LXXV.

/facing 321/

342

Loess-cave farm house near Feng tsiang fu, Shensi.

• 491

Homeward bound. (My wagon on the great plain within sight of the city gate of Kai feng fu.)

000 entertaining Scotsman knows that on this evening I could not have fallen into better hands, and that in the short hours before midnight my diaphragm had to withstand almost inhuman salvos of laughter. I hoped to meet other old acquaintances in Lanchow fu, but this time I was disappointed. My friend Van Dyk was with his bishop in the mission of Liang tschou fu for the annual retreat of the fathers. So, much to my regret, I could not even shake his hand in gratitude for his active participation in my efforts in safeguarding in his home the booty of my individual expeditions.

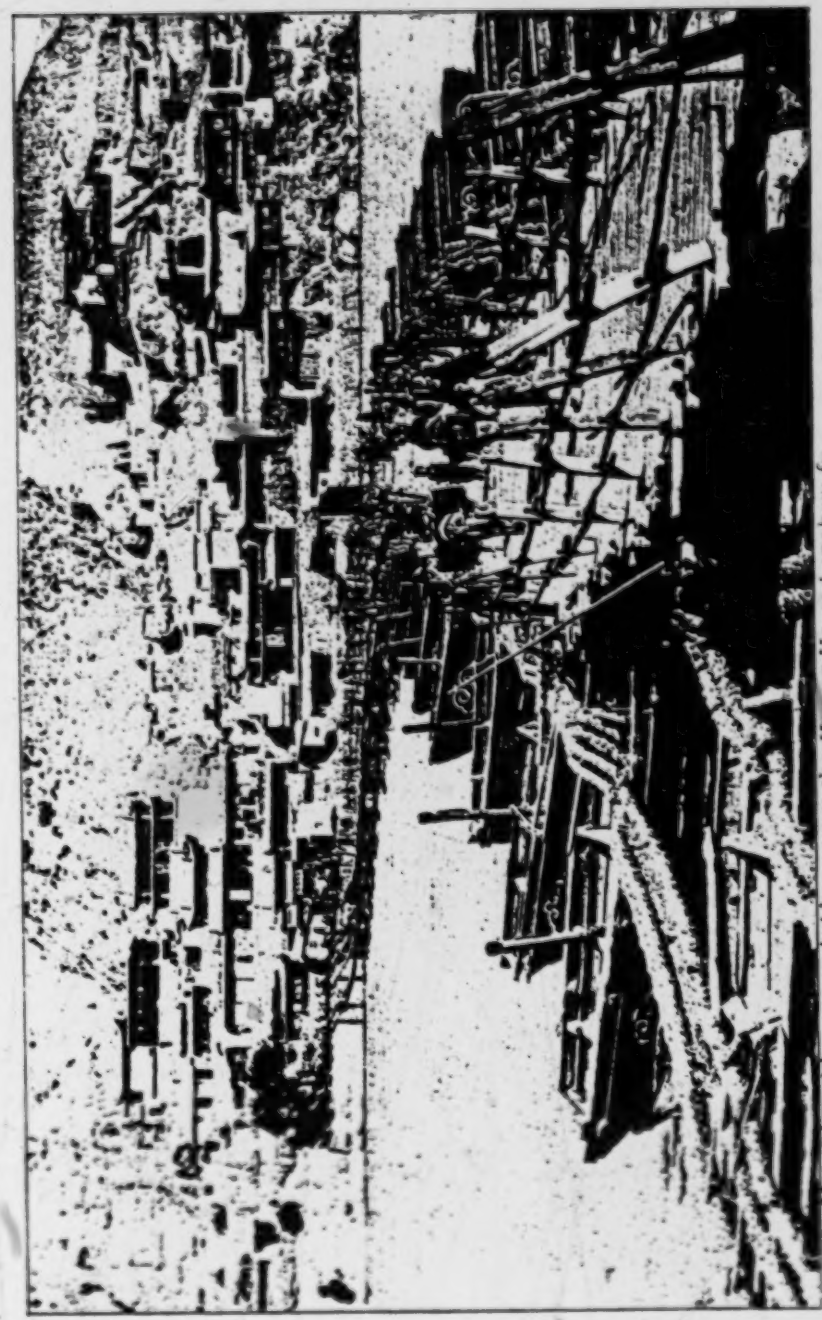
• 491 I stayed in the chief city until I had found a freight transport with which I could make a contract to have my baggage brought to Hsingan fu as soon as possible where I could pick it up again. Inasmuch as Mr. Shields helped me in this matter, I was able to leave the city in a few days. I rode on the large military highway between Lanchow fu and Hsingan fu, the road which also follows the telegraph line and which in the '70s the re-conqueror of Turkistan, the great Tso ts'ung tang, had had bordered with poplars for a distance of hundreds of kilometers. At one time, in order to protect this avenue, he put a death sentence on every wanton destruction of a tree. The trees still stand for stretches covering many days' journeys, but the track often cannot follow the old avenue for long stretches. Loess makes the ground too loose. Rains have often lengthened and deepened the valley fissures by hundreds of meters and thus the rows of trees border ravines which today no man can cross; meanwhile traffic often had to take an entirely different direction.

361 At the stopping place of Ngan (An) ting hsien the camel- and
487 /325/ mule-drivers who take care of a large part of the freight traf-
133 fic between Kansu and Shensi, take a somewhat more southerly route than do the carts. I continued to follow this mule track and decided to combine it with a stop-over at Ts'inchow, the richest city of Kansu. In the vicinity of Ngan ting hsien the country is still rather thinly populated. Only after 100 li did I get to Niu yin, a town of 100 families, and 20 li beyond came Ma yin which has 400-500 families and a larger market. Close by, the brook breaks through a granite range, the first solid rock that I saw since the Hwang Ho ditch near Lanchow fu, and behind Ma yin the loess became thinner and only a few decameters thick. The density of population increased visibly and the Mohammedan element which is very numerous along the road near Huining hsien and Lung te hsien, Ping liang fu, fell into
133 the background. I had now come into a definitely mountainous

5: Tafel--260 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF13
/1603/

Plate XXXIV.

● 491



The old pontoon bridge across the Hwang Ho at Lanchow fu.

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At last my carts had arrived from Lanchow fu and I could continue my trek to the coast. Aside from its history and the Be ling, Hsingan fu is not a city which invites one to stay for any length of time. The large city of 300,000 to 400,000 inhabitants lies on a treeless plain and has no kind of canalization. The missionaries complained about the great heat in /330/ summer, while autumn and winter at first bring too much rain and wet snow and later northwest storms and dust which penetrates everything. 361

I decided that from now on I would stay near my carts. But when they were packed in the courtyard of my inn and slowly rattling along in the direction of the east gate, I could not resist making a hasty little visit to the tien tschu tang, to the good Fransiscan monks. And they decided that the journey to the railroad and to the great centers of culture was still so long that I would have to refresh myself a bit, because I was reduced to skin and bones, as an Irish priest remarked. So it happened that it was 12 o'clock at noon before I rode away from the refectory. Meanwhile a snowstorm had set in, but unflinchingly I trotted on with my mule, determined not to rest until I had overtaken my carts. I hunted and hunted for them until far into the night. Without having found them I was obliged to look for shelter, stiff with cold. On the next day I looked again in vain; it seemed as though the ground had swallowed the carts. When I had again come within the vicinity of Hsingan fu I saw, in the late afternoon, only 20 lis from the city, my Brdyal in a tearful mood, sitting in front of a little house, beside a large swamp around which I had ridden so far. In the middle of it two carts were stuck fast, without mules and without drivers. They held my possessions. It is true, they were standing in the middle of the big road but the muddy water that flooded the road reached almost to the hub of the wagons, and in order to reach them one was obliged to wade up to one's waist in the cold water. The carts had been stuck there from the time I took leave of the fathers. The drivers were said to have done everything they could in order to get out of the hole, and had finally borrowed a dozen mules and harnessed them to the carts, but in vain. There could be no thought of getting the carts away from there before dry weather set in. The drivers had long since reached that conclusion, too, and had taken themselves off; they probably intended to wait until the end of winter. Around the outside of the swamp there were 28 other carts stuck in the thick mud. In one place drivers were whipping a cart with a large team down off the road into a cotton field that had not yet been

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•491 driven over, in another place they were shoveling a passage from the field back to the road. Here the owners of the field were defending themselves against the inconsiderate draymen and built impediments against the carts, there drivers were even fighting some farmers because the latter were not willing to let their fields be destroyed. On the second night I slept with Brdyal on the carts in the swamp because we were afraid they would be plundered. But on the next morning I rode into the city in order to get new wagons and on the following day by noon I finally reached the swamp with three new wagons. Meanwhile the situation there had not improved, in fact, for my baggage it was high time that help arrived. The carts had sunk in still deeper and in several places the muddy water covered the bottom of the wagon. During the night there had been frost, and ice two centimeters thick made the re-loading agonizing for the men. Nearby a large wagon carrying Lanchow tobacco had sunk in so deep that the boxes were under a half meter of water. Traffic was almost completely /331/ tied up and in a nearby field lay two dead mules. That is the largest and oldest state road in China, on which for more than three or four thousand years busy trades people of old China have despatched their freight and their necessities, on which all the old emperors had traveled, on which millions worth of goods and millions of people come and go.

000 After this new interlude, my three new carts slowly rolled along toward the distant coast (Plate LXXIV). Gradually it grew colder and the condition of the road improved. After the first week I reached the city of Tung kwang ting where the axles of the wagons were changed and at long last in the third week at the city of Honan fu I came to the new Peking-Hankow railroad, to the new China, the China which the world is talking about, which is becoming modern and is making the great revolutionary change, whose leaders wish to break with all that is old in order to bring about a renascence for their country. But to the new China are still attached the great mountain ranges and mountainous lands, which have always been a source of danger for its culture, which have never exerted a fecundating influence on the empire, and have always sought to push it down again to the level of a barbaric state; to the new China are still attached the provinces which are constantly fighting the central government. But the world moves on steadily and development is its primary law, and for this reason the victors must be those who have written progress on their banner!

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usually divided into the following six sections:

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Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

487

The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 The local magistrate then has to admit that there is certainly a road to Lonan, but adds that it passes over a terrible mountain. Further enquiries show that it is of course a much used trail of two stages of 90 li each.

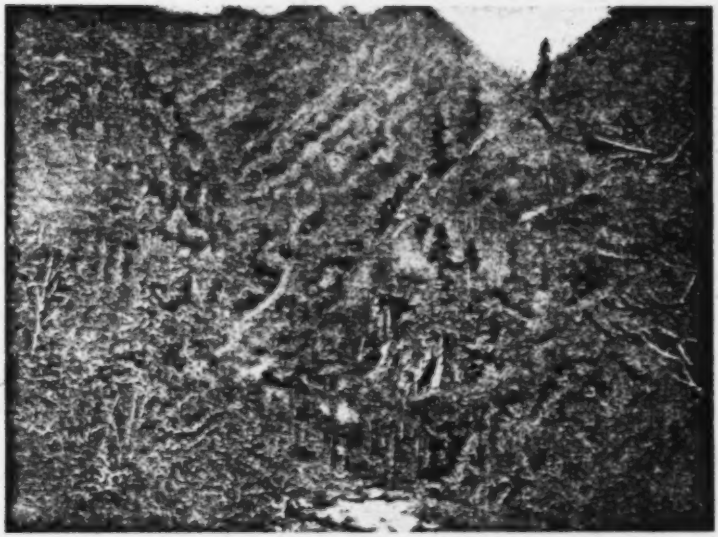
492 We left T'ungkuan at daybreak on April 9th, an immense procession of ponies, mules, chairs, baggage coolies, soldiers, and miscellaneous hangers-on, of which my share amounted to three riding ponies and five pack mules. There are no [491] cart roads in Shensi south of the Ch'inling Shan, and the Chinese always travel where possible in chairs. Having tried all methods of travel in North China I have come to the conclusion that a pacing pony with an American saddle and mules for the baggage are best and quickest, comparative rapidity of movement being an important point in the avoidance of undue fatigue; this method of travel is also far cheaper than chairs and baggage coolies and entails a minimum of friction over transport arrangements. But the tracks of Southern Shensi are very hard on the animals, and it is advisable to carry a good supply of shoes and to have a man in the caravan who can put them on.

487 The trail runs due south for 40 li ascending gradually over the loess foothills to the hamlet of Haoch'ayu lying at 184 the mouth of a gloomy gorge in the rocky barrier range of mountains which bound the Wei River valley on the south. 133 This range, the backbone of China, starts from the highlands of Northern Tibet and finally loses itself in the plains of Honan, serving all the way as the watershed between the Yangtzu and Yellow River basins, and marking the dividing line between Central and North China; that is to say between rice-eating peoples who cultivate alluvial valleys with water buffaloes and employ coolies for transport, and wheat-eating peoples who cultivate loess plains and uplands and use ponies, mules, and camels for transport. We call these mountains Ch'inling, which is really the Chinese name for the passes across the watershed range.

133 Entering the narrow stony gorge we followed it for about 20 li till it ended in a steep zigzag climb leading to the pass, 487 which like most passes in China is not a saddle but just the ordinary ridge of the range crossed at the most direct point. Chinese trails always prefer where possible to go straight from point to point across the intervening obstacle rather

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE IX



GORGE IN THE CH'INLING SHAN ON THE TRAIL TO FOP'ING

492

ACCIDENT TO A PONY ON THE FOP'ING TRAIL

[FACING p. 44]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

316 no oil was found anywhere except at Yench'ang alongside
471 of the original Japanese well.

Finally in the summer of 1916 work was stopped, the Americans withdrew, and the enterprise was apparently abandoned, the bulky machinery being left behind. Apart from the absence of oil, there must have been many difficulties to contend with in connection with the brigandage and increasing chaos in that region.

The wells have now been filled in, and scarcely a trace of the Americans remains, except for the derelict machinery and the good reputation the surveyors and geologists left behind them amongst the natives, who speak of their departure with great regret and look forward to their ultimate return.

The failure of the enterprise was a bitter disappointment to the local Chinese, for whom the two years were a golden age and who had conjured up visions of railways, roads and pipe-lines, and an era of booming prosperity. Instead of which Northern Shensi now continues as of old to produce little but sand and brigands.

The two original Japanese wells continue to produce oil, and the concern, under official management, flourishes in a small way. Their output is limited by their facilities for refining and transporting the oil, and only one well is therefore usually at work. The oil is sold in the neighbourhood and also across the Yellow River in Shansi, where the people
• [492] are more prosperous. Transport is by pack mule over the roughest of mountain trails, and the expense of carriage prevents its penetrating any great distance. It was of course owing to the inaccessibility of the region that it was necessary to find oil in really large quantities to make the installation of a pipe-line, say to the Yangtzu, worth the enormous expense entailed.

487 From Yenan we proposed proceeding east to Yench'ang
and to work our way thence somehow or other back to
133 Hsian through Eastern Shensi. Of course everyone said there was no road in that direction, and we knew that the country just west of the Yellow River was likely to prove very rough and poor. But we felt confident that we should as usual always find trails of some kind from one district city to another. As events turned out we found a trail,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

ponies and mules and I never heard what happened to it 491
or whether there was anyone inside. The Chinese pack
saddle is made in two parts, the framework containing the [492]
baggage resting unattached on the saddle proper, an excellent
system permitting of quick and easy loading and unloading;
but it has the disadvantage that if the mule falls in fording
a difficult river, his load is likely to disappear for good.
A few li after crossing the Wei River the village of Tsaot'an 487
is reached, whence the road continues south across the plain
for 25 li to reach the north wall of Hsian Fu.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XXIII

492

KANSU PONY

KANSU PONY

[FACING p. 104]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and continue again on the further side, while the track now in [illegible] winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the [illegible]e story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihtsuitzu, Wufang Ssu, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

The immense journey made by this wool from the Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

We purchased ponies at various places during our long journeys as we required them; one of the best I secured was acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. They are of an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys at four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361]
bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376]
plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

a Moslem regiment from distant Kansu—marching whither? At that time, mercifully, we were not aware of what atrocities such men were capable; but on that journey the Hand that led protected.

CHAPTER II

SIAN TO PINGLIANG

THE beauties of Sian have been too often and too well described to need any mention of them here, much as we enjoyed our visits to the Mosque, the Nestorian Tablet, and other monuments of historical interest. After a short stay our litters were hired for the eighteen stages which lay between us and Lanchow, the provincial capital of Kansu. Our experience of this mode of travel in Shansi was considerable, and in view of the many minor accidents with which we had met, it was no satisfaction to us to find that in this case the matting-covered body of the litter was set high over the backs of the mules, instead of hanging between them, as those had been to which we were accustomed. 'It is for greater safety in the bad mountain roads,' was the reason given, but the knowledge that in the case of a probable overturn we were farther from the ground, brought little comfort. The well of the litter was ballasted with our boxes, and over these were laid the bed-bags, containing our wadded quilts. Cushions, rugs, lunch baskets, and all the miscellaneous articles which can be classed as 'hand-luggage,' were slung into the back of that portion reserved for our personal accommodation, in hope that these varied and incongruous objects would, somehow or other, amalgamate into a solid support for our weary frames. There was,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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492.

of course, the inevitable fuss with the litter-men, who, when they saw the baggage (which in this case was compact and well under the recognised load suited to the occasion), commenced the invariable protest: 'Too small and too heavy! My mules can never drag this over Lupan mountain. If you had made big, soft bundles they might have been heavier still, and I would not have said a word, but such a dead weight, who can deal with it?'

We learnt later that in the loading of a camel its grumblings commence as the first bale is placed on its back, and continue uninterruptedly until the load is equal to its strength, but as soon as it shows signs of being in excess, the grumbling ceases suddenly, and then the driver says: 'Enough! put no more on this beast!' This is a test equally applicable to the Mongol's camel, and to China's carter.

Into the tunnel-like aperture we finally crept, while with a sickening heave, first the back shafts, then the front were lifted into position on the creaking wooden saddle, whereupon the restive mule dashed for the narrow gate of the courtyard, while the yelling bystanders rushed to its head, to stop the seemingly inevitable smash. Thus through the West Gate of Sian we plunged, past the great well which supplies the city with water, and into the open country where the roads were inches deep in mud. The mules, however, which had stood for several days in the stable, were excited, consequently when we came to the mud-pits, where the driver left us to pick his way on a narrow side-path, two of them seized the chance of liberty to pull in opposite directions for one agonising moment, thus flinging the litter and its occupant to the ground, but fortunately with no unhappy results. With frenzied curses yet with skilful and careful movements,

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492 the muleteers now came to the rescue ; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [443] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees 346 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery 723 on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

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493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

One of our students had crossed the Gobi to buy a stock of the medicinal plants which grow in the oases. He strongly recommended us to take the journey as he had done. 'Cheap and easy,' was his comment; 'I joined the camel drivers, and took it slowly. For twenty taels I rode their beasts, slept in their tents, and they fed me for over two months.'

'You may spend a lot of money in hiring carts and buying mules,' said one old wiseacre, 'but believe me the best way to travel is with a string of small donkeys. They eat little, are quick on their feet, and if some die the loss is insignificant.'

Some of our lady friends, the wives of officials had travelled these roads, and their comment generally was: 'We get into the carts at sunset, and know nothing until we reach our inn the next day'—a statement which we easily believed, knowing as we did that the opium tray is always served to official parties as the mules are being harnessed. Upon two points, however, all agreed, namely, that when travelling at midsummer, all stages must be taken by night, and that mules are preferable to horses, as the latter suffer severely from drinking the medicinal waters of the desert.

Having therefore duly listened to all possible expert advice obtainable from the Asian tribesmen who incessantly roam from end to end of that vast country, we proceeded to make our preparations for the expedition in accordance with their instructions, beginning by asking the help of friendly innkeepers in the important matter of securing suitable animals. It is a common occurrence for carters to find themselves short of money on their long journeys, and therefore to dispose of both carts, horses or mules in Suchow so as to raise sufficient funds, but a great many of the beasts offered were such

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~~Sinkiang AF 1~~

miserable specimens as to be refused out of hand by 492
the Deacon-in-Charge, without even referring the matter to us. Some owners, however, being very persistent, it soon became necessary for us personally to put in an appearance, to view the lame, blind, aged, bony and sore-backed creatures which presently paraded the compound court in a long, melancholy procession. Some of the worst specimens, however, wore splendid harness and finely-wrought saddles, borrowed for the occasion; but we were not to be taken in by such childish deceptions! Having ourselves already had some experience both in selling as well as in buying, we remained quite unimpressed by the flashily-groomed beast which clattered down the road, urged to a gallop by the owner, who declared himself in despair at having to part with the 'finest mule that Shensi has yet produced,' but which, stripped of its trappings, generally stood revealed as antique and emaciated, and with flanks heaving with exhaustion consequent on such an unusual effort. Nevertheless, one by one, we steadily added to our teams, until nine mules were comfortably
champing side by side in the stable. Two large strong 494
carts were next bought and then carefully overhauled in view of the heavy strain ahead. Our own small Peking cart which had already done valiant service was destined to carry us and our bedding, for though this conveyance made no provision for a possible lie-down at night, we yet chose it on account of the easier movement it afforded than the rolling and lurching of the larger vehicles, each of which, covered with matting and lined with felts, and with wheels studded with protruding iron nails, could carry a load of two thousand pounds.

Naturally enough, such preparations needed a con- 436
siderable supply of ready money, which from the

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Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
● [492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

5: Tafel--440 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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Plate LX.

/facing p. 257/

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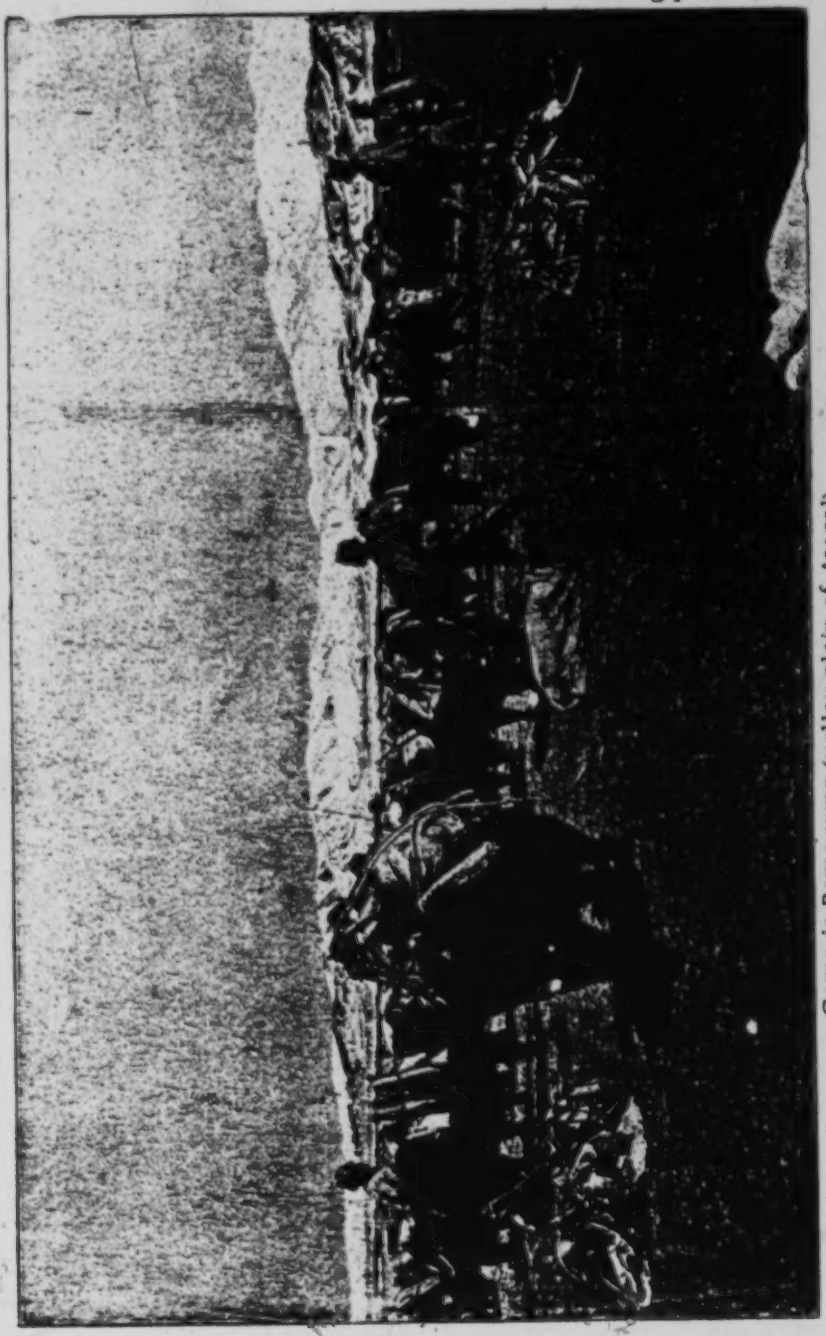

Camp in Remo yung (valley plain of Aragol).

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496 is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain 133 of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

496 From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Miench'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

493 At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a 493 train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two 516 mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE II

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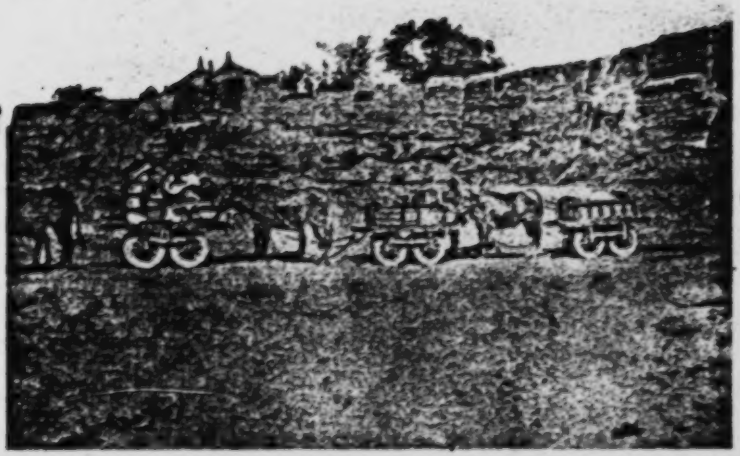
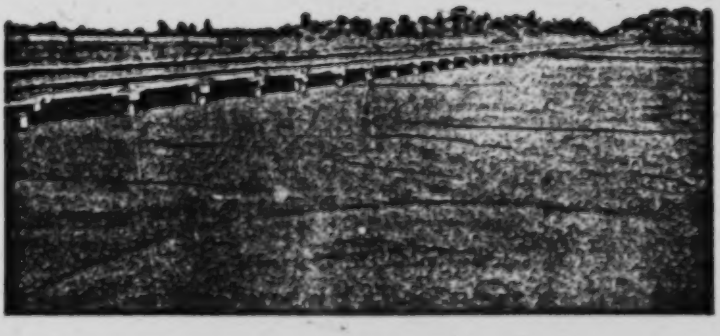


FOUR-WHEELED OX CARTS NEAR T'UNGKUAN

491



STONE BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO HSIAN FU

[Facing p. 5]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east. 712 487

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile. 651

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu. 804

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type. 493

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which 000

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

487 It is suggested that the Chinese might with advantage borrow
133 the services of some officers from the Survey of India and proceed to the triangulation of the whole country. The results, at any rate in Kansu and parts of Shensi, would be surprising. Amongst many other interesting facts which would be brought to light are the actual heights of the snow-clad mountains on the western borders of Kansu and Szechuan, some of which probably equal or surpass all but the highest giants of the Himalayas.

361 Min Chou (now Min Hsien) is a small city with busy
438 suburbs situated on the right bank of the T'ao River at the point where the latter, flowing down from the Kokonor mountains in the west, makes a sharp right-angle turn to the north. The altitude is about 7500 feet. The T'ao River
[241] valley, here nearly a mile wide in places, is very fertile, and produces wheat, barley, beans, hemp, etc. Like T'ao Chou and Hsiku, Min Chou is a centre for the Chinese trade with the Tibetan inhabitants of the Kokonor country
493 further west. A rough cart built entirely of wood with remarkably high wheels and drawn by the half-bred yak is used round Min Chou, on the roads to T'ao Chou, on the grasslands round the latter, and in other border parts of the province. I mention this cart because it is obviously very useful and because it is quite unusual to find wheeled traffic of any kind in such mountainous country in China; its introduction into the Tibetan inhabited plateau west of Tachienlu in Szechuan would revolutionise transport in that region.

487 Leaving Min Chou the road runs along the right bank of the T'ao River for ten li, and then crosses to the left bank
[491] by a ferry, the bridge having been destroyed at the time of the White Wolf raid. The river is here in the summer
133 about 80 yards wide, six to eight feet deep, and very rapid. Navigation is confined to rafts of lumber down stream. From the ferry the path continues up the valley for three to four hours' march to the village of Hsitachai. The T'ao River valley is in this neighbourhood one of the most attractive regions in Kansu, or perhaps in China, being fertile and well cultivated, and bounded on the southern side by forest-clad mountains, the foothills of the great Min Shan. The river flows much of the way in a narrow

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000 a Moslem regiment from distant Kansu—marching whither? At that time, mercifully, we were not aware of what atrocities such men were capable; but on that journey the Hand that led protected.

CHAPTER II

SIAN TO PINGLIANG

492 THE beauties of Sian have been too often and too well described to need any mention of them here, much as we enjoyed our visits to the Mosque, the Nestorian Tablet, and other monuments of historical interest. After a short stay our litters were hired for the eighteen stages which lay between us and Lanchow, the pro-
[493] vincial capital of Kansu. Our experience of this mode of travel in Shansi was considerable, and in view of the many minor accidents with which we had met, it was no satisfaction to us to find that in this case the matting-covered body of the litter was set high over the backs of the mules, instead of hanging between them, as those had been to which we were accustomed. 'It is for greater safety in the bad mountain roads,' was the reason given, but the knowledge that in the case of a probable overturn we were farther from the ground, brought little comfort. The well of the litter was ballasted with our boxes, and over these were laid the bed-bags, containing our wadded quilts. Cushions, rugs, lunch baskets, and all the miscellaneous articles which can be classed as 'hand-luggage,' were slung into the back of that portion reserved for our personal accommodation, in hope that these varied and incongruous objects would, somehow or other, amalgamate into a solid support for our weary frames. There was,

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bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [50]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

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cultivating a small patch of ground. The women wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent.

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription.

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter

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493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

N.W. China AF3

133 the river, a great deal of loess mixed with broken stones can immediately be seen, and for the first time since I left Hsining fu I again saw a cart. /302/ (1) The higher up I climbed on the other

• [493]

1. The boundary marking the distribution of the North Chinese two-wheel horse cart extends from here along the mountainous country I had just traversed eastward and keeps to the north of the Tsing ling pass in the North Chinese loess country. It is unknown in all of Szechwan and Kweichow, Hunan and in large parts of Hupeh.

361 side, the purer became the loess masses. At Lao tschai ni, a Chinese town, 3,015 meters high, I had already reached a typical loess village and caves in the loess. Four kilometers farther and only 250 meters lower lies the commercial city of Tao tschou, the Tibetan Batse.

It was nine o'clock and had grown dark when, with great effort and exertion, I reached the city, and ör gen, the second night watch was long past before the tormented tsung ye who in the darkness had [197] lost the path, finally discovered me. Long before that, the friendly members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Americans Mr. and Mrs. Ruhl and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, had found me and invited me to supper in their new home in which the former couple 000 did Tibetan missionary work and the latter, Chinese. My stay in the border city lasted from September 9 to 23 and was made pleasant by the hospitality of the missionaries who did not rest until, on the third day, I moved out of my grimy hotel and into their home outside the city. Meanwhile I discharged the caravan, paid off the servants and escort and presented the tormented tsung ye and his men with a mule and three horses, besides money and food supplies. I had never before on any of my journeys had such apt companions who were so willing to serve me. When the tsung ye said farewell his whole face lighted up and I, too, felt his relief over the fact that, in spite of my vagaries, he was able to deliver me safely at the appointed place. I sold two more mules here and only Brdyal and six animals remained. A team /hang/ of mules brought the large pieces of baggage to my depository in Lanchow fu, and my time was occupied arranging my diaries and developing my photographic plates. Only a few more than 400 plates turned out successfully on the last journey, one and one-half boxes (420 plates) were destroyed by water, while 280, all of those taken with the polyscope camera, were spoiled because they

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

The pronunciation of Hsingan on the Han River and Hsian, the provincial capital in the Wei River basin, is almost identical, and as the Chinese themselves sometimes misunderstand one another when referring to them in conversation, it is rather a hopeless task for the foreigner. The two names are really Hsing-ngan and Hsi-ngan. If one wishes to make certain of being understood one should refer to Hsingan by its old name of Hsingan Chou or its new one of Ank'ang Hsien (not really new as this was always the name of the district), and to Hsian as Hsian Sheng or Ch'angan Hsien. 103

The American Railway Group, having secured the concession for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China wherever they could find room between the staked out claims of other Powers, have, according to the newspapers, elected the upper Han valley as one of the scenes of their activities, and propose, it is said, to build a line from Laoho K'ou up the valley of the Han into Shensi, and thence across the mountains into Szechuan. In view of the richness of the country it will tap, and to the fact that it is not unlikely to be the first line to solve the great problem of the railway penetration of Szechuan, the object of so many schemes, this Han Valley Railway constitutes one of the most interesting and attractive of the many railway propositions at present in contemplation in China. 471

We remained at Hsingan two days, during which it rained incessantly. The climate of the Han valley is rather a treacherous one and fevers are common. We were now bound up the Han basin to Hanchung, a distance of 650 li. The road we followed is the main highway through this region, though much of the way only a mountain footpath eighteen inches wide. Most of the traffic, however, goes by river. Like most of the roads in the Han basin it is really a track for coolie porters, but mules and ponies can travel by it easily enough except for one stage along the Han River beyond Shihch'uan, which is rather dangerous for pack animals. As the main road connecting two such important places as Hsingan and Hanchung it well illustrates the extraordinarily roadless condition of China. Nor in these days of railway construction is it likely that China will ever be provided with roads as the word is understood in other civilized [132] 487 494

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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797 the Church, and the hospital, where he daily received men and women patients. At the time of our meeting his position in the city was amply assured, but many years previously the people of Pingliang had combined to refuse him all admittance by forbidding anyone to sell him food, and it was only due to the secret kindness of one woman in supplying him with a meal of flour and water pancakes each day for several months, that he existed at all; but in the end he overcame every opposition, outlived suspicion and came to be regarded with universal respect.

080 We studied together the map of Kansu, and he told us of his own various itinerant journeys to districts reputed to be almost uninhabited, but where large audiences had collected whenever he made halt to proclaim the Gospel. Laying his finger on a spot at the extreme North-Western boundary of the Province, he said: 'Here stands the Great City of Suchow. You who care so much for Kansu, this is the town which awaits your coming!'

CHAPTER III

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA TO LANCHOW

487 On the second day after leaving Pingliang, we took the Pass which rises to nearly nine thousand feet over the Lupan Shan. All the morning we had followed the course of a rushing stream, which we crossed and 494 recrossed many times. It was still early winter, and the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of our litters, so that we often had the unpleasant experience

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491 of breaking through into the water below. On these occasions the driver is always compelled to leave the litter-side, and controls his beasts from a distance by means of shouted directions, enforced by skilfully-thrown stones. A pebble alighting on the mule's nose warns him to back, while one hitting him in the hind-quarters is equivalent to an order to move on. In spite of the undoubted understanding existing between man and beast, there is a moment of extreme nervous tension on the part of the occupant of a litter, when the ice collapses and the startled animal crashes into water of quite uncertain depth. From the moment, however, that we took the well-made road leading over the mountain, the anxieties of the valley were (temporarily) at an end, and we were free to enjoy the fine views which every turn of the road revealed to us. The short-cut downhill was less pleasant, for the road was so steep as to be only just negotiable.

731 The next few days brought us near to the centre of devastation by the great earthquake of January 1921. The face of the land had been completely altered by the mighty upheaval, and its surface still suggested the semblance of boiling mud suddenly petrified. In one place a mountain had been removed, in another a large lake of brackish water had suddenly appeared. Scarcely a human habitation was to be seen, for the cliffs had overwhelmed all the cave-dwellings which formerly the industry of man had hollowed out. Nevertheless, the road over which we travelled was newly-made, while huts had already begun to appear at intervals. They were poor little places, composed of four mud walls, a mud roof, a mud bed, and a mud trough at the back where a few sheep could be fed, and the children we met were almost naked, in spite of the then extreme cold. A missionary in charge of the relief works assured us

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country. You come from Woman's Land, don't you?' This mythical kingdom, to which she referred, is a fabulous place known by name to all Chinese. Its inhabitants are solely women, and doubtless by virtue of their isolation, they there develop independent and Amazon-like qualities!

We had been accompanied from Yungchang by Mrs. Kao, the wife of the Chinese Missionary already referred to, for she, with two small children, under the escort of one of the Kanchow deacons, had come travelling forward to meet us. The road over which we now passed was varied in character, and presented many interesting features, besides being very rough. The cart alternately bumped over boulders, was dragged heavily up and down sandhills, or squelched its way through semi-solid mud-lakes, and we encouraged each other with the reminder that now, as in the days of the first great missionaries, the work on which we were engaged must of necessity be carried on through hardship and labour, hunger and thirst, in heat and in cold, and in dangers oft from all that lay before us in the Unknown. Our starting-time was never later than 4 a.m., and was often earlier, and in the evening the darkness frequently overtook us still on the desolate expanse far from any habitation. On one occasion, being diverted from the main track simply by reason of its being impassable, we sat for hours leaning back against the Great Wall of China, as our cart was up to the axle in a mud-pit, from which all efforts hitherto had failed to extricate it. There was no hope, therefore, but from the assistance of chance passers-by. At the end of what seemed an interminable time, it was with much relief that we saw, slowly emerging through an opening in the wall, the head and body of an ox, which animal fastened wondering and meditative eyes

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upon us sitting there. And the ox was soon followed by a man riding a donkey, whose spirit apparently so failed at the sight of the mud-pit and ourselves, that after standing for a moment transfixed, it sank peacefully to the ground as if in a state of mental collapse. The rider consequently had no option but to dismount, and come to our assistance, and in a few moments the ox and the ass, together with our own mules, triumphantly drew the cart from the watery depths.

Our next stage lay over sandhills sparsely covered with a scrubby growth. Here, by means of our field-glasses, we were able to follow herds of antelopes, which paused to watch the movements of our cart-wheels with fascinated interest, but which always flee at the approach of a pedestrian. On either side the horizon was bounded by mountain ranges, silhouetted against the deep, blue sky, and on one afternoon the wind blew with terrific force from the Tibetan hills, chilling us to the bone in a blinding cloud of sleet. The strip of land which divides the snowclad Richthofen Mountains from the sandy Mongolian hills was narrowing, so that when we reached Kanchow we were at the point where the two ranges most nearly approach each other. On the last morning of this stage we left our inn at 3 a.m. in the hope of reaching Kanchow early, but by 3 p.m. we began to get into difficulties. The cart was, as usual, in the slough of despond, and we were, as usual, standing by the roadside trying to keep up the family spirits by teaching Mrs. Kao's little girl a finger-game: 'This is a cup, and this is a cup, and this is a pot of tea,' a fictional feast of Couéistic value.

At the moment when our courage reached its lowest ebb, for the short daylight was rapidly waning and there seemed no prospect of extricating the cart, two galloping horsemen appeared on the horizon, and in a

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494 few moments Dr. Kao swung himself from the saddle, and advanced to meet us with cordial and cheering words. He turned from us to the carter, who, with an abashed grin, acknowledged his presence.

'Hello, Old Sheep!' he exclaimed. 'You out of jail again? That last trip of yours turned out badly.' Then turning to us he said: 'This carter has just finished his third term of imprisonment for destruction of travellers' property, through carelessness. Whatever induced you to hire him? He'll never get in to-night. But we must do so.'

361 A few swift orders were then given, and the second
133 horseman galloped back to the city for help. Mean-
494 while as many of the party as could be crowded into our own small cart drove on, while the rest proceeded on foot. The soil formation in and around Kanchow is peculiar. The city is built on a crust of earth covering underground springs. During the period when the water is still frozen the place stands firm, though buildings are thrown out of the perpendicular, but during the spring months the earth trembles and yields under the slightest pressure. On this occasion a thaw had set in, and water was welling up from below the surface, so that the condition of the roads baffles description. We picked our way cautiously over this swampy, unstable district, and where rivers intersected our path, the cart was obliged to take us over in relays. Horsemen now appeared coming to our rescue with galloping steeds, two saddled for riding and two more ready to be hitched to the carts. These fine horses, we were told, belonged to a Mongol Prince, who was staying in Doctor Kao's house.

326 It was long after sunset when we entered the great gates of Kanchow city. We passed through between the flaring smithies which always ply their trade in the

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596 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve 627 months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 At the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period, 484 we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

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'A little luggage, more or less,' said he. 'What's that? Look at my team. The best mules in Suchow!' 494

However, on the morning of our departure, the strong animals displayed the day before had disappeared, being now replaced (on account of sudden illness!) by three underfed and skinny mules, whose harness only half-concealed sore backs, yet to which the customary red-paper tickets were affixed, which assured the simple-minded traveller that the average pace was 'one thousand *li* by day, and eight hundred *li* by night.' 484

'The main road is under water,' the driver casually remarked, 'but I know every path in the whole district, and will take you by a route which, although it means *one* night on the journey, will save you from all mud-pits!' We had heard roads were bad, so easily fell into his well-prepared trap, and saw nothing strange in passing the livelong day in a featureless, arid land; but at sunset, a few trees on the horizon showed that we were reaching an irrigated belt, and we drew up before a single, lonely farm nearly surrounded by sand. We had expected an inn, but this house contained only two rooms, in one of which twelve men were sleeping, while the other seemed already overflowing with women and babies! The cart was turned round to shield us from the fierce wind, and we were preparing to spend the night in it, when the women, taking pity on us, made room for us on their *kang*. When the longed-for cup of tea arrived it was painful disappointment to find the water was brackish, so that the more we drank the thirstier we grew. After we had settled for the night, our deceptive carter called outside the window: 'You must rise,' he said, with a merry chuckle, 'at dawn if you wish to get in by nightfall. It is but ten miles, but those miles are long!' Accordingly, before sunrise we started once more on the lonely track and for

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494 484 hours travelled on, meeting no one. Once we passed a tiny fragment of humanity, the corpse of a little baby, thrown away by some traveller. Now and again, wherever a slight eminence showed itself, a mound of stones, constructed to look like a human figure, had been erected by the Mongols as an altar to their god. Our chariot wheels drove very heavily, and by common consent we sank into a deep silence, lest conversation should increase our thirst. Towards midday we met a traveller, who genially enquired whither we were wending? 'To Kinta,' was our reply. 'To Kinta!' he exclaimed, leaping up in his seat, 'but you are going in the opposite direction!'

At this juncture our resourceful carter came running up. 'I am taking this road,' he explained, 'to avoid mud-pits,' and with one meaning look he immediately made an accomplice of the stranger, who now in a level voice remarked: 'Certainly *this* way you will find neither mud nor pits,' and promptly drove on. This led us to speak straightly to our deceiver, whose quick wits immediately supplied him with a subterfuge.

'Kinta *city*? That is still a long way off, but your man, who engaged me, said you wanted to preach your religion in Kinta *district*; we shall enter that in a few hours.' Nightfall found us wandering over boggy ground, where various farmsteads dimly outlined themselves against the sky. And here our perfidious guide for once showed his hand. 'I have relations living near here,' he announced, his eyes sweeping the landscape; 'charming people! a good house, too; plenty of room, plenty of fodder; why not spend the night here? So much better than an inn, you know; more like your own home.'

There was no choice but to acquiesce, and in a few minutes (the cart having meanwhile stuck in the

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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returned, and the Military Guard of Kiayükwan having bade us 'good-bye and a pleasant journey,' we started off in good spirits; nevertheless, silence soon fell on us when we realised we had turned our backs on China, and were ourselves literally without the Gate.

We were now[1] to learn by personal experience that the cold of the desert nights is only equalled in intensity by the midday heat. Water being unobtainable for very long distances, the strain is too great for the animals during the day, consequently all stages must be taken by night. It was 5 p.m. when the many-storeyed tower of the fortress finally disappeared beyond the horizon, and the undulating expanse of the Gobi was all that was to be seen lying around on every side. Desert travelling is a memorable experience. Immediately after sunset an icy breath steals along the earth's surface, and instantly the carter dons his heavy sheepskin coat. Silence instinctively falls on the party as the twilight swiftly closes in, and the horses settle to a steady stride. Thanks to the telegraph poles with their single wire, we still have *one* link left with the outer world; so we cannot miss our way.

Generally, once in the night, we passed a string of carts from distant Turkestan, or we heard, a good half-hour before they actually appeared, the clang of bells belonging to a caravan of at least fifty camels, which shuffled past us grunting, soon to be swallowed up in the surrounding shadows. Some time in the night we heard the jingle of merry bells peculiar to one traveller, and all would cry out: 'Here come the Maiis.' Unlike all other riders, the Courier comes at a sharp canter, his heavily-laden horse in a lather. At each stage a fresh horse and messenger are waiting to carry on the bags. He is always cheerful, always friendly, and full of information. According to his account it is we who are

1 [Between Kiayükwan and Yümen--Analyst]

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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

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Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

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miserable specimens as to be refused out of hand by the Deacon-in-Charge, without even referring the matter to us. Some owners, however, being very persistent, it soon became necessary for us personally to put in an appearance, to view the lame, blind, aged, bony and sore-backed creatures which presently paraded the compound court in a long, melancholy procession. Some of the worst specimens, however, wore splendid harness and finely-wrought saddles, borrowed for the occasion; but we were not to be taken in by such childish deceptions! Having ourselves already had some experience both in selling as well as in buying, we remained quite unimpressed by the flashily-groomed beast which clattered down the road, urged to a gallop by the owner, who declared himself in despair at having to part with the 'finest mule that Shensi has yet produced,' but which, stripped of its trappings, generally stood revealed as antique and emaciated, and with flanks heaving with exhaustion consequent on such an unusual effort. Nevertheless, one by one, we steadily added to our teams, until nine mules were comfortably champing side by side in the stable. Two large strong carts were next bought and then carefully overhauled in view of the heavy strain ahead. Our own small Peking cart which had already done valiant service was destined to carry us and our bedding, for though this conveyance made no provision for a possible lie-down at night, we yet chose it on account of the easier movement it afforded than the rolling and lurching of the larger vehicles, each of which, covered with matting and lined with felts, and with wheels studded with protruding iron nails, could carry a load of two thousand pounds.

Naturally enough, such preparations needed a considerable supply of ready money, which from the

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he ever know the security of a normal environment until he find it in the 'City that hath the foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.'

As Deacon Chang turned away with tears in his eyes, we knew that he shrank from the responsibilities which must now rest upon him in quite a different way when we were gone, but from the day of our arrival in Kanchow it had been clearly understood by all, that our visit would end with the completion of our immediate task, nor could there be any question of an indefinite prolongation of our sojourn, even though the growing Church might need, and also desire, a similar period of help from the foreign Missionary in the future.

At the hour of leaving there are always hands extended beseeching you to stay, and voices to declare that you were never so much needed as at this hour. It is only too easy at these moments to fall victim to the illusion that the holding together of the members of the Church is the work of man, and to miss the basic fact that the Life-Source which alone will fitly knit them together is the Holy Spirit of God; nor has this power ever been delegated to any human being.

CHAPTER XXX

A FAIR IN AN OASIS

THE whole territory stretching from the gate of Kiayükwan to the frontier of Siberia is known by the Chinese as Kow Wai—'Without the Mouth.' To the Chinese it carries the impression of enforced exile, as though the land of China had spued an unwanted national from her mouth. The thought of a journey in 'Kow Wai' suggests terrors to the heart of every

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494 Chinese. It was perhaps owing to this that one of our three carters sent a relative on the eve of our departure to inform us that his '*Mama* was not well, and he would be needed at home.' The substitute was a Christian youth who undertook to do his best for us, but by the close of the first day it became evident that he was not adequate to his job. The handling of a team of obstinate Chinese mules requires a knowledge of animal psychology such as can only be acquired by living as an animal with your animals for all the years of your own psychological development. The mules are harnessed without reins, and are almost entirely driven by word of mouth. One sound means 'Water ahead,' another, 'Keep to the right,' a third 'Your foot is in the traces, wait till I get you free.' A fourth conveys the following information: 'You villain! If you do that again, when we get to the inn to-night I shall kill you, and spend a merry night eating your flesh boiled and fried!' Our young man's psychology was insufficient.

The problem at once presented itself as to where a driver could be found to take on his post, for the road is no place to pick up carters of sufficient responsibility to be trusted, as they must be, with the handling of goods and grain. At the first inn, however, was a decent man known to some of our party, who was transporting a band of his womenfolk to the town of Yümen. Modes of transit had utterly failed him, and there he was, unable to move, spending money which he did not own. He had sent home for help, but the days were going by and no one appeared. He could come with us, but for the women and children for whom he was responsible.

As we were discussing the situation, in walked two youths with a few donkeys. It was the rescue party, which after such long delays had at last arrived to fetch the women. With gratitude, accordingly, our

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new acquaintance took over our job, and the same 494
evening we proceeded on our way. The coincidence of events which released him at the very moment when we required his services, and also put lucrative work in his hands, so impressed him as to make him exclaim at frequent intervals: 'Ai ya! That was a strange bit of luck! We shall get on all right on *this* journey. Fortune favours these Christians!'

Our direct route lay from south-east to north-west, but some important oases lay direct north and south of the main road, and we were determined to visit these very isolated localities, even though we were warned that in so doing we should add considerably to our fatigue.

Our first détour, then, was to Chikinpu, a little 543
castellated fortress-town, where we were met with the news that every person had gone into the country to attend a famous annual fair and theatrical performance, in a temple five miles distant. Fairs and theatres are the preacher's opportunity, so we said we would go a-fairing too! It was a long stage under the midday sun before we reached the Temple of the Red Hill, where we sat by the roadside until the big carts lumbering behind overtook us. When travelling, our personal luggage was wrapped in a length of waterproof canvas, and on such occasions as this we were able by means of three sticks to transform it into a tiny tent, which provided a shelter in the shadow of which we spread our bedding. The spot was very attractive, for it supplied a bubbling spring, and near by there was a field of celandines on which to rest our sun-scorched eyes. We were now only a few miles from the lower ranges of the Tibetan hills, on which patches of shade were thrown by the passing clouds. To the back of us was a red sandstone cliff, which gave its name of Hung Shan to the temple. Farms were dotted over the landscape, each of which

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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more we prepared to enter on a stage which was completely new to us, and which we were warned held difficulties greater than any which we had already faced.

CHAPTER XXXII

VIEWING BLACK GOBI

EACH afternoon of our stay at Ansi we wandered out through the North Gate to a little bridge which spanned the irrigation canal, and looked over the limitless expanse of grey grit mixed with small black pebbles, across which the next stage of the journey must be taken. This was Black Gobi, a plain so windswept as to have lost its sandy surface, which has been carried away by the gales and deposited elsewhere. When the hour of our departure arrived and our carts rolled out by that same North Gate, leaving behind us the last city of Kansu, we knew that we must prepare ourselves for a series of arduous stages, and that we should not see another walled town until we reached Hami. It was 5.30 p.m. when we left the inn, and though we had tried to make it an easy day, the number of callers had added to the inevitable fatigue of repacking, and we were weary before we started. As soon as we were out of the oasis we realised that the black, gritty surface was not as resisting as we had hoped, and the cart-wheels dragged heavily from the first.

Three miles from the town gate we passed a temple, and as was our custom got down from the carts in order to visit it, as well as the priest in charge. To our surprise we found the door fastened from within by a heavy stone, and were unable to get an answer to our knocking and calling. Our carters refused to be balked

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

778 by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

133 We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a
●494 landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape.
491 The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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efforts. The road here was also quite deserted, as the rigid policy of the Governor had closed it to travellers, and the caravans which normally move up and down this trade-route had vanished. Once, however, we passed a pedestrian, who begged us, as though asking for gold, that we would grant him a drink of water, which of course we did, and afterwards at 10 a.m., thrown across the line of cart-ruts, we came upon the body of another man. A low stick supporting a little bundle of sheepskin threw a patch of shade over his head and served as a signal to passers-by. At first it was not evident if he were dead or alive, but one of the men raised him by the shoulders, whereupon he opened his eyes and murmured, 'A drink of water and I am your slave for life!' We held a cup to his lips, and when he had drunk he somewhat revived, and begging for more, repeated, 'Your slave for life!' We were still many miles from our destination, and our head carter called us aside. 'The man is dying,' he said; 'he is too weak to walk; we can spare neither water nor time. We must press on or we shall lose our mules.' The Christian men were desirous to help, but they also reminded us that if we took him on with us he might die, and thereby involve us in certain complications.

'Nothing will induce us to leave a dying man to his fate!' was our answer; and then seeing that the poor fellow was unable even to stand on his feet, we made room for him in the front of our own cart, while we took it in turns to walk so that the load need not be increased.

At 1.30 p.m. our mules sighted a few blades of green grass, and realising that water was at hand, Molly first gave the signal, lifting her head with a loud neigh! Every beast then summoned its dwindling store of energy, and a few minutes later we pulled into the inn court. The innkeeper at once took our sick man to

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang-A1-1~~

312 his own room and cared for him, and the subsequent
485 doings of the day for the remainder of the party are best described in the words of the diary, written at the time: 'Ate, slept, got up, and ate again; then back to bed for the night.'

312 The oasis of Petuntz—'White Tower'—formed a green patch in the arid surroundings. A delightful-
[24] looking stream gushed from the cliff and ran into a tiny canal which watered a patch of wheat and a small field of the opium-poppy in full bloom, which raised in us the hope for vegetables, but we found the water to be too alkaline to permit their growth. This property of the water we had, however, already discovered for ourselves, for our first instinct on arrival had been to run to the crystal spring and drink deeply from it; it was, however, a most disappointing experiment, so that here we had to take our first lesson in self-control as regards drinking, for the advice of experienced travellers is: 'Where the water is brackish, drink the least possible, as the more you drink the more parched will be your mouth!' It was now we learnt the bitter lesson that that delicious beverage known to us as 'tea' became in these places only a noxious infusion of tannin which left our lips dry, cracked and black. We found the only palatable way of dealing with desert water was to boil dough-strings in it, the flour and water absorbing the salts. We also, as well as all other caravans, carried certain drugs to administer to the mules as required, serious illness being frequently caused by their inability to assimilate the unaccustomed qualities of the water, human beings, however, as well as beasts who spend long periods in these parts, become at length accustomed to it, and cease to notice its bitterness.

• 494 The life of the few families forming these settlements

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494
their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their[1] most valued 733
possession is the harvest reaped from the field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, sat 100
with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving saw to it that each family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Petuntz we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also that he had with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai' hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating to him how lucky he was to have been picked up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133
Hungliuyüan—'The Park of Tamarisks'—a charm- 491
ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361
were only four souls in Hungliuyüan, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485
abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

1 [Residents of Petuntz-- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

485 no profit under the present conditions.[1] A petition had
been addressed by the innkeepers to the Governor,
bringing to his notice the fact that unless they were
granted a sufficient government subsidy, they, too,
would return to the city, in which case the road would
become impassable to travellers, there being no one
left to collect the necessary fuel for their use, nor anyone
133 to keep the well clear of sand. In this locality we were
among low, bare hills of a dark and threatening appear-
491 ance. They were formed of a rock of a deep purple
colour, their surface being covered with loose fragments
which were constantly breaking away under the
influence of the weather, and the ridges presented a
sharp, spiked outline. We observed also traces of a
greenish granite, while in places the ground was covered
with small pieces of white porphyry which looked as
though a slight snowstorm had fallen.

491 Our next stopping-place was Tachüan—'Great
Spring'—and from thence we came on to Malienking—
494 'The Iris Well.' We here had been overtaken by a
party of travellers from the province of Honan, an
official hurrying to Kuche on the Kashgar road, to take
over the seals of office from a Mandarin who was
seriously ill. For several days we kept together,
greatly to our advantage, as Mr. Yüan had excellent
animals and was travelling very light, so that at each
stage he got ahead of us and kindly gave warning of
our arrival, with instructions that a room should be
swept for us and fodder prepared for the animals. On
000 several occasions this courteous gentleman slept in his
cart in order that we might have the use of the only
guest-room, and each day he and his suite joined us at
family worship (his tall Moslem carter standing on the
fringe of the little group, signifying his approval as we
read the Scriptures), all reverently bowing in prayer

[1] [Restricted travel, see p. 187--Analyst]

491 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times
661 by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous num-
494 ber of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in
437 a rather short time. In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

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Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

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As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

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The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

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Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

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Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
631 into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsin-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
• [496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
494 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
496 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
178 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

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159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

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159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
*668 Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
[631] partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the North
*563 west. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

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159 Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
*668 Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
631 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
• 496 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of

159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
• 496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the
[466] railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
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TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the National government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

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366 635 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 435 *175 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

S 439 435 175 The trade between Sinkiang and Afghanistan of the same year amounted to 1,378,040 gold rupees. The details are as follows:

Table IX: The Trade Between Sinkiang and Afghanistan, 1927

Description	Value (rupee)	
A. Imports:		830,500
opium	675,000	
horses	10,000	
furs and hides	52,350	
Russian metal goods	8,550	
almonds	3,600	
B. Exports:		547,540
cotton cloth	176,500	
cankas	94,500	
woolen carpet	80,000	
horses	57,000	
chinaware	21,200	
felt carpet	16,800	
donkeys and mules	13,000	
Khoten silk	12,500	
Grand Total		1,378,040

Source: Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien, 1935 ed., Vol. 3, p. T.95.

N *668 43 II. The Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime may be described in two parts: (1) changes in volume and kind, and (2) government control.

N [178] A. Changes in Volume and Kind

As far as the physical characteristics are concerned, trade in the Northwest under the Communist regime seems to have remained more or less the same as it was before, because economic reconstruction in this region is still in its initial stage.

N *668 496 491 178 The following changes, however, may deserve special attention: First, the Communists have taken great pains to improve transportation in the Northwest. The most ambitious project, of course, is the Lanchou-Alma Ata Railway, which they plan to complete by 1957. Other improvements include: (1) the Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway, which is still under construction: (2) the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, which was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954: and (3) the Tunhuang-Chinghai Highway, which links Kansu and west Chinghai, and was opened to traffic in December 1954. Besides, it is also reported that the original Lanchou-Chengtu and Lanchou-Urumchi highways have been improved upon, and the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route between

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*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [496] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

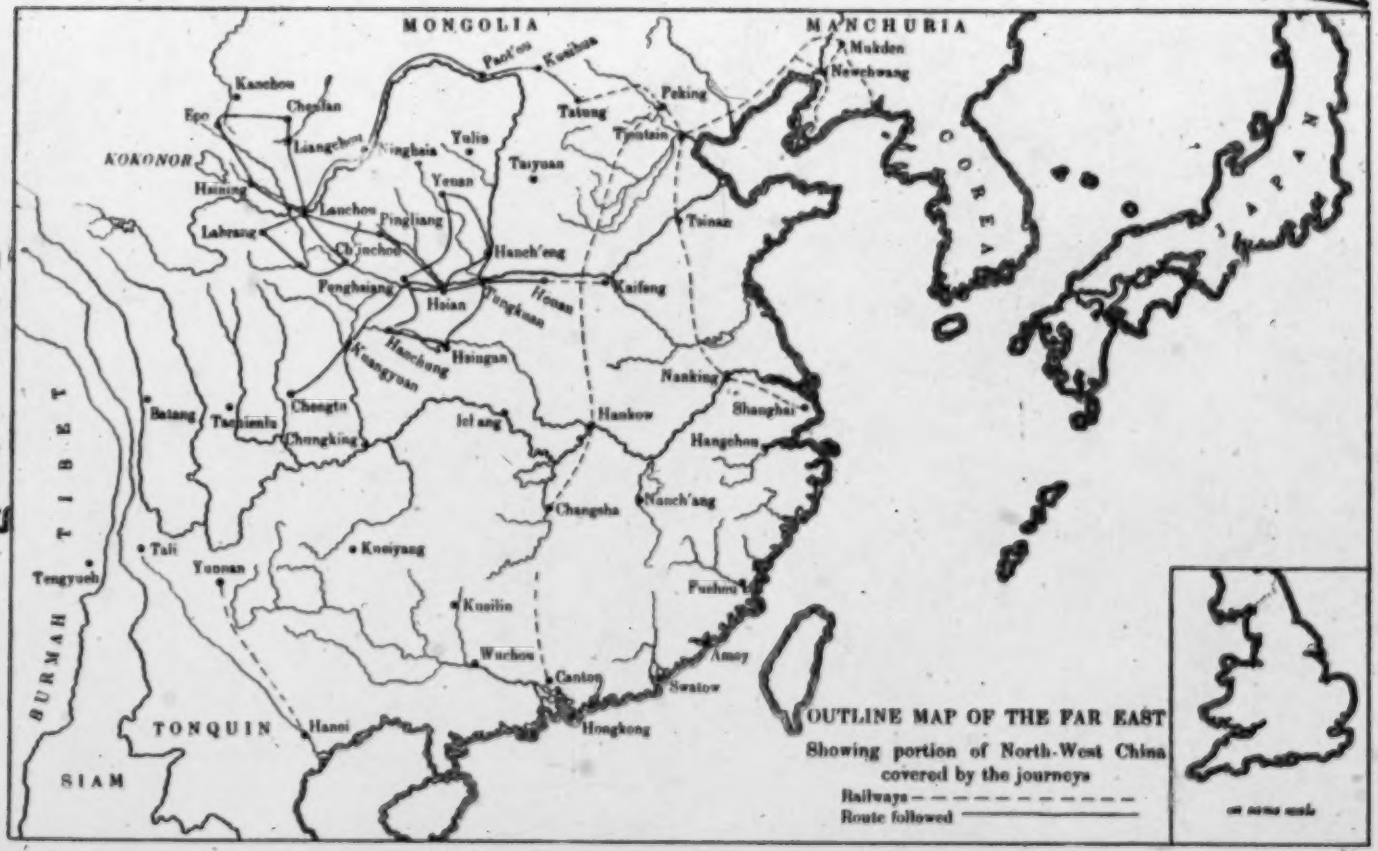
II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 496 A. Railways

In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

[504] Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and



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N *175 it was opened for traffic in the autumn of 1945. This 165 kilometer
• 496 railway ran from Paoki following a stretch of the Wei River to T'ien-shui in Kansu. This Paoki-Tien-shui area was regarded as a place of great strategic importance during the war.

Excluding the Hsien-yang-Tung-ch'uan branch of 138 kilometers, total mileage of the Lunghai Railway, before 1949, was about 1,380 kilometers of which the section from Tung-kuan to T'ien-shui running in the Northwest Region was roughly 600 kilometers in length.

N B. Highways

491 Highway construction in Northwest China had been well-devel-
*[175] oped up to the war. The main lines may be listed as follows:

	kms.
1. Highways in Shensi:	
Sian-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchow Highway)	210
Sian-Tungkuan	145
Sian-Paoki-Ning-chiang section (of Szechwan-Shensi Highway)	500
Sian-Mei-hsien	145
Wei-nan-Ta-li-Han-cheng	180
2. Highways in Kansu:	
Lanchou-Ping-liang-Chang-wu section (of Sian-Lanchou Highway)	550
Lanchou-Yumen-Hsin-hsin-chia section (of Kansu-Sinkiang Highway)	1,400
Lanchou-Hsiang-tang section (of Kansu-Chinghai Highway)	120
Lanchou-Min-hsien section	350
Hua-chia-ling-T'ien-shui	210
Ping-liang-Kuyüan-Tung-hsin (in Ninghsia)	220
3. Highways in Ninghsia (now part of Kansu):	
Ninghsia (Yin-ch'uan)-Tung-hsin	210
Ninghsia-Shan-pa (in Inner Mongolia)	325
Ninghsia-Ho-chia-chi (toward Lanchou)	240
4. Highways in Chinghai:	
Hsining-Hsiang-tang section	110
Hsining-Kuei-teh	108
Hsining-Lin-hsia (in Kansu)	190
Hsining-Tu-lan (toward Tun-huang)	428
Hsining-Ta-ho-pa (toward Yu-shu)	327
S 491 5. Highways in Sinkiang:	
Urumchi-Hami-Hsin-hsin-chia	835
Urumchi-Wusu-Ili (toward Russia)	691

(Wang, Chin-fu. Hsi-pei ti ti-wen yü jen-wen Huang, Fen-sheng. 127-29; Pien-chiang tun-ken-yüan 126-28.)

N It is interesting to note that part of the highways in Kansu and
491 all those in Sinkiang were built on the old trade routes. Highways
487 in this region were centered at Sian, Lanchow, Ninghsia (Yin-chuan),
S [491] Hsining and Urumchi.
[487]

S 487 Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero
50 Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported
[505] that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N D. Civil Aviation

509 Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running
*175 from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

N III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime
*175
*668 A. Railway Building and Planning
• 496 1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer sec-
499 tion was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

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Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
*175 the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet
*668 agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that
• 496 the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to
499 Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-
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*668 cally and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still
499 lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had
*668 long looked for a route through which it could move from North-
496 west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they
499 intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Rail-
648 way with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway.
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It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

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4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000
*668 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up North-
*175 west China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started
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499 section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-erh-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*179 national minorities.
496 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the North-
499 west region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

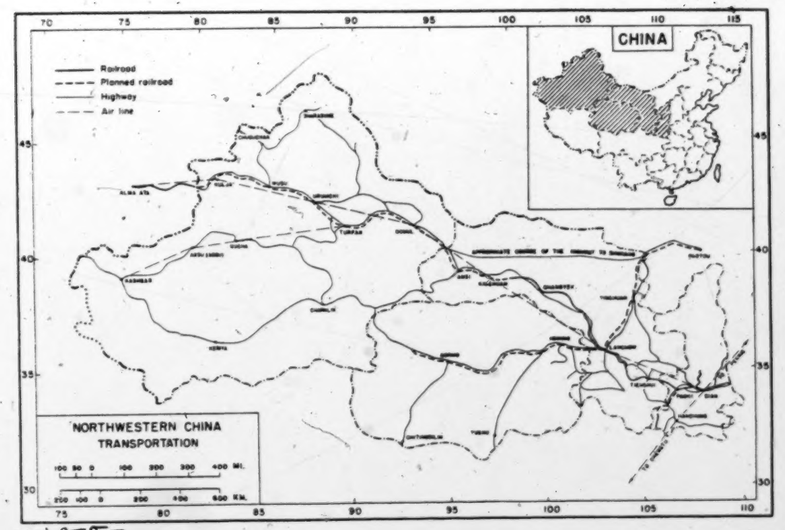
Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total					1,477[e] 3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
491 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[399] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should
[648] be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
[439] Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.



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[following page 704]

CHAPTER I

FROM RAILHEAD IN HONAN TO HSIAN FU, THE CAPITAL OF SHENSI

Approaches to the North West—By train to railhead at Kuanyint'ang—Along the Yellow River to T'ungkuan—Road and railway construction in China—Up the Wei valley plain past Huayin, Huachou, Weinan, and Lint'ung to Hsian—Antiquities—Recent events in Shensi.

THERE are a certain limited number of trails leading into Shensi and Kansu from the coast, namely, from Honan *via* the T'ungkuan passage, from Hankow up the Han river, from T'aiyuan in Shansi *via* Suitê to Ninghsia, and from Kueihuach'eng *via* the Yellow River and the Ordos to Northern Kansu. We entered the North West by the first named route and eventually returned by the last named. The T'ungkuan trail, which nowadays carries most of the traffic, follows the valleys of the Yellow and Wei rivers through a natural gap in the mountains leading into the heart of the North West. Along this road has passed much of the traffic with Central and Western Asia since the dawn of history, and along it is one day to be built a trunk railway from the coast to the confines of Turkestan.

Starting from Peking, the Peking-Hankow railway is followed as far as Cheng Chou, the junction with the Kaifêng Fu Honan Fu line, which used to be known as the Pien Lo railway, but is now a section of the great East and West trunk line called the Lung Hai, meaning that it connects (or rather will one day in the distant future connect) Hai Chou on the coast of Kiangsu with Lung, the classical name for Kansu. Cheng Chou is a busy railway settlement attached to a little walled city; on a windy day in the spring it is an indescribably beastly spot, the whole place being shrouded in whirling dust, sand, and loess.

Leaving Cheng Chou the train soon enters a maze of loess hills through which it crawls to emerge near Kung Hsien on the valley plain of the Lo River, which is followed to Honan Fu (Loyang). The rolling stock on this section

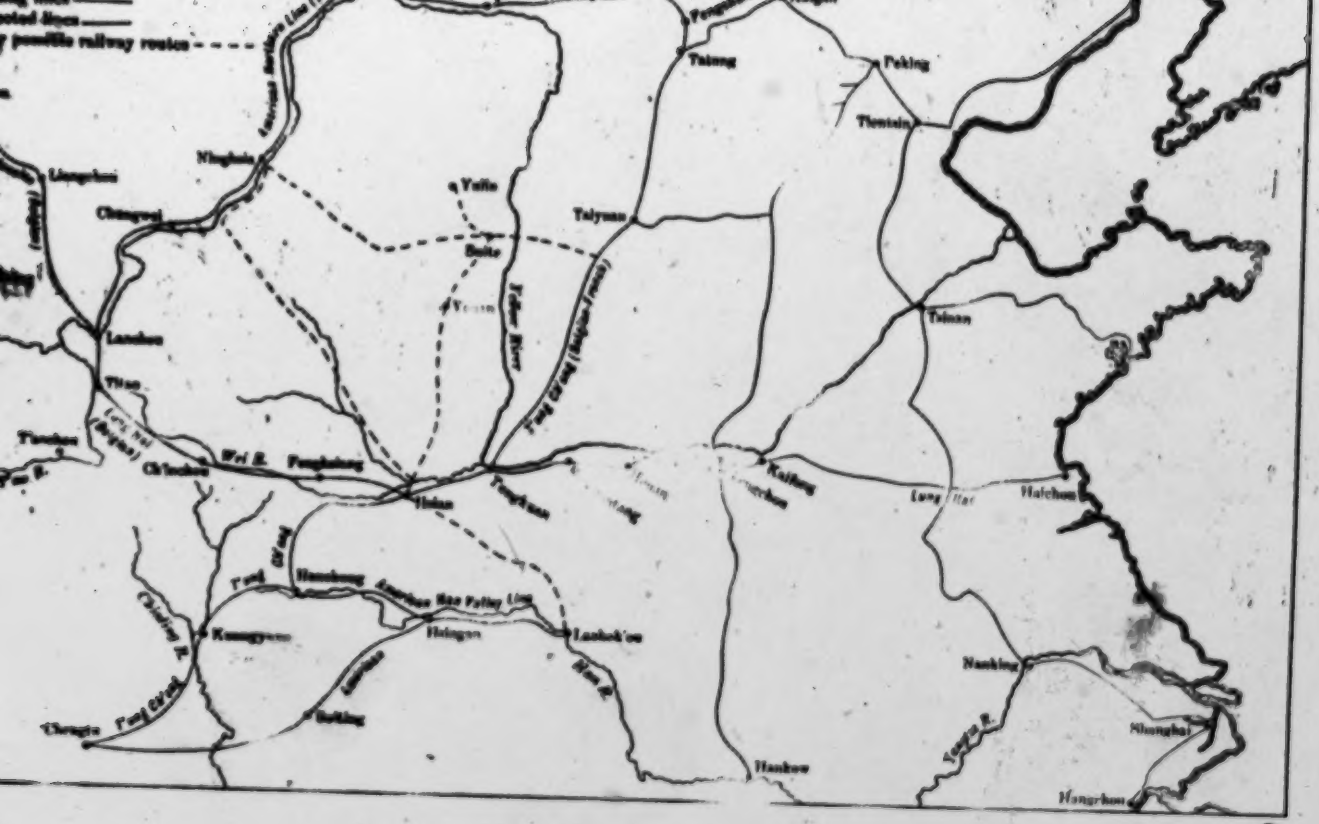
is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Miench'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.


Peking
Tientsin
Taiyuan
Yuhsien
Tsinan
Kaifeng
Hsuchow
Hsiaoyi
Hsian
Tungkuan
Lanchow
Tsinghai
Hsinghsien
Changyi
Tsaochow
Wei R.
Fengsiang
Hanchung
Hsiangyang
Hsiangfan
Hsinyang
Lanhsien
Hsinlungkuan
Kuangyuan
Chengtu
Suining
Hankow
Nanking
Shanghai
Hangchow
Yangtze R.
Yellow River
Long Hai
Hsiao R.
Hsiang R.
Chialing R.
Tung Ch'ing
Tung Ch'ing (Belgian French)
Lanchow Sian Railway (Long Hai Railway)
Lanchow Sian Railway (Long Hai Railway)
Lanchow Sian Railway (Long Hai Railway

RAIL TRANSPORT--freight and passenger services and accommodations; make-up and operation of trains; schedules; fares and freight charges; traffic control; special services (e.g., railway express, refrigerated freight service); organization and specialized personnel; regulation; etc. See also:

Postal system 205
Labor unions 467
Corporate organization 473
Government ownership and control 471, 888

N
135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu
N during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells
[315] had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil
[489] production was never large due to shipping and transportation
difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu-
[499] Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July
1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation
of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking
Government's planned economy gives top priority to the
development of the known and the search for the unknown
N mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen
Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955.
A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce
N eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent
316 more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). A large coal field
was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the
new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million
metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery
of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines
in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent
N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology
315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are
[654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in
Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil
shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April
19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the
prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan
Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the
Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June
1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered
in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered
and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new
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N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in
316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China,
ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve,
Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present doal
reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric
tons and can last for three hundred years at the present
daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

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498

498 TERMINAL FACILITIES--bus, tram, railway terminals; passenger services at railway and bus stations; freight yards; terminal repair facilities; freight and fuel storage facilities; etc. See also:

Description of terminal structures . . . . . 369 Port facilities 804
Warehousing 488

N
*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
184 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.)

N Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
*668 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
433 between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[382] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
[491] city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
N leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard
• [498] under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang,
S a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
668 built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
43 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
327 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
328 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
329 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
32 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
[189] up with communications development.

N Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
*668 on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
185 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
433 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
[648] major role in the economic relations between China and Russia, and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

499

499 HIGHWAY AND RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION--surveying of route; grading; construction of culverts, bridges, trestles, and tunnels; laying of ties and rails or of highway surface; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Specialization in construction . . . . . 59 Corporate financing 484, 473
Labor . . . . . 46 Public finance 682
Weight-moving machinery . . . . . 408 Surveying 804

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
170 commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
185 during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[896] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[891] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during
• [499] his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
771 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

S 487 50 [505] Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Ozero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N 509 *175 D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchou line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

N *175 III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

*668 A. Railway Building and Planning

496 • 499 1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H. J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

Construction was initiated at Lanchou on
*175 Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
*668 the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet
496 agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that
• 499 the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to
648 Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-sib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

On the Chinese side, service on the Lanchow-Wu-wei section of 303 kilometers began in February, 1954. At the end of that year, tracks had been laid as far as Chiu-pa, 347 kilometers northwest of Lanchou. On September 28, 1955, the section was extended to Chang-yeh, which, in the Kansu Corridor about 538 kilometers west of Lanchou, was the original goal for 1955. An extra 108 kilometers of tracks were laid up to a point about 100 kilometers from Yü-men by the end of 1955. A new section from Chang-yeh to Ching-shui reportedly began operating on May 1, 1956. This 138 kilometer extension made the railway serviceable for a total of 676 kilometers. It has been reported that tracklayers on this railway had pledged to extend the line to Yü-men, 800 kilometers from Lanchou, by the first of July, 1956, about one month ahead of schedule.

*668 Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economi-
499 cally and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

*668 3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had
496 long looked for a route through which it could move from North-
499 west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they
648 intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Rail-
*175 way with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

*668 of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was
496 initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the
• 499 end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955,
648 tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315
*175 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to
*668 link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possi-
497 ble deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000
*668 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up North-
*175 west China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started
496 in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer
499 section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou-Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-e-h-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
496
• 499 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the Northwest region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	646	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
471 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[399] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
{648} Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied
{439} by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
• 499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated.
*175 In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
[701] munist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

N
*668 In Chinghai Province, three short lines were completed by
491 January, 1954, namely the renovated Lao-ya-hsia sector of the
• 499 Kansu-Chinghai Highway (Lanchow-Hsi-ning Highway), the sector
499 south of La-chi-shan on the Hsi-ning Kuei-teh Highway originally
*175 planned by the Nationalst Government, and the new Hsin-hua-Tung-jen Highway, with a total of 360 kilometers. Among the publicized trunk lines, the most notable one was the 2100 kilometer Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway. The first part of this line was constructed along the old Chinghai-Sinkiang route, and was originally built by the Mohammedan leader Ma Pu-fang during 1946-1948 (from Sining to Chin-hung-shan), from Hsining to Gormo along the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin, then the highway turning south via Ku-ku-shih-li reached Chi-ting-si-lin, the common point of Chinghai, Sikang (now part of Szechwan) and Tibet, and thence leading to Lhasa in Tibet. The complete Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway was opened to traffic on November 16, 1954. It linked with highways radiating northwest to Sinkiang and east to Lanchou, and met Sikang-Tibet Highway at Lhasa to keep close contact with the Southwestern provinces. Of the old roads, there was the Chinghai-Sinkiang Highway (Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan Highway) which was damaged before 1949, the Hsi-ning-Gormo section of about 800 kilometers which was restored in 1954 as part of the Hsi-ning-Lhasa Highway, and the rest repaired in May of 1955. Along the old Hsi-ning-Sikang route construction began in early May of 1955 on the Hsi-ning-Kuolo Highway of 627 kilometers leading to the Kuolo Tibetan National Autonomous District. Consisting of sections of the Hsi-ning-Hua-shih-hsia (424 kms.) and Hua-shih-hsia-Chi-mai (203 kms.), the Hsi-ning-Kuolo line was completed in November, 1955. The completion of these highways further facilitated the interflow of supplies between the agricultural and pastoral areas and supported the economic construction of the national minorities.

S
491 In Sinkiang, the traditional arterial highways were centered at Urumchi. To the south, one highway at Kurle was divided into two branches and met again in the west at Kashgar to form a circle link around the Taklamakan desert; to the east the highway led through Turfan, Hami toward Lanchou; to the north, a line ran along the Manas River to Sharasume (Cheng-hua); and to the west there were two highways stretching to the Sino-Soviet border, one to Ho-cheng and the other to Ta-cheng. Along the Old Silk Road, from No-chiang, one highway was extended eastward to Tun-huang in Kansu. There were three highways connecting Urumchi with Russia through Ta-cheng, Hocheng, and Kashgar, to link with the Soviet-Turksib Railway stations at Ayaguz, Ilisk, and Andizhan respectively.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
473 was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
648 service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*175 chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 The influential role which the development of transportation
489 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate
433 for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
• 499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
198 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
*668 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
489 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness
433

CHAPTER XV

RAILWAY PROJECTS IN SHENSI AND KANSU

The Lung Hai Railway—The T'ung Ch'eng Railway—The Kuei-hua-Ninghsia Railway—The Han Valley Railway—Other possible railway routes.

Not a single rail has yet been laid in the whole of the vast region of N.W. China covered by the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, though the need of railways is keenly felt both for commercial and political reasons. In the absence of waterways, such as exist throughout Central and Southern China, means of communication are limited to carts and pack animals, methods of transport which are both slow and expensive, while the vast numbers of ponies and mules employed consume a large proportion of the grain grown in these provinces. This absence of proper means of communication cannot but prevent the commercial development of the whole region, and encourages brigandage and political instability. There is no more vitally urgent reform waiting to be carried out in China than the construction of railways to outlying parts such as Szechuan, Shensi and Kansu. It seems safe to assume that nowhere in the world are there such vast, well-populated, and comparatively wealthy areas still without railways of any kind. Four trunk-lines have been projected through Shensi and Kansu, and there are openings for others. The four projects will first be discussed, in the order in which the concessions or contracts were obtained, for needless to say they are all foreign enterprises.

(1) The Lung Hai Railway from Kansu to the coast, and its extension west to the confines of Turkestan. 171 499 •

In 1912 a loan agreement was arranged between the Central Government and a Belgian Syndicate (Compagnie Generale de Chemins-de-fer et Tramways) for the construction of a trunk-line from Haichou on the coast of North Kiangsu to Lanchou Fu in Kansu, a distance of more than 1000 miles, with the option of an extension to Suchou in the extreme west of the latter province. The line was to be an

[P. 207]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

extension east and west of the existing Kaifeng Fu Honan Fu Railway (called the Pien Lo). Lung is the classical name for Kansu province.

In 1917 the construction of this railway westwards from Honan Fu had reached, and stopped short at, the village of Kuanyint'ang, half a day's march beyond the district city of Miench'ih Hsien in Western Honan, and about three marches short of the Shensi frontier at T'ungkuan. From here the route projected is somewhat as follows. Through or across a range of mountains to Shenchou on the Yellow River and thence along the big road to T'ungkuan. This stretch presents no great engineering difficulties after the passage of the Kuanyint'ang range, presumably by a tunnel, beyond some deep cuttings in the loess, especially as T'ungkuan is approached. From the Honan-Shensi border the line will cross Shensi from east to west following the fertile valley plain of the Wei River. This section is flat and open, and much of the way the only work required will be an embankment and a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River, the railway keeping to the south of the latter. Traffic will be heavy and remunerative, and the towns touched at will include the great metropolis of the North West, the city of Hsian Fu. From the Shensi-Kansu border near Fenghsiang Fu the line will probably keep as much as possible to the Wei valley up to Kungch'ang and Weiyuan, whence it will pass through the watershed between the Wei and T'ao rivers to Titao. From Titao it can either follow the T'ao River down to the Yellow River, or, more probably, it will cut through the mountains direct to Lanchou Fu. This stretch contains a great many serious engineering obstacles, and is said to entail more than forty kilometres of tunnels; nevertheless it is apparently the easiest way of ascending the three to four thousand feet from the plains of Shensi to the plateau of Kansu, and is certainly less formidable than the existing high road *via* P'ingliang, which crosses the Liupan Shan at a height of some 9000 feet, and passes for the rest of the way to Lanchou through most difficult loess country. The chief difficulties met with on the proposed railway route are the Wei River gorges between Paochi in Shensi and Ch'inchou in Kansu, and the passage

of the two watersheds, between Weiyuan and Titao, and between Titao and Lanchou.

As regards the extension west towards Turkestan, the chief engineering obstacle would seem to be the passage of the Wushao Ling, 10,000 feet; the P'ingfan valley provides an easy approach from the east, but the descent to the west is steep; there may, however, be a way round further north and east, as this range, the backbone of the Nan Shan, falls away in that direction. Further west the line can follow the main road, keeping if necessary a little further north on the edge of the desert, all the way to the frontiers of Turkestan without encountering any serious obstacle.

Generally speaking the Lung Hai Railway is a most attractive proposition through Shensi, but its construction through Kansu is likely to be very costly, and the traffic returns poor. However, sooner or later railway communication is bound to be established between China and Central Asia, connecting up with the Russian line from the Caspian Sea, and such a railway is more than likely to be an extension of the Lung Hai. For, whatsoever this great trunk line may be called, and by whomsoever it may be built, it is pretty well bound to follow the old fortified highway through Western Kansu along the narrow fertile belt between the deserts of Mongolia and Tibet, by which all trade and traffic between China and Western countries was once conducted. With the construction of this important trans-Asiatic trunk line, Kansu province will once more become, what it was in the past, the gateway from China to the West.

(2) The T'ung Ch'eng Railway, from Tatung in Northern Shansi to Chengtu in Szechuan.

In 1913 a loan agreement was arranged between the Chinese Government and a Franco-Belgian Syndicate for the construction of a trunk railway from Tatung in Northern Shansi, down the centre of that province *via* T'aiyuan to P'uchou on the Yellow River, thence *via* T'ungkuan and Central Shensi to Hsian, and thence *via* Hanchung to Chengtu in Szechuan. The period of construction was estimated at five years, but work has not yet been begun. This project is remarkable for its magnitude, but is in other respects not a particularly attractive proposition in view of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and costly and require much tunnelling. The Chialing River, on the other hand, flows straight down into Szechuan, and a line down its limestone gorges to Kuangyuan, if practicable, is not unlikely to prove the easiest railway route into Szechuan from the north, or perhaps from any side. In that case Hanchung, which is mentioned in the loan agreement as a point to be touched at, could be connected up fairly easily by a line across the Han-Chialing portage in the neighbourhood, that is to say from Yangp'ing Kuan to Mien Hsien. As regards a line south from Hanchung into Szechuan, the mountains on the Shensi Szechuan border in this neighbourhood though rugged and intricate are not to be compared with the Ch'inling Shan as a barrier to communication, and are pierced by a line of gaps followed by the high road with passes less than 2000 feet above the valleys on either side. As regards the line from Kuangyuan through Szechuan to Chengtu, it is only safe to assume that it will not follow the existing high road, admirable as the latter is as an example of ancient engineering work in the mountains. Probably a route will be found down the Chialing Chiang to Paoning or beyond, and thence west to Chengtu.

(3) The Kueihua-Ninghsia-Lanchou Railway to Northern Kansu.

In the autumn of 1916 an American railway group secured the concession or contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, amongst which was the above line. The Peking-Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway, now constructed as far as Feng Chen, a day's march north of Tatung in Northern Shansi, and four marches short of Kueihua, was built by Chinese engineers with Chinese funds provided by the surplus earnings of the fine Peking-Mukden line. It was originally intended to extend this railway from Kueihua Ch'eng across the Gobi to Urga and thence to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line, a scheme which would have entailed years of unprofitable work in the deserts of Mongolia while many densely populated regions of China Proper were crying for railway communication; the present American project consists in a more useful extension of the same line in another direction, namely to the fertile plains of Ninghsia in Northern Kansu.

From the present railhead at Feng Chen to Kueihua

000 Ch'eng the line, if it follows the main road, will pass through mountainous but not difficult country. From Kueihua to Paot'ou it will run across flat corn-growing prairies, where the only work required will be an embankment. Once Kueihua and Paot'ou are reached there should be a fairly remunerative goods traffic, since this road carries a large trade to and from the vast north-west hinterland of Mongolia and Turkestan, whence camel caravans debouch into China Proper at these two points. From Paot'ou to Ninghsia will be flat going all the way except for the passage of the low ranges on the Kansu-Mongolia border near Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu). This section will follow along the northern bank of the Yellow River, through a region which though partly desert contains an increasing population of Chinese settlers, and which is probably capable of great agricultural development with the assistance of irrigation works. Once Ninghsia is reached the trade of North-Western Kansu will be tapped, and, if it can compete successfully with the cheap transport by Yellow River boat and camel caravan across the desert, the railway will carry large quantities of wool collected from the grass-lands of Mongolia and the Kokonor down to Tientsin. From Ninghsia to Chungwei the line will run up the fertile and thickly populated plains along the Yellow River, with flat going all the way save for the passage of a low range near Kuangwu. The local traffic on this section should be heavy and remunerative, and the connecting of these isolated but comparatively wealthy plains by rail with the coast will be an event of great political and commercial importance to North China. From Chungwei to Lanchou the line would run through desert mountain country and will be neither easy nor profitable to construct until the capital is reached. An easier route, but also across desert, leads from Chungwei to Liangchou along the ruins of the Great Wall. On the whole this railway project is a not unattractive proposition, though there are many other regions in China where railway construction is far more imperative, and would be far more remunerative.

471 It is understood, however, that the above project has been abandoned as far as the American group is concerned, •499 owing to the discovery that another Power possessed

previously existing rights regarding the provision of funds 471 for railway construction in that northern region should the 499 • Chinese require the assistance of foreign capital for the purpose.

(4) The Han Valley Railway.

As mentioned above an American railway group secured in 1916 the contract for the construction of a certain mileage of railways in China, but when it came to deciding on the actual lines to be so constructed, it was found to be no easy matter to avoid the previously existing railway rights of other Powers. Eventually, however, it was announced in the press in the spring of 1917 that a line from Laoho K'ou in Hupei up the Han valley into Southern Shensi, and across the divide south into Szechuan, had been fixed upon as one of the railways to be constructed by the American group. This line, opening up as it will the rich but backward 000 upper Han valley, and thence penetrating into Szechuan, the goal of so many unrealised railway projects, from the north, is one of the most interesting and attractive of the many projected lines in China. Its passage up the Han valley should be highly remunerative, while the goods and passenger traffic likely to be secured by a line tapping the rich province of Szechuan has always been held by the planners of Chinese railways to be worth the greatest efforts.

From Laoho K'ou to Hsingan there appears to be the choice of two routes, neither very difficult, namely following the Han River to within a few marches of the latter city, or else outflanking the mountains on the Hupei-Shensi border by following a natural gap further west *via* Chuchi and Pingli. From Hsingan westwards the valley plain of the Yo River leading to Hanyin provides a natural railway route which outflanks the awkward mountain gorges of the Han River in this neighbourhood. From Hanyin a short tunnel will be required to regain the Han at Shihch'uan, whence there would seem to be no alternative, at any rate for the first part of the way, to a route along the difficult Han River gorges in order to gain the eastern end of the Hanchung plain, one of the most fertile and richest regions in China, near Yang Hsien. The latter portion of these gorges might perhaps be avoided by following a route *via* Hsihsiang, a rich and important city worth touching, and thence up the

501

501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	505
Cordage	283	Boat names	589
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	714

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

of the aerial origin of the loess is the absence in it of fossil shells of water animals; but so far as I know such fossils are equally absent in re-deposited loess obviously laid down by water. If the great rivers of South America have deposited the soils of the Argentine pampas, there seems little reason to doubt that the Yellow River has done the same for North China. The desert mountains round the lower end of the Hsining River valley are rich in copper, and before the Revolution a mine was being worked in the neighbourhood with the assistance of a foreign engineer and foreign machinery; it appears to have suffered the fate common to all Chinese official enterprises of this nature, but its failure was not, so far as I am aware, due to any deficiency in the quality or quantity of the ore.

From Hotsuitzu the road continues down the valley which debouches on to the Yellow River 55 li further on. The latter can be crossed by a ferry here, but the path usually followed ascends through a desolate defile past a number of salt pans to a loess plateau, whence it descends to a ferry. The Yellow River is here some 200 yards wide and is crossed by means of a large ferry-boat taking animals. A further hour's march down the Yellow River valley through irrigated fields brings one to the township of Hsin Ch'eng, the end of a stage of 75 li.

From Hsin Ch'eng to Lanchou Fu is a march of 70 li by a good road down the valley through fertile irrigated fields backed by desert hills. This stage can be accomplished rapidly and easily by taking passage on one of the small skin rafts, numbers of which descend the river in the month of August laden with water melons for the Lanchou market. These rafts, composed of a light framework resting on a few inflated skins, are usually small enough and light enough to be carried back up stream on the shoulders of their owners. We were fortunate in striking the valleys above Lanchou during the height of the melon season. The dry heat in these arid valleys at that time of the year was at times truly terrific, and the melons, of which we consumed large quantities on the road, were delicious. The best melons in China are grown in this neighbourhood. We found four varieties; the *tsui kua* and the *hsiang kua*, small and very fragrant sweet melons; the *hsi kua*, the ordinary

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Ssu—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

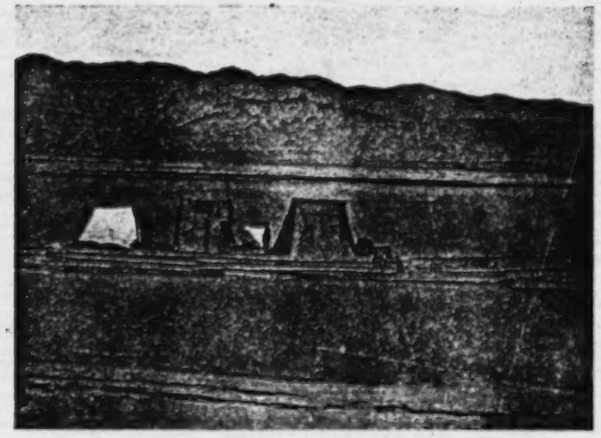
After returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march, and take boat from there. The prospect of another long desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XLI

OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER



OUR RAFTS ON THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

501 forty feet in length by ten to fifteen in breadth, with the lumber piled up in the centre to form a platform a foot or so above the water, on which we pitched our tents; I have seldom struck a pleasanter method of travel in China, the only objection being the floor of pine logs, which meant that if one dropped any small article it was irrecoverable except by taking the raft to pieces. We subsequently learned that we had been lucky in securing particularly fine rafts, as they consisted of a flotilla of telegraph poles *en route* from the Kokonor forests above Hsining to Ninghsia for the construction of a new telegraph line from that place across the Ordos desert to Paot'ou.

431 We were delayed a few days in Lanchou while our rafts were being got ready and various other preparations being made. It is as well to put a few days' provisions on board to last till one gets to Chungwei; all kinds of presents were thrust upon us in the way of supplies by our hospitable hosts, the Governor and his staff, including a skin bag of the famous dried apricots which are thus exported from Central Tibet—or perhaps they even come from India.

436 A new supply of silver had also to be secured, for at the time we were in Kansu the old-fashioned lumps of silver and strings of cash were still the only currency available; two years later travelling in Shensi and Szechuan we were able to use silver dollars and copper cents even in the most out of the way parts, a great convenience; the buying up of the cash for the export of the copper they contain, which is now going on so extensively throughout China, may be illegal, but it is hardly to be regretted by the tourist in the interior, if it means the gradual disappearance of this dirty and cumbersome form of currency.

487 We finally left Lanchou on August 26 on our overland march to Powan, distant three marches of 65, 80, and 70 li
133 respectively. The road runs down the left bank of the Yellow River for about 15 li, and then, turning north up a gully, winds through a maze of low waterless hills of loess for the
[36] rest of the way to the walled village of Ch'ang Ch'uantzu in the valley of a brackish rivulet, the end of the first stage. The second day's march is through similar desert hills to the hamlet of Hsikou. In places the small shallow valleys are cultivated and produce millet and inferior melons, but

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the landscape is dreary in the extreme, the population scanty 133
and miserably poor, supplies non-existent, and the water, 487
where it is found, brackish. The third day's march is through similar country until, 50 li from Hsikou, the trail debouches from these barren hills on to a small irrigated plain alongside the Yellow River, which here issues from a cleft in the mountains; at the further end of the plain lies the long straggling village of Powan. To the north and south are [361] bare desolate mountains.

At Powan we abandoned our train of Kansu pack-mules. 492
These particular mules, each carrying between two and three hundred pounds, had accompanied us for three to four months, during which period they had covered over 2000 miles without a hitch, with never a sore back, and never one sick or lame. The Kansu mule is perhaps the finest in the world; his only drawback is that he requires a lot of grain and does not do well in the grass country. The muleteers, Kansu men, walked the entire distance and never gave us any trouble whatsoever; both they and their animals seemed capable of going on for ever as long as they both got plenty to eat. The Kansu pack-mules are all entires, and their strength and endurance are simply astounding; the mares are worked in carts.

We found our rafts waiting for us, having accomplished 501
safely in a few hours the journey which had taken us three days. Two of them were fitted out to take our ten ponies, and two others had tents pitched for our accommodation; another carried the soldiers of our escort, and two more were laden with odds and ends of merchandize belonging apparently to the owner of the lumber. By midday the whole flotilla of seven were swirling down the river under the autumn sun, and as we reclined in front of our tents and watched the sandstone cliffs shoot by after so many months of mountain and desert we felt thoroughly at peace with things generally. The river flowed between low hills of 133
red sandstone with loess superimposed, grass covered on the right bank and desert on the left. In places small [376] plains, like that in which Powan lies, opened out on either side; they were always irrigated by huge water wheels, of exactly the same type as those so common in Szechuan, and their green trees and fertile fields formed a striking contrast

to the background of desert hills.

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Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE XLIII

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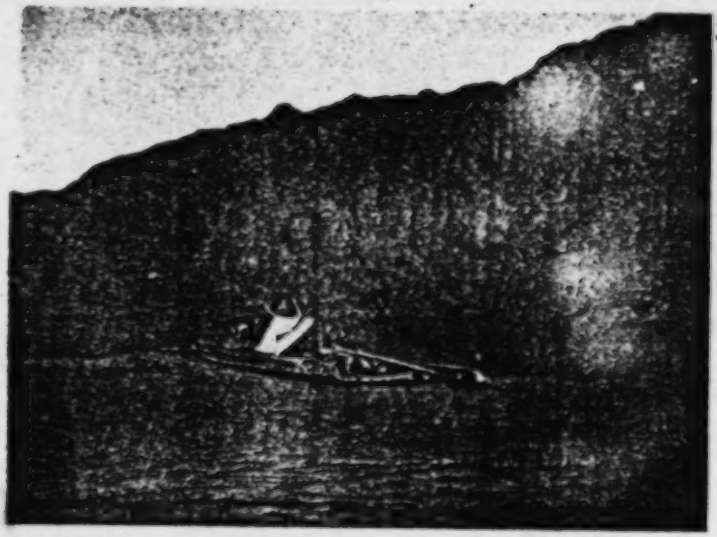


RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTING DOWN THE GORGES OF THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

[FACING p. 186]

501 to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

502 The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, 133 however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtzu, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

133 Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream 487 flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irrige-

PLATE XLIV

501

OUR PONIES RAFTING DOWN THE UPPER YELLOW RIVER

RAFTS OF INFLATED SKINS ON THE YELLOW RIVER

[FACING p. 187]

he was living in retirement in Honan after the death of the 669 Empress Dowager he was in secret communication with many of the military chiefs of the new army of his own creation and plotting a *coup d'état*; then followed the revolution, and he was able to advance with consummate skill, under the pretence of trying to keep the Manchus on the Throne, to the positions of Provisional President, Dictator, and Emperor. Other Chinese assure one that he was a faithful servant of the Republic led astray by the ambitions of his family and entourage. Whatever the facts may have been, there is no doubt that Yuan Shih-k'ai would have made a splendid Emperor, and subsequent events have proved that he was then the only man capable of ruling China. The Kansu officials, like those of all the other provinces, were instructed to make preparations for the holding of popular elections for or against a monarchy, which were to follow a joint memorial from the provincial Military Governors, all with one or two important exceptions Yuan's own men, begging their master to ascend the Throne. These instructions were, however, accompanied by secret telegrams regarding the working of the elections, and so successful were these arrangements that Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected Emperor practically unanimously by all the provinces. Everyone throughout the length and breadth of China knew that these elections were a sham and a fraud from beginning to end; but the Chinese are a race of actors, and make-belief enters largely into most phases of their private and public lives, and the farce was solemnly completed. Yet when the standard of rebellion was raised by General Tsai Ao in Yunnan on Christmas Day, 1916, the fraud was soon apparent, and the whole monarchical scheme came tumbling to the ground as province after province, all of which had supposedly announced themselves as unanimously in its favour, deserted the Imperial cause. As an instance of Chinese make-belief (*yu ming wu shih*) the monarchical elections of the autumn of 1916 are hard to beat.

The officials of Ninghsia had kindly prepared two of the 501 large wool boats for our accommodation and smaller craft for the ponies for the journey down river to Paot'ou. Our craft were broad flat-bottomed scows with high sides, and when roofed over with our tents made quite comfortable

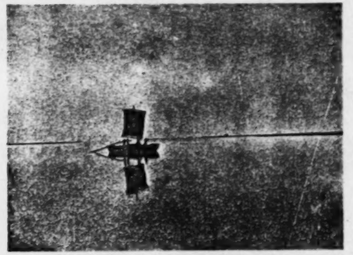
501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-502 dation on a lader. wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sur. during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees, [136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally 439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade. 236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

PLATE XLV

501

PONIES EMBARKED FOR THE JOURNEY ROUND THE ORDOS



ON THE YELLOW RIVER NEAR PAOT'OU

[FACING p. 192]

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA 15

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 193
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed
under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely
vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic,
and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival
of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China
Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the
Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to
the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus
Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China
Inland Mission, which is the only society working in
Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and
we were particularly struck with the way in which the
Christian community had impressed itself on the civic
life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking
may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft.
These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [501]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried
very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is
popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road,
yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr.
George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in
Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by
this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in
helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and
was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and
can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing,
and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always
heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908, believes there are 361
500,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912:
300,000-400,000 inhabitants. The high figures are im-
probable if only because, according to the census of 1910,
all of Kansu has only about 4,000,000 inhabitants and ac-
cording to the census of 1831 the whole district had only
468,000 souls.

Lanchow fu's chief source of revenue is its tobacco industry. The 249
so-called Lanchow schui yen, that is, the water-pipe tobacco which 439
is greenish in color, bites the tongue and is very finely cut, almost
pulverized for the trade, is manufactured here. The Chinese value
it very highly and it has for years been shipped far south, to Szechwan
and the Yangtze Valley. On the outskirts of the city, in fields ir-
rigated by means of large wooden water wheels (Plate XXXI), practi-
cally only tobacco is raised. (3) It is a species that I did not see

3. Besides tobacco, some rice and cotton, poppies, wheat,
etc., were planted; only on the Hwang Ho bank and on the
islands did groves of pears and peaches, and jujubes and
grapes cover a large area.

farther south, with broad, thick, dark green and shiny leaves. In
the fall the plants are very carefully pulled out of the ground and
dried under straw coverings so that they keep their green color.
There are about 20 large hang (manufactories) besides 70 small ones.
In these all kinds of other ingredients are added to the tobacco and
with the addition of a great deal of hung ma (linseed oil) the leaves
are hammered together and pressed into cubes one to two cubic meters
in size. At certain times one sees strong workmen everywhere along
the streets working in 16-hour shifts, cutting up such cubes with a
long plane. The commercial value in the city alone was 2,000,000-
3,000,000 marks.

For years there was also a mechanical cloth-weaving industry in 288
Lanchow fu, which had been established in the '70s by the great
viceroy Tso ts'ung /152/ and was run by four Germans. But the
Chinese officials who supervised it stole so much that it was given up
as unprofitable more than 20 years ago.

Because of its location the city is, of course, also a center of 501
transit trade. Wooden rafts consisting of several layers of beams are
built here on the Hwang Ho out of wood from Tao tschou. Several

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and
carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels
or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were
eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou
hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu -
were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan
tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound
heads." This designation comes from the fact that the
Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other
provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To
be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides
that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in
1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is
regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its an-
nual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other
provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The
many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recur-
ring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The
chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a
result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces
as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of
land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed
property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas
the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[601] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all
563 amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian
Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and there-
fore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel
hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that
we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then
and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked
at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several
separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted
to live here in the center of the city; they may only keep

502

502 NAVIGATION--direction of water craft (e.g., steering, tacking, piloting); watches; laying of courses (e.g., by landmarks, compass); fixing of positions (e.g., by sounding, celestial observations); adjuncts to navigation (e.g., buoys, lighthouses); adaptations to special situations (e.g., docking, running of rapids, portaging, ice-breaking, canal navigation); maritime customs and regulations; shipwrecks; salvage; etc. See also:
Description of lighthouses . . . . . 249 Boat racing 850
Optical instruments . . . . . 418 Admiralty courts 498
Sea lanes and charts . . . . . 497 Military use of radar and lanes 718

CHAPTER XIII

FROM LANCHOU FU DOWN THE YELLOW RIVER TO NINGHSIA AND PAOT'OU, AND THENCE OVERLAND TO KUEIHUA CH'ENG AND RAILHEAD

Yellow River rafts—Currency in the North West—Through the desert hills to Powan—Kansu mules—Sandstone caves on the Yellow River—Chingyuan—Gorges and rapids—Goral—Wufang Sau—Chungwei—Rafts abandoned for boats—Kuangwu gorge—Irrigation works—Chinch'i and Mahomedan rebellion—Steam and motor navigation on the Yellow River—Ninghsia—Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to become Emperor—Wool boats for journey to Paot'ou—Shihchu Shan (Shihtsuitzu)—The Ordos—Mongol brigands—Liquorice root—Paot'ou—Tibetan lamaism in Mongolia—Kueihua Ch'eng—Feng Chen and railhead.

After returning to Lanchou from Hsining we had finished 487
our work in Kansu and were free to choose the easiest way 133
back to the coast. Needless to say after so many months
on the road we decided to return by the Yellow River. For
some distance below Lanchou the river breaks its way
through a series of mountain ranges, flowing in alternate
gorges and rapids, and Chinese travellers taking this route
usually go overland to Chungwei, about eight days' march,
and take boat from there. The prospect of another long
desert journey was not attractive, however, and at first we
decided to start on the river from Lanchou itself and chance
the rapids; but were eventually persuaded to go overland
for three days' march to a village called Powan, thus avoiding
the most dangerous rapids which occur immediately below
Lanchou. From all I heard on the subject I gather that these
rapids really are very dangerous; certainly the ones between
Powan and Chungwei are quite exciting enough.

The safest way of descending the rapids of the upper [502]
Yellow River is by large rafts, which stand a great deal of 501
knocking about amongst the rocks and rapids without
breaking up, and the officials had very kindly arranged for
four of these rafts to be placed at our disposal, two for the
ponies and two for ourselves. These rafts were thirty to

[p. 179]

 133

without a scrap of vegetation. A little gold-washing is [346]
carried on in this neighbourhood. There were numerous
rapids, over which our rafts rode triumphantly. Navigation,
carried out by sweeps at the bow and stern, consists in avoiding 502
the rocks and sand-banks and keeping the raft clear of the
cliffs where the river swirls round a corner. Unless engaged
in a particularly fierce rapid but little attention is paid to
these cliffs, and on several occasions my raft crashed against
the perpendicular wall of rock in a way which would have
smashed a boat to pieces, but without doing any damage
beyond shifting a few telegraph poles. In the bad rapids,
however, where the water is heaped up into the centre of
the river in a tongue like the big rapids on the Upper
Yangtzu, great care is taken, since the pace is so tremendous
that the raft could scarcely survive the impact with a large
rock. Towards evening we noticed large numbers of goral 136
(or wild goat of some kind) in these gorges, clambering
about the precipitous cliffs in tens and twenties; one could
have shot any number from the raft, but it would have
been impossible to stop and retrieve them.

These gorges last for six or seven hours, until finally 133
a picturesque temple on a bluff overlooking the river marks
the exit from the gorge and the approach to Wufang Sau,
a boating village in a small plain on the left bank of the
river. Sheep are grazed extensively on the semi-desert [234]
hills in the neighbourhood, and wool is collected here and
shipped down river for the Tientsin trade.

From Wufang Sau the river flows east and north-east
again. Two hours further on another long gloomy gorge,
with many rapids and whirlpools, is entered, the passage
through which takes seven to eight hours; coal is exposed
in the cliffs in places. At length the mountain walls give
way to huge sand-hills and then to an irrigated alluvial
plain, and two hours further on Chungwei Hsien is reached.
Chungwei, lying inland about five li from the left bank of
the river, is quite an important town, the centre of a rich [312]
fertile region where the desert is irrigated by canals from
the Yellow River, and also a market for the wool trade.

Below Chungwei the Yellow River becomes a broad
stream obstructed by sand-banks and shallows, flowing
through an immense plain dotted with low hills and irrigated
stretches.

N 491 [487] Hsining and Urumchi. It should not be overlooked, however, that caravan routes (or dirt roads) were still the main auxiliaries to highway and railway transportation.

In the construction of highways in wartime, emphasis had been laid on building, renovating, and maintaining international lines in order to link the interior provinces with foreign countries. A good example in the Northwest was the 2,674 kilometer highway from Lanchow via Hsin-hsin-chia and Urumchi to Hocheng on the Sino-Soviet border. In addition, the following are among the more important highways built in the region during the war:

1. Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway: This 533-kilometer highway was an important motor-road link between southern Shensi and northern Hupei.

2. T'ien-shui-Shuang-shih-pu Highway: This line of 231 kilometers, from T'ien-shui in southeastern Kansu to Shuang-shih-pu in southwestern Shensi, formed junctions with the Sian-Lanchow and Szechwan-Shensi Highways.

3. A line of 1334 kilometers, linking Ansi in Kansu and Kurle in Sinkiang via Tun-huang, was planned in 1942. Between November, N *[175] 1942, and 1943 the 479 kilometer section from Kurle to Nochiang was completed. Further construction plans were suspended.

N 491 485 *[179] To cope with the rapidly growing transportation demands, the Nationalist Government had constructed, in 1946, seventy-nine New Life Movement Service Stations along the 2,200 kilometer highway from Kuang-yüan in Szechwan to Chiu-chuan in Kansu, in order to facilitate the movement of migrants from the interior provinces to the frontier area. This kind of station was divided into four classes: the special first class which furnished room and board, medical and postal services and caravan equipment; the special second class, without medical and postal services; general first and general second classes offered much less service. This service was designed to provide travellers with a feeling of security and hence aid the government in its policy of a movement to the Northwest.

N 487 C. Inland Waterway Navigation:

Rivers in the Northwest were not very serviceable. The upper stretch of the Yellow River from Chung-wei to Pao-t'ou in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was navigable, especially for N a distance of about 100 kilometers around Shih-tsuei-shan, where 487 a steamer line was opened for traffic. The passages from Lan- 501 chou northward to Chung-wei and westward to Hsining were navigable only with ox-hide or sheepskin rafts. In Shensi province, both the Wei and Han Rivers were navigable with boats (not steamers) starting from Hsing-ping and Mien-hsien respectively. In S 487 Sinkiang, on the upper stretch of the Tarim River, native boats 501 and wooden rafts were used while the Irtych River, starting at

Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PLATE V

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CHAITZU (HILL FORT) ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

501

CANOE BOAT ON THE CH'IENYU RIVER

[FACING p. 28]

stretches. So far our river journey had been a complete success; but now things began to go wrong, and we spent three days making a few miles owing to the rafts constantly running aground, when, owing to their unwieldy weight, it was an extremely difficult matter to move them. The culminating misfortune was a tremendous storm of rain and wind one night, which blew our rafts adrift and scattered them over various sand-banks miles apart in impossible positions. We decided therefore to abandon them, and an appeal to the Chungwei magistrate having produced a couple of small boats, we transhipped our effects, sending the ponies overland to Ninghsia, distant a few days' journey. To be on board a raft stuck on a sand-bank in the middle of the Yellow River for two or three days is a good test of one's patience. I at first passed the time by shooting geese, which here began to appear in some numbers, but had to desist as no one would eat them; the Chinese goose, though a magnificent bird to shoot, is very tough and stringy to eat, and is only palatable if carefully cooked and stuffed. Fortunately the banks were here irrigated and inhabited and one could buy grain and vegetables. Our water supply, as all the way down, was the river; we had no filters, but a pinch of alum in a bucket soon changes the yellow pea-soupy liquid into clear water; another method of eliminating the yellow mud is to scoop a small hole in a pebbly bit of beach, which immediately fills with clear filtered water.

Making a fresh start in our small boats we floated down stream rapidly past several villages for some twelve hours to the walled township of Kuangwu, where the cultivated strips on both banks come to an end, and the large irrigation canal, which commences above Chungwei, rejoins the river. The abrupt cessation of these irrigated lands is due to a range of low mountains through which the Yellow River here breaks its way, and which separate the irrigated plains of Chungwei and Ningan from those of Ninghsia and Chinch'i. The desert everywhere begins where irrigation ceases. The passage through the gorge in these hills below Kuangwu takes about an hour, the exit being marked by temples on either side, and the river emerging on to a vast plain. A couple of hours further down we tied up at a village on the right bank not far from the district city of

501 to remain until she falls to pieces. The Revolution was probably partly the cause of the abandonment of this progressive enterprise, as has been the case in so many others.

502 133 The shifting channel is said to be the chief obstacle to steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. There should, however, be a profitable opening for motor boats between Ninghsia and the important mart of Paot'ou, or even from Chungwei down to Hok'ou where the river takes its southerly bend and enters the Shansi mountains. Above Chungwei, to Lanchou, a special type of high-powered shallow draft vessel, similar to that in use on the upper Yangtzu, would be required to overcome the rapids, and the volume of trade and traffic is not likely to justify such an enterprise for many years, if ever. But with the Kalgan-Kueihuach'eng railway pushing on towards the Yellow River and Paot'ou, a motor boat service from that place to Ninghsia would revolutionise the existing means of communication between the coast and Kansu and the North West. Paot'ou is an entrepôt of increasing importance for the import and export trade of the North West and there would be no lack of traffic; the one great objection would be the suspension of the service in the winter. It usually takes months nowadays to reach Ninghsia from the coast going up stream; with a combined motor boat and railway service, even if the latter stopped short at Kueihua, it could be reached in a few days. Below Hok'ou and the southern bend of the river steam or motor navigation is out of the question owing to the many gorges and rapids, one of which, we were told, near the Yümen K'ou, amounts to a small waterfall. Below Yümen K'ou (Lung Men) the gorges come to an end, but beyond T'ungkuan, where the river turns east, more rapids occur, including those at Sanmen, which are said to be impassable for upward bound boats. The navigable section of the upper Yellow River is therefore confined to the Hok'ou-Paot'ou-Ninghsia-Chungwei section, which, however, forms the necessary link between Kansu and the Kalgan railway extension leading to the coast.

133 487 Below Chinch'i the river is a broad and placid stream flowing between irrigated and densely populated plains. Beyond Ling Chou the land on the right bank rises, irriga-

501 house-boats; they are used for the conveyance of the wool down stream, and are as often as not tracked up empty. For the convenience of future travellers on this route, it may be stated that the hire of one of these large boats from Ninghsia to Paot'ou should be about 35 taels, and of a small boat or raft from Lanchou to Ninghsia about 25 taels; but with a limited amount of baggage the journey can be accomplished very much more cheaply by hiring accommo-
502 dation on a laden wool boat. The rapidity of the journey depends on the amount of wind met with, as with high winds, which are frequent in the Ordos, the clumsy scows are blown ashore or on to sand-banks, and have to tie up till the weather calms. Night travel is possible part of the way round the Ordos. It is a peaceful journey, navigation consisting in keeping the boat more or less in the middle of the current and watching the banks drift by. The boatmen are mostly Mahomedans, and thoroughly up to their job. We were much delayed by wind and other causes and took ten days to get to Paot'ou, the actual floating time being about 100 hours.

133 We finally left Ninghsia, or rather Hung Ch'eng, on September 9th and reached Shihchu Shan in the evening of the following day. The weather, as all the way down the river, was beautiful, cold in the early mornings, but brilliant sun during the middle of the day. Between Ninghsia and Shihchu Shan the river is a broad and placid stream with many shallows and islands. On the right hand is sandy desert, the Ordos, now included in the "Special Territory" of Suiyuan; on the left hand the land is still a part of Kansu province, a strip of waste land along the river, behind which lies the irrigated belt, with cultivation, trees,
[136] and houses, backed by the Alashan mountains. In places the sands were grey with geese. Shihchu Shan, locally
439 known as Shihtsuitzu, is an unwalled township built of mud, which appears to owe its existence to the wool trade.
236 It is a weird and desolate little place, lying on the left bank at a point where the Alashan mountains and a low range in the Ordos converge on the river, which narrows to a few hundred yards in width. All around are desert hills. The community, consisting of the native agents of the foreign wool exporters of Tientsin, is engaged in drying and re-

packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

were fired at us from the bank, though our boatmen and escort were uncertain whether they came from brigands or from soldiers signalling us to stop; the river being wide, however, and the current swift we did not trouble to enquire.

In many places when tied up to the north bank we found the ground pitted with small holes, the work of the liquorice root diggers. This is an old industry which has revived considerably of late owing to a foreign firm commencing to buy the produce for export. The liquorice-producing areas in the world appear to be limited in extent, and this is one of them. Twenty-four hours above Paot'ou the Wula Shan mountains are reached, a bare rocky range running a little inland along the north side of the river, and a prominent landmark from afar. In this neighbourhood the Ordos bank, hitherto uninhabited desert, begins to be populated, and Mongols and Chinese are to be seen with many camels, sheep, and ponies grazing on poor-looking downs. As Paot'ou is approached farms and villages become numerous on the north bank, and the plain between river and mountains is a vast corn-field.

Paot'ou Chen (also known as Hsi Paot'ou) is a large walled town lying a little way back from the Yellow River in the corn-growing plain which slopes up towards the Tach'ing Shan, a continuation of the Wula Shan. It is remarkable in many respects; in the first place it is essentially a new and growing place, unlike the dilapidated and hoary old towns of Kansu, and is the centre of a fertile corn-growing area which a generation ago was unoccupied except by a few Mongols and their flocks. There is probably plenty more good land waiting to be opened up further west, north of the Yellow River, and the curious spectacle may here be witnessed of the Chinese colonising Canadian-like prairies within the borders of their own republic. Secondly, as well as being a cleaning and repacking centre for the Tientsin wool trade like Shihchu Shan, it is evidently a commercial centre of considerable and increasing importance for the import and export trade of the vast hinterland to the west. We found more evidence of trade activity in this isolated town than in any city in Kansu. Unfortunately, situated as it is on the very outskirts of Chinese civilization, Paot'ou appears to have suffered greatly from the prevailing

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan-chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

S.Cable & French M-S (1935) 1st.
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502 water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

487 THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

133 A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt.

253 It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

376 The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley,
256 down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure
788 was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

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503 WATERWAYS IMPROVEMENTS--description and building of canals; dredging of rivers and harbors; construction of piers and breakwaters; etc. See also:

Water supply	312	Pile drivers	402
Logging	313	Dredges	408
Development of water power	376	Public finance	653

370 653 and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge; over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

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The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

135 2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

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504 PORT FACILITIES--boathouses; piers and docks; facilities for mooring, loading, and unloading; storage facilities; supply services (e.g., ship chandlers, fueling stations); facilities for repair and overhaul; use of natural harbors; etc. See also:

Construction	33	Warehousing	488
Ship repairs	396	Trucking	494
Cranes	456	Rail terminals	498
Weight moving	483		

*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [496] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

*175 496 A. Railways

In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

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During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

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505 WATER TRANSPORT--number, types, and distribution of shipping services; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; sailing schedules; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialized personnel (e.g., line and engineer officers, crews, longshoremen, traffic agents); organization (e.g., shipping companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Marine insurance	456	Corporate organization	478
Labor unions	467	Government subsidies	484

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 192 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses.

*563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram)

[505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 791 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

mountains, pine trees, and clear streams flowing through narrow cultivated valleys abounding in pheasants. 487 133

The following day we crossed another low pass, the boundary between Shang Chou and Shanyang districts, and then followed down a winding ravine for the rest of the way to Shanyang Hsien. The latter is a tiny place hidden away in a wilderness of red sandstone hills and mountains.

At Shanyang we struck a recognized road of sorts leading south to a place called Manch'uan Kuan on the Hupei border, whence boats can be taken down a stream called the Chia Ho across a corner of N.W. Hupei to Paiho Hsien on the Han River, and thence up stream again to Hsingan. To get into a boat wherever possible is the aim of every Chinese traveller, which, though rarely attainable in North China, is very natural considering the state of the so-called roads and the hardships of long overland journeys, and my Chinese companions were unanimous in discovering that this was the only possible route to Hsingan. But the object of our journey being—to use the expression of one of my French-speaking colleagues from the Wai Chiao Pu—"de parcourir toute la province de Shensi aussi rapidement que possible," I had no intention of taking a boat journey across N.W. Hupei, nor to waste a week in being dragged up the Han from Paiho Hsien to Hsingan; and therefore announced Chenan Hsien to be the next stage in our journey, this place lying to the S.W. and appearing to offer an alternative route. This produced a flood of expostulations and protests in regard to the difficulties of that road, which subsequently proved not unfounded. The district magistrate on being referred to admitted that there was quite a good trail to Chenan, and said that the difficulties of this route were reported to lie between the latter place and Hsingan. However, adhering to our usual practice, we made Chenan, distant about 230 li, three days' march, our immediate objective. 487 133

The first stage was an easy one of about 60 li. The trail lay down the valley for three hours' march to a point where the latter ended abruptly in an impassable gorge, and then turned up a ravine to the west, which was followed to a low pass with a steep descent the other side to the hamlet of Niuerhch'uan, lying in a small valley in the usual red sandstone mountains. 487 491 505

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509 AIR TRANSPORT--number and distribution of airlines; passenger and freight capacity and traffic; mode of conveyance to and from airports; flight schedules; fares and freight charges; booking arrangements; specialized personnel (e.g., pilots, navigators, radio operators, stewardesses, ground crews, sales force); private and public operation; mail subsidies; government regulation; etc.

See also:

Postal system . . . . . 308 Military air transport services 708

Government aid 656

S 487 501 505 Cheng-hua via Burchun crossing the Soviet border to Osero Zaisan, was navigable from April to November. It is reported that steamers under 500 tons were able to sail along its lower course.

N 509 *179 D. Civil Aviation

Civil airlines were initiated in 1924, the first route running from Sian via Lanchow, Hami to Urumchi. A north branch line was created from Lanchow via Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) to Pao-t'ou with a south branch line from Sian via Han-chung and Chengtu to Chungking. After 1932, a new line was inaugurated from Shanghai via Nanking and Lanchou to Urumchi. In 1935, an aviation station was established at Tah-cheng on the Sinkiang border in accord with the Sino-Soviet civil air aviation agreement to improve postal service between the two countries. However, some of the air lines were changed during the war. The Chungking-Han-chung-Paoki line of 530 kilometers was inaugurated in January, 1945, thus eliminating Sian as a regular port of call. The 1995 kilometer Chungking-Lanchow-Chiu-chuan-Hami line resumed its run in March, 1945, by extending the original Chungking-Lanchow line to Hami by way of Chiu-chuan. (The Sian-Lanchou -Urumchi line was no longer a regular line during the war.) Thus within Free China, regular air lines were focussed at Chungking. In addition, planes might be chartered, if necessary, for places like Sian, T'ien-shui, Hsining and Ninghsia which were not stops of the regular lines. Ma Hung-k'uei, the governor of Ninghsia, in order to maintain the seclusion of his province, obstructed regular calls at Ninghsia.

N *175 *665 496 499 III. Communication Development under the Communist Regime

A. Railway Building and Planning

1. T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway: This 346 kilometer section was the extension of the Lunghai Railway which had already been in existence prior to 1949 from Lien-yün via Cheng-chou, Loyang, Sian and Paoki to T'ien-shui. Construction on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou line was begun in 1950 and completed in October, 1952. It links the Lunghai with the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway. However, according to a Nationalist report, twenty-seven per cent of the construction work on this section had been done during 1947. Another source indicated that in August, 1947, the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section was under construction. (von Lochow, H.J., China's National Railways, p. 77.)

2. Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway: The Communist laid great stress on the project of running a line westward from Lanchou via Yü-men and Hami to Urumchi in Sinkiang for a distance of about 2800 kilometers. Construction was initiated at Lanchou on

C. Civil Aviation

*665 509 *179 *665 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

*665 499 433 IV. Conclusion

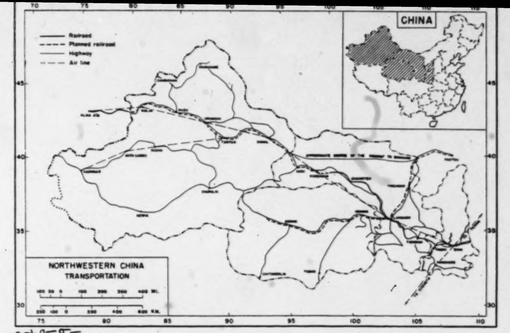
The influential role which the development of transportation and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agriculture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist regime, transportation construction activities in this area have increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

*665 498 499 498 Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turkseib Railways.

*665 499 500 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and Urumchi.

*665 498 433 It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness



[following page 704]

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511 STANDARD OF LIVING--ideal standards and actual levels of quantity and quality in regard to shelter, clothing, food, and other consumers' goods; extent to which actual levels fall below the minimal requirements for normal, healthy living; results of statistical studies (e.g., of family budgets); cultural standards of indulgence and luxuries in excess of minimal biological requirements; etc. See also:

Health and welfare 74
Nutrition 146
Population policy 158
Diet 362
Housing 362
Prevalence of home ownership and tenancy . . 427
Income and purchasing power 434
Wages and salaries 465
Leisure-time activities 517
Gradations in wealth 586
Social classes 588
Ownership of dwelling 592
Taxation 661
Poverty 736
Educational statistics 871

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
361 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
[614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[192] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

157 Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
485 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
• [511] small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511 •
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city. They may only keep

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me.* To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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512 DAILY ROUTINE--succession of activities throughout a typical day; time of arising and retiring; hours of work and relaxation; daily chores; longer rhythms (e.g., weekly, monthly); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities. 231
Mealtimes 504
Housecleaning 356
Distribution of labor and leisure. 461
Holidays. 827

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[523] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[796] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[796] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her
712 wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they
[432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and a handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the
712 large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things,
512 and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up
[701] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover-
[352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into
[276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed:
443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the
[186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative.
181 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable,
426 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained.
441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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your sins to God, and ask Him to incline the heart of the Mandarin to restore the water to this district. Meanwhile, let everyone of you fetch his own spade, and supply my men and myself with tools, and we will see what can be done by clearing the canal in preparation for the water for which we have just been praying.' In an hour's time the preacher and men, having thrown off their coats, were digging hard, and repairing the channel. Two days later, Dr. Kao received a summons from the Civil Magistrate of Kanchow, requiring his medical assistance. Before he left the Yamen, the Mandarin said: 'What is this I hear about you and your men, digging out an irrigation-canal at Hehcheng—Black City? I really think something ought to be done for those people over there; as soon as I am rid of this illness, I will enquire into the matter.'

A few days later the water which so long had been withheld poured down the canal, and a new life began for the inhabitants of Black City.

On the occasion of our visit, they had just reaped their first harvest, and some were eating wheaten-bread for the first time in two years. Their homes were almost denuded of the necessities of existence. When we entered many of the barest farms, the women dared not descend from the *kang* to receive us, their rags only covering their nakedness while sitting huddled together, and girls of eleven years of age went about entirely unclothed. Yet even in this poverty-stricken place gifts of food were brought us daily—a few eggs; a bowl of green wheat steamed till the grains burst; a handful of garlic picked wild in the fields, or a bunch of the desert-grown, edible plant (Nostoc commune flagelliforme) known as 'hair-grass,' from its likeness to black human hair;—all these things and many others were presented to us in token of friendship and goodwill.

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to disappear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

515

515 PERSONAL HYGIENE--frequency and methods of bathing and laving; use of washing and bathing facilities; use of soap and other cleansers; use of towels; conception and idealization of cleanliness; miscellaneous hygienic practices (e.g., brushing of teeth, washing of hair, removal of body lice); etc. See also:

Bathing apparel 292
Laundering and cleaning 296
Hairdressing and cosmetics 302
Bathhouses 343
Soap manufacture 380
Bathing resorts 820
Ritual uncleanness and purification 783
Sexual hygiene 833
Sexual modesty 834
Menstrual hygiene 841
Cleanliness training of children 863

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

In all the valleys and on all the fields everyone was busy with cultivating anew. Men and women were naked to the waist, the men wore short knee pants, the women had let their caftan shirts which hang down to the ankles /312/ slip off their shoulders. Short blouses are worn only by wealthy people and when the weather is cool. The women, even more than in China, take part in the field work. Perhaps the reason for this lies only in their greater poverty and not in the fact that their feet are not so crippled. Here, too, the custom of not washing prevails. From Mr. Ruhl I learned that the Tao tschou Chinese also do not like water; as children they are washed on the tenth and fourteenth day of their lives and again on the first day of the third month and that is all until they are grown up and themselves perhaps feel the urge to wash occasionally, as for instance at their wedding before they put on the beautiful borrowed or rented ceremonial dress. The use of soap was, at the time of my journey, known only in the chief cities of Kansu and instead people used the pods of the soap tree, Gledichia xylocarpa H., introduced from Szechwan.

In the Dohar and the valley of Labrang the fields are allowed to lie fallow every second year. Since the little dung that is available, insofar as it is not used up entirely in the kitchen, is not sufficient as fertilizer, the inhabitants use the ashes of the bushes and woody roots which are gathered in the nearest scrub forests and the steep ridges between the fields. These are slowly burned and reduced to ashes in the fields under an earth covering, and are then scattered and plowed under. The plows are of Chinese origin and the ox which pulls it is harnessed with the Chinese collar hame. Strangely enough, however, the Amdo farmers have not taken over the harrow from their neighbors. The women beat the clods of earth with wooden mallets that resemble croquet or polo sticks, and tread the earth smooth with their feet. Loess is to be found everywhere in Amdo, even though often only in thin layers, or in scant remnants and in drifts formed by the wind.

The houses and fields are preferably set on loess heaps, but I do not remember ever to have seen loess caves. The threshing of the grain is begun late in the year. The stone threshing rollers of the Kansu Chinese are never used, but people thresh on the rooftops of the houses with a flail, the 60 centimeter long tip of which is fastened by means of a cross nail to the upper end of the handle so that it rotates like a wheel. At each rotation of the tip an Om mani padme hung is rapidly recited.

516

516 POSTURES--bodily positions assumed in standing (e.g., with feet apart, on one leg, leaning against a support, slumping); relaxed postures (e.g., sitting, squatting, kneeling); recumbent postures (e.g., reclining on elbow); occasions for assuming particular postures; ideas about correct postures; motor habits not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Motor habits in the use of artifacts	41	Dance postures	535
Nervous habits	157	Dramatic postures	536
Gestures	201	Etiquette	570
Furniture	382	Military drill	703
Gaits	481	Genuflection	782
Positions in sleeping	513	Positions in sexual intercourse	833
Positions in elimination	514		

*563 [197] race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact [197] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back everywhere along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul- [648] turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are [181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, [142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of [291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress, [197] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with [516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau- [181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A *563 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On 342 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food 352 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, 353 and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a [237] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

[372] b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti- 262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety [241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The [489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In 264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they [262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

496 is in the last stages of decay, and the carriages are usually overrun with soldiers, Honan being one of the military reservoirs of man power for the Northern armies. The plain 133 of the Lo Ho in early April, covered with vividly green winter wheat and dotted with pink and white fruit trees, all against the background of everlasting brown loess, forms a striking picture. The loess scenery between Cheng Chou and Kung Hsien is most remarkable, and the tourist who wishes to see a good example of this weird formation, with its perpendicular precipices and chasms, need not go further afield than this corner of N.E. Honan.

496 From Honan Fu a construction train, consisting of a string of open trucks packed with Chinese clinging like flies to every available spot, crawls slowly through the loess, which gradually gives way to reddish hills, past the little city of Miench'ih Hsien to the village of Kuanyint'ang, where the famous Lung Hai railway comes to an abrupt end, as though aghast at the appalling distances ahead. Immediately in front is a mountain range which will presumably have to be tunnelled to reach Shen Chou on the Yellow River. No more construction work has been undertaken at the time of writing, though surveys have been made up to Lanchou Fu. It is said that the plans allow for over 40 kilometers of tunnels before that place is reached. The concession is a Belgian one. The sight of the swarms of Chinese packed into the string of open trucks running backwards and forwards on this incomplete section testifies to the popularity of railway travel on this road and to the great number of travellers.

493 At Kuanyint'ang the traveller must hire carts or pack mules for the journey to Hsian. The latter are preferable, especially if it is likely to rain, as the mud in the loess cuttings on this much travelled road defies description. If the traveller has not brought his own ponies, a mule litter (*chiaowotzu* or *shantzu*) is a necessary accessory to a 493 train of pack mules. This is a rough litter made of sticks and matting in which the passenger reclines carried by two 516 mules, and is not likely to appeal to a foreigner as a pleasant method of travel. A Chinese is satisfied to be carried like a recumbent log in this contrivance for weeks on end, emerging at intervals for his meals; but the more active-

minded foreigner is apt to find it intensely wearisome. 493
A pony which can pace a little (the five mile an hour amble, 516
in Chinese, *tsou*) provides on the whole the least tiring method of travel in the North Western provinces; chairs are little used except in the Southern portions, and always entail trouble in getting bearers. We used ponies and pack mules throughout our journeys.

Leaving Kuanyint'ang there is a drop into a ravine and 487
then a stiff climb of a few hundred feet to reach the pass 491
over a range of mountains, the watershed between the Lo 133
and Yellow rivers. This ridge is really the end of one of the principal ranges of the Ch'inling Shan, the one which runs east and west right across Shensi immediately south of the Wei River. From the pass the road descends through undulating country to the township of Changmao Chen, where one is once more in the loess. From here it crosses a loess plateau, with typical valley rifts on either side, finally descending for the last mile to the village of Tzuchung. Changmao and Tzuchung, called 40 and 65 li from Kuanyint'ang respectively, are both used as stages for halts, but if the journey to Hsian is to be done in good time it is best to try and reach Shen Chou, another 50 li further on, on the first day's march. The road descends through deep loess cuttings to reach the latter, a little city on the banks of the Yellow River.

The traffic on this road is immense and an almost [484]
constant stream of carts and pack mules, laden mostly with cotton and hides on their way from Shensi to the coast, is met. In wet weather the mud is appalling; in dry weather the dust is if anything worse. There may be a happy mean, but the traveller who strikes it can consider himself lucky. The first time we travelled this road was in the mud; the second time, during the dry weather in early April, in the dust. In such weather the road is entirely hidden in vast clouds of dust in which the traffic is permanently shrouded. Those who have had experience of loess dust, which is so fine that it can be almost rubbed into the pores of the skin, will know what this means. The horseman can sometimes get away from the main road and its ankle-deep layer of dust by following small paths through the fields; but the passengers in carts and mule litters have to put up with it

513 European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like [197] the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and 272 further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their 262 food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

142 There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar 516 feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

487 From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-133 covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky [712] gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. [137] In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

517

517 LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES--standards of amusement, recreation, and artistic appreciation; distribution of leisure time between active and passive, between social and individualistic, and between culturally preferred and less preferred pursuits; esthetic ideals and principles; canons of taste; levels of appreciation and "culture"; etc. See also:

Recreation	82	Distribution of labor and leisure	461
Artistic expression	83	Social classes	565
Entertainment	84	Visiting	574
Education	87	Religious activities	78, 796

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, of course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms, play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow. Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

These formed the stream of living men and women who moved up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

521

521 CONVERSATION--loquacity and reserve; boasting and shyness; conversational patterns (e.g., idle chatter, rambling discourse, discussion, argument); occasions and places; participants; typical subjects (e.g., weather, news, gossip, politics); privileged and unprivileged communications; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relations	87	Oratory	537
Sophistics	196	Story telling	538
Verbal news dissemination and rumor	203	Debates	544
Drinking establishments	278	Lying	577
Idling and loitering	461	Gossip and intentional silence as a means of social control	628

depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghis and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition of giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 881 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [675] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1 1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's [824]
Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. [137]
Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

172
asking if he might leave the precious egg with us for the [521] night, as his friend was afraid of losing it.

The next day he fetched it away and we saw him no more, but some time later news reached us that, unable to restrain his curiosity, he had broken it open but failed to find the jewel within!

11th June, 1926, was the day decided on for our departure. Our explicit orders had been that all three carts must be completely packed by the evening of the 10th, as we should leave at daybreak on the 11th. For days past everyone had worked ceaselessly, yet the sunset of the last day saw various small jobs inevitably held over until the next morning. The nine mules were only brought back newly-shod from the farrier's after dark. Had we been so inexperienced as to question why this important job should be left to the last afternoon, the answer would have been: 'Had anything occurred to delay your departure, the shoes at present in use would have lasted another three weeks, and what a lot of money we should have saved you!'

On the 11th we all rose at 4 a.m. in order to start before the great heat began. We drank a single cup of tea, after which the kettle, teapot and cups were packed into the food-basket and stowed away in the recesses of the cart. Men ran hither and thither; neighbours came in to say last farewells, while a crowd of our beloved children ran in and out to report generally on the progress made. It was, however, midday before our carts left the compound, yet had we suggested the possibility of dinner, there must have been a further delay, so we suppressed our desire for food, and made a start. Never had our carts been so heavily laden, and as each fresh bundle appeared, the crowd of bystanders sighed, announcing openly that no mules could possibly accomplish what was expected of ours! There was

5: Tafel--300 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF13

then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tombu mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 291 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all sat in the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocket-book. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone wore his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fox fur under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our [354] feet with their felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor. 574 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes 521 of two of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly being charred. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might say something unpleasant and whether they were sure no one would feel hurt about it. He addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally ting let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoulder. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who need /182/ worry about derision. The stiff wax-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p.302]

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forth from their hips, either sideways or forward and backward or even diagonally, according to the available space, always with an ingratiating smile - I was getting quite dizzy from it all. Now they became animated. The spell was broken. Drinking games were begun. Everyone wanted to tell an amusing story. Funny riddles and witty sayings were brought up as well as caustic stories of how mandarin so-and-so made a fool of his superiors and subordinates and directed a golden spring onto his acres. Even after the meal was over the party did not break up immediately, as is customary and even good form after a more formal dinner. In the adjoining room Japanese cigarettes and tobacco pipes as well as rice wine were offered and in one corner on a kang where the host slept there was a place for opium-lovers. As usual the pipes had already been prepared by the servants. The opium was first offered to each one in turn, and to me first because I was the guest of honor. I, of course, politely declined. I would not even have known for sure how to go about smoking opium, for it is an art. But the second in order, the colonel, then the major, and on down the line to the lieutenants with the charred soles, all of them lay down one after another on the kang which was covered with the most elegant knotted rug from Turkistan and heated from underneath with horse dung, lifted up the richly ornamented opium pipe with both hands and, with a silent nod, as though inviting the other guests and the host, took a few puffs and handed the pipe to the next person. Thereupon the smokers, wittier and more animated, again took part in the general conversation.

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/183/ CHAPTER V

To the Koko Nor

T 792

In a small valley meadow a few hours south of the city of Dankar I had bought eight yaks from Tibetans of Tombum da who had come to Dankar to carry on trade. With these eight yaks and five mounted servants whom I had armed, as well as a few pack ponies, I left Dankar on January 11, accompanied also by a sergeant with a few soldiers. Ten kilometers farther west I passed the last frontier guards (Plate XXXIX) and before nightfall I came to the Gomba soma monastery (Chinese: hsin se, meaning "new monastery"). By journeying via Gomba soma, I was on the military road to the north

524

524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:
Childhood activities 857

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before dark- 563
ness sets in.

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to 651
the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very 185
reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short [316]
day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in [436]
which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He there- [316]
fore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border.

It was in connection with this very program that I came into fre- 574
quent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay 524
in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574
was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

525

525 GAMBLING--laying of wagers on games, athletic contests, and spectacles; betting; lotteries; special gambling devices (e.g., roulette wheels); calculation of odds (e.g., bookmakers, parimutuel machines); informal gambling; gaming houses and their operation; gambling as a method of finance (e.g., government lotteries, church bingo games, hospital sweepstakes, club slot machines); specialists (e.g., gamblers, croupiers); prevalence of and attitudes toward gambling; restrictions and regulations; etc. See also:

Debts 438
Speculation 456
Horse racing 541
Illicit gambling establishments 548
Conception and manipulation of luck and chance 777

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[216] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[196] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

527 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom
574 that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 The next morning early, the main street was converted
525 into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 Within a week from New Year's Day came another
796 ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

It is also well known, of course,
[276] that relatively few Chinese are able to withstand certain temptations,
525 that they can easily be persuaded to the excessive use of stimulants. Countless millions of Chinese succumbed to opium and every visitor to China, even those who have seen only a few coastal towns, is struck by the astonishing number of gambling games that exist. Everywhere there are countless professional gamblers and in most cities there are special places where these gamblers meet. In Wei ytian bu this place was a large open garden. This was sought out above all by countless Chinese from Hsining fu and by Mohammedans of the vicinity. There were almost always more than one hundred players to be seen there. They sat in a circle on the ground, squatting on their heels, kneeling or with legs tucked under. They played go pai, a cross between our cards and dominoes, in which betting is part of the game itself. Among other games there was also one money game often played which corresponded to our "heads and tails."

The amount of money that changed hands was enormous, especially if one takes into account the currency prevailing there. Many a peasant and day laborer who entered the fair grounds with his entire year's earning in his pockets, left it a beggar, after having gambled away even his holiday clothes. No wonder that heads grew hot and hands trembled with excitement.

525 158 On one of the first days when I visited the gambling place one of the Mohammedans who the summer before had carried on the dangerous occupation of gold-washing, far in the interior of Tibet, had just lost his entire yield amounting to 40 taels. As soon as his money was gone he began ranting blasphemously. At first his words made sense, but soon he had /254/ talked himself into such a passion that he began hitting the by-standers senselessly. At the very first blows the Chinese cried: "He has gone mad!" and before he could do any serious harm he lay bound on the ground. The diagnosis which the Chinese had made so surprisingly quickly, proved to be correct. I sent to my pharmacy in order to give the man a sedative. But before it arrived - a half day after the attack - he died in the arms of the ahun and his father who, in despair, had scratched his own face bloody. Two similar cases occurred during the fair. They reminded me of the well-known cases of Malayans running amok. Mr. Ridley told me later on that such seizures are remarkably frequent in and around Hsining among Dungan as well as Chinese. He attributed the phenomenon to the high altitude.

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 000
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [543]
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully
[after leaving Tsa'ion ha tsch'eng Ana yet]

526

526 ATHLETIC SPORTS--forms of exercise (e.g., hiking, swimming, skating, skiing, riding, mountain climbing, calisthenics, gymnastics); sports of pursuit (e.g., hide-and-seek, paper chases); individual contests (e.g., foot races, jumping, weight lifting, boxing, wrestling, archery, hoop and dart game, javelin throwing, trap shooting, bowling, tennis, golf); team contests (e.g., tug-of-war, boat races, lacrosse, hockey, football, baseball, basketball, polo); occasions; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; associated ideas (e.g., sportsmanship, amateur status, value of physical fitness); organizers and sponsors of sports (e.g., clubs, schools, business organizations, promoters); etc. See also:

Fishing and hunting	88	Racing and fighting with animals	541
Recreational structures	148	Commercialized sports	543
Locomotion	481	Manufacture and distribution of sporting goods	549
Athletic clubs	520	Military training	702

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
197 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
891 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
197 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
197 from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought: good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*563 ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to
• [526] 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

873 2. Higher education
*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
197 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
874 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
*563 The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:
Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.
[566] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This
*563 complication influenced not only political and social affairs but
578 also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-ytian. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou,
*563 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in
181 Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They
183 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the
829 characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communi-
[874] ties stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express
181 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and
• 526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici-
181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship
• 526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son,
[593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce
as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-
[184] speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite
different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-
speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race
different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group.
Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their
co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the
basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the
racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another
[178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional bar-
riers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting
*563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north-
199 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and
learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders
were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered
them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools
and learned the Chinese language they immediately become use-
ful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of
learning the Koran?"

790 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the
southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his
wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans
in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous
observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced
798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent
*563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we
795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat-
ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border
differ from those already described in that they place a greater
emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Con-
fucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become
almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course,
give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confu-
cian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the
Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possi-
bly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear
more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao
district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden-
62 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza-
184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in
the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on
their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his
cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best
pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been
ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is
generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was
general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced
his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators,
at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together,
then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly
gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips
which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted
and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scream-
ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances re-
ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs,
and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies.
Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which
extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst
of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck
with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, every-
one became critical and the owners who had previously been less
fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moham-
medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horse-
men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost hori-
zontally against the horse.

• [526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round
about the fair-grounds groups of men and women assembled, especial-
ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes
and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley
schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

527

527 REST DAYS AND HOLIDAYS--days reserved for rest from labor; conceptualization (e.g., as harvest celebrations, as patriotic or commemorative occasions, as reserved by religious taboos); secular festivals (e.g., harvest, housewarming, patriotic); birthdays and anniversaries; holiday activities (e.g., feasting, drinking, visiting, games, pageants); etc. For ceremonies associated with specific economic activities see elsewhere under specialized categories (e.g., agricultural ceremonies, see 24). See also:

Potlatches 431
Distribution of labor and leisure 461
Leisure time activities 517
Pageants 541
Feasting 574
Victory celebrations 727
Taboos 784
Religious festivals 796

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal.
It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave
immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the
monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on
the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put
on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments,
and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village
form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the
temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to
witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
• 527 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
88 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[302] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[792] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[574] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[481] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any
man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the
parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[595] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the
terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of
the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the rela-
tives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes
for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in
livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the
family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for
the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI-1~~

•521
172

whom he introduced as a friend travelling from Urumchi to Lanchow. Pending the moment when he should declare the object of his visit, we engaged on a conversation which, starting with enquiries regarding our respective ages, family circumstances, and the reason of our living in Suchow, led on to the cost of living, the local money exchange, and various other topics of interest. After some time thus spent, the stranger drew from his pocket an object wrapped in a cloth which he unfolded, and produced a petrified egg, asking if we were interested in such things. Mr. Li explained that he could not expect travellers of our experience to marvel at a mere egg, but the man said: 'Eggs of this kind are scarce, and some foreigners give big prices for them.'

'Where did you find it?' we asked.

'It was picked up in the Gobi Desert.'

'What are you going to do with it?' we enquired.

Mr. Li bent forward and explained *sotto voce*: 'The egg is greatly coveted by a powerful Official, and this merchant has had to leave Turkestan on that account. He is willing to part with it, but says its price is one hundred pounds.' Both men looked questioningly at us, but the offer elicited no response, so the owner of the egg shook it vigorously, whereupon a slight gurgle was heard, and his eyes glittered with delight.

'He says that is a jewel rattling inside,' explained Mr. Li.

Our advice was that he should take his treasure to Lanchow, and show it to a famous Swedish archaeologist who was living there.

'He can tell you all about it,' we said: then, with unpardonable stupidity, added, 'Whatever happens, do not let it get broken!'

He thanked us, exchanged some more polite words, and Mr. Li then revealed the main object of the visit by

Part of the complicated debt-system in which the whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting.

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, throughout the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen 74L
of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302]
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

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it under heaven."

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao 361
lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district 631
(hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy [661]
one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good.

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at 133
least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight 487
wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which 527
took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon 491
bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

453 was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two
● 527 more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the
531 small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, of souls of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

529 On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

000 even met by a sergeant with soldiers (Plate XLII). This time the city of Dankar put at my disposal the amban gung kwan, that is, the hotel of the governor of Northeast Tibet, and scarcely had I arrived there when the ting and the sie tai called on me and apologized profusely, also in the name of the amban for the attack on me and straightway blamed the hsiē dia who had most carelessly sent a very inferior employee of theirs along with me, who, they said, knew nothing at all about how to deal with Tibetans. /205/ I was assured that the hsiē dia would quickly adjust the matter and return everything I had lost. I heard various answers to my question as to who the robbers could have been. It seemed that there was still uncertainty on that point.

On January 22 I was again back in Hsining fu. For the journey from Dankar to Hsining fu I was given an escort consisting of ten armed horsemen. Meanwhile, in Hsining fu where my large baggage was stored, the instruments from Europe had arrived which were to replace those that had been stolen at Hu peh. They were now more than welcome, for in the Koko Nor attack I had lost a few more of the reserve instruments. Through the kind intervention of the consul general of Shanghai the new supplies had, after many delays, been sent to this remote corner of the earth where at that time no one knew anything about mail. I was less fortunate in Hsining fu with my cook Liu. A day after my return, after he had heard me say that I would again travel into Tibet, he disappeared in the night without a word and also without asking for his back pay and the travel money still due him. Later Father van Dyk told me that he appeared in Lanchow fu as though he were still being chased by robbers and there told, still completely horrified, of the dreadful cold at Lake Koko Nor. The poor fellow was completely beside himself as a result of the night of terror and the Tibetans at his throat.

●527 On January 25 the Chinese New Year began, and this, as is
426 well-known, is the only Chinese holiday on which all businesses
454 are closed. Thus, everyone had to get his entire supplies for a week on the preceding days. But I had difficulty in getting assistance from my Hsining men and even in catching a glimpse of them. Like the rest of the inhabitants of the city, they, too, were busy all day cashing in old debts and paying their own. By far the greatest number of Chinese do not own a penny of savings, to say nothing of capital, and so almost everyone in the course of the year runs out of cash at some point and is obliged to borrow.

However, it is an ancient custom that debts must be paid the last 527 ●
day of the year. Now, any half-way decent object owned by a 426
Chinese family must serve to plug up the old gaps on these last days 454
of the year. Thus, many heads of families came to me also, and offered me for sale all kinds of curios and things, in fact, some of them brought their creditors and the creditors of their creditors along and hardly had I bought a thing when they began subtracting among themselves. For days the pawn shops of the city were crowded with customers until midnight. Lucky the man who has plenty of cash on New Year's Day in China!

On New Year's eve the city was surprisingly quiet. The city is 527
too poor for the noisy demonstrations that take place annually in 426
Shanghai and other coastal cities. Large firecrackers went off rather seldom. Toward morning one heard a few more petards, because on New Year's eve all ghosts are on the loose. Only the pawn shops were continually busy. Far into the night one could see Chinese loitering about outside them, many a one defended himself with his fists against an all-too obstinate creditor who was on the point of forcing him on that bitter-cold winter's night /206/ "to sell the shirt on his back."

Many of the pawnshop customers, after they had paid their debts or collected the necessary cash, immediately wanted to redeem their gala clothes for the forthcoming holidays, even at that late hour.

In the inn which I occupied there lived a large Chinese family 426
diagonally across from me, who made such a racket all during the night of New Year's eve that I did not sleep a wink. Half a dozen creditors had gradually assembled there, all of whom demanded to be paid. The man quietly explained to each one in turn that he was unable to pay at the moment but that he would do so within the next few months. None of the creditors was satisfied with this. After the first eloquent remonstrances, each one of them let his glance travel over useful objects in the dwelling and then suddenly demanded this or that object as a deposit or substitute. But it was not easy for any of them to obtain anything. For hours the parties wrangled over things until the head of the house finally gave in. Early the next morning the entire apartment was cleaned out, even their blankets were gone and the private bailiffs had even torn the wife's jacket off her body. The spectacle was pitiful. But when day dawned, when no more creditors could be expected, when all were congratulating one another with "gung schi!" "gung schi!",

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form
527 777 of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 782 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsie dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But,
[437] this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 354]

5: Tafel--350 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet
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Plate XLV.

527 541

(Captions on following page) /208A/

5: Tafel--351 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet
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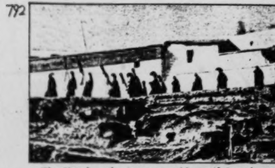
Captions for Plate XLV.

527 541 Celebration of the spring festival in Hsining fu. The clay cow (page 354) was defended by the soldiers against the farmers. Two masks of lions danced at the head of the procession, behind them two dragons were being carried, and these were followed by soldiers bearing the honorary umbrellas of the hsien.

Plate XLVI.

792



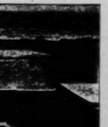
The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum every day in the Tsogs ka

527 541

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsini

The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum.

goes to pray
ing.



ng fu.

/208B/

painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the 527 541 788

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalry men, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star, after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter were a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers as well as the dao tai and the amban do not appear at all.

527 778 788 The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

527 After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan can is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 563 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China.

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Tu ren

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the [556]
festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the [782]
opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan bu, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held,

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563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs and praised the horse and the cleverness of his rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track with extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moham-
medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love,
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at no

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their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

3:Cable & French M-3 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

to be *en fête* to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the Minister of Military Defence. Thousands of people gathered from the surrounding districts, and scores of officials and their families came long journeys, to offer congratulations. Theatrical entertainments were provided for the guests, and great and prolonged feastings were in progress. We gladly saw in this an opportunity to reach a far wider circle than we could otherwise have done, and at once set the whole of our band to work in preparing parcels of books and tracts, done up with strips of scarlet paper, this being a necessary adjunct to every festal presentation. These were then distributed among the guests, who expressed themselves as delighted to receive them, and subsequently carefully carried them away.

The arrangement of the students' work was next planned, with a view to combining a consecutive course of study with a large amount of practical Evangelisation. Promptly at midday the men left home for a two hours' period of street preaching in town, suburb, and near villages, combined with the sale of Gospels. Every shopkeeper was personally visited, and the restaurants, for which Suchow is famous, were approached with an offer to decorate their walls with pretty floral posters, an offer which was in many cases gratefully accepted. The most tactful and experienced men were told off to the Moslem settlement in the eastern suburb, for any man doing this work must be prepared to receive insults without retaliation, and to be able to keep his temper when his books are bought only to be torn to shreds before his eyes. A group of the more genial and simple souls was deputed to the north suburb, which is almost entirely composed of spacious enclosures used by the Mongolian drovers to install their caravans of camels, which bring cotton from

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broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

> 'When I leave thy gates, O Kiayükwan,
> My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye can see it: '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

THE Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day!'

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /553/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and chil-
dren's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and be-
cause the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

Tells often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 157
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

529

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

1) FROM RAILHEAD TO HSIAN FU 7

content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric 000
means of communication which are still the only ones in
existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of
proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to
any real progress, and the speedy construction of more
railways in China would seem to be of more importance
than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together.
Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of
railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the
enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be
more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk
roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese
themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the 241
latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing
centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the 485
stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from
T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their
marches according to their choice. The following is a list
of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20
to 30 li one from another: T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao,
Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ishui Chen, Weinan,
Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the 529
Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring.
Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to
accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and
it is thus a popular resort for the rich and fashion of Hsian.
The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date
from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung
having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those
days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and
destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200),
and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by
literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in
the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings 536
one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of
Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an
immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking
before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

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5: Tafel--256 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet
N.W. China AF13

453 was the soul of politeness, but only after I rudely asked whether his business was in such a bad way that he could not give me my money at once and weigh out for me the paltry few thousand taels, did the weighing of the silver begin. Piece by piece I tested it for its excellency, many a piece had to be refused, until it had all been weighed out before my own eyes. Then the rattle of the counting boards began again. The long column of figures was added up four times in succession. In the end the silver was put in my bags and after three hours of work it was on my carriage. I sat down on top of it and drove home. Later when I used the money, only two pieces were given back to me because they contained lead. To this day I am proud of this result. It was a loss of only about 40 marks.

527 I left Lanchow fu on December 7, after having witnessed two more large festivals. One of them was the Mohammedan New Year, which is an important event in a province like Kansu where there are so many confessors of the Islam faith; the other was the birthday of the then Empress Dowager. On the latter day all the larger streets of the city were covered with thousands of large square paper lanterns all of the same shape, which were hung in several rows over the street so that one could just barely ride under them on the small ponies which are used in this country. The Lanchow lanterns are particularly pretty. They are artistically painted and portray different scenes taken from the rich Chinese mythology and legends and popular romances. The figures show the well-known grotesque theatrical attitudes which Chinese artists love and are, of course, painted only in flat colors without any modelling. On these days you also see the better class of Chinese wandering through the streets and studying these paintings. I must refrain from going into detail about the pictures. They are a world in themselves. The treasure of Chinese romances is extremely rich and only in part easily available to us, namely insofar as it is of foreign, that is, Buddhistic origin. For the typically Chinese part the skilful pen is still lacking which might acquaint us with these confusing masses of demi-gods, ghosts of the dead, like those of the ancient Greeks in a more easily comprehensible form.

529 On December 8, I reached the little town of Kin (pronounced Tschin) hsien, south of Lanchow, after I had ridden through thick dust and haze and through endless narrow passages three to four meters deep. Not far from the town, near Tschang kia (pronounced: dia) gao, at the foot of a long mountain chain coming from the Koko Nor region and running southeast, there is a favorite excursion

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There
are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little moun-
tain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know
as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the
Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made
up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess
masses cover the slopes far up; but here, ??, the peaks are free of
this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had
not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the moun-
tains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months
now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed.
Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that
the horizon and all other outlines of the mountains were indistinct.
Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a nar-
row chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the sub-
prefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of
the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too,
there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centi-
meters). Below it there are soils from the tertiary and mostly
horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded
the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley
which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 497
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the
southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway
leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described.
As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name moun-
tain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and
the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince offers in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced
dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of
2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

53 FINE ARTS--general statements dealing with several aspects of the creation and interpretation of art. For art as a source of entertainment see 54, for aesthetic ideals and canons of taste see 517, for art forms associated with ceremonials see 796.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AF1

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

S
553 "Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
553 People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
799 Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
799 Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign-Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

N A. Introduction
553 Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper,
179 although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have
53 come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cul-
N tural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labirang monas-
[749] teries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural trea-
sures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures--song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expres-
sions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

N B. Tibetan Literature
553 Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in charac-
558 ter. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated
704 from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and
glorify events which are an expression of religious feeling.
[742] There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institu-
tions.
[105] The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.
The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tan-
gyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

291

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

Northerners are never without it.

2. Patterns of living

a: Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

Other life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually live in separate districts, have houses in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are if elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine; and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid using utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to the prescribed religious ritual.

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahunga and Mullahs, who all

/The Tibetans/

copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chojtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

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531 DECORATIVE ART--types of artifacts decorated and not decorated; decorative techniques (e.g., carving, engraving, painting, inlay, embroidery); use of color and relief; designs and patterns (e.g., naturalistic, geometric); decorative symbols and their meanings; elaborated styles; associated beliefs and practices; specialists; etc. See also:

Textiles	528	Tattooing	364
Clothing	529	Architecture	341
Tools, utensils, and appliances	530	Interior decoration	303
Ethnography	212	Manufacture of paints and dyes	386
Ornament	531	Esthetics	817
Face and body decoration	302		

/The Tibetans/

Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerain position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

/The Tibetans/

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
486 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
24 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
351 which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
342 house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
621 the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
614 bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
532 stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
772 figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
511 upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

T.J.G. x
1 [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

346 flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the
778 garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china
532 figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but
778 now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of
[778] an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

792 Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come ; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood.

772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures ; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out ; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots ; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

1 [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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'The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

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172 cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes;
778 one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably.
346 The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating
532 back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou*.' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in 172
the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well 778
as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen 346
in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 532
1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
346 commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
532 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

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533 MUSIC--musical form and structure (e.g., scale, pitch, tone, tempo, rhythm); melody; harmony; vocal music (e.g., singing, humming, chanting); instrumental music (e.g., accompaniment, solo playing, orchestras); occasions for music; song styles (e.g., work songs, drinking songs, dance songs, war songs, love songs, lullabies, sacred music, dirges and laments); musical training and appreciation; composition of music; specialization (e.g., composers, minstrels, musicologists, musicians); organization (e.g., choirs, bands, orchestras); etc. See also:

Property in songs . . . . . 424 Musical texts 539
Palliation of labor with music . . . . . 461 Musical performances on the stage 545

/The Tibetans/

N *563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N [776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 787 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 • 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As 000

/The Tibetans/

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The [777] brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan.

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting de- [791] signs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

*563 • 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

/The Tibetans/

*563 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the
• 533 many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by
[539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between
535 secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

*668 535 545 "'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

*668 533 545 No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

*668 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing,
533 We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16,
545 August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine.
536 The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 VII. Conclusion
178

A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster. 731

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent. 491 741 731

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead. 797

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected 583 [292] [533] 485 563 783

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese folk psychology. 775

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invocations lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground. 764 [533]

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and kowtowed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure: service to the spirits, kowtows, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden hang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were thanked by being given food.

Thus, the funeral cost the family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

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Tu ren

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

534

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS--idiophones (e.g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e.g., drums); cordophones (e.g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e.g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e.g., bullroarers), complex mechanical instruments (e.g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

Drum signaling 202
Radio 207
Sound recordings 216
Musical supplies industry 540

N *563 764 • [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N [776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 787 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

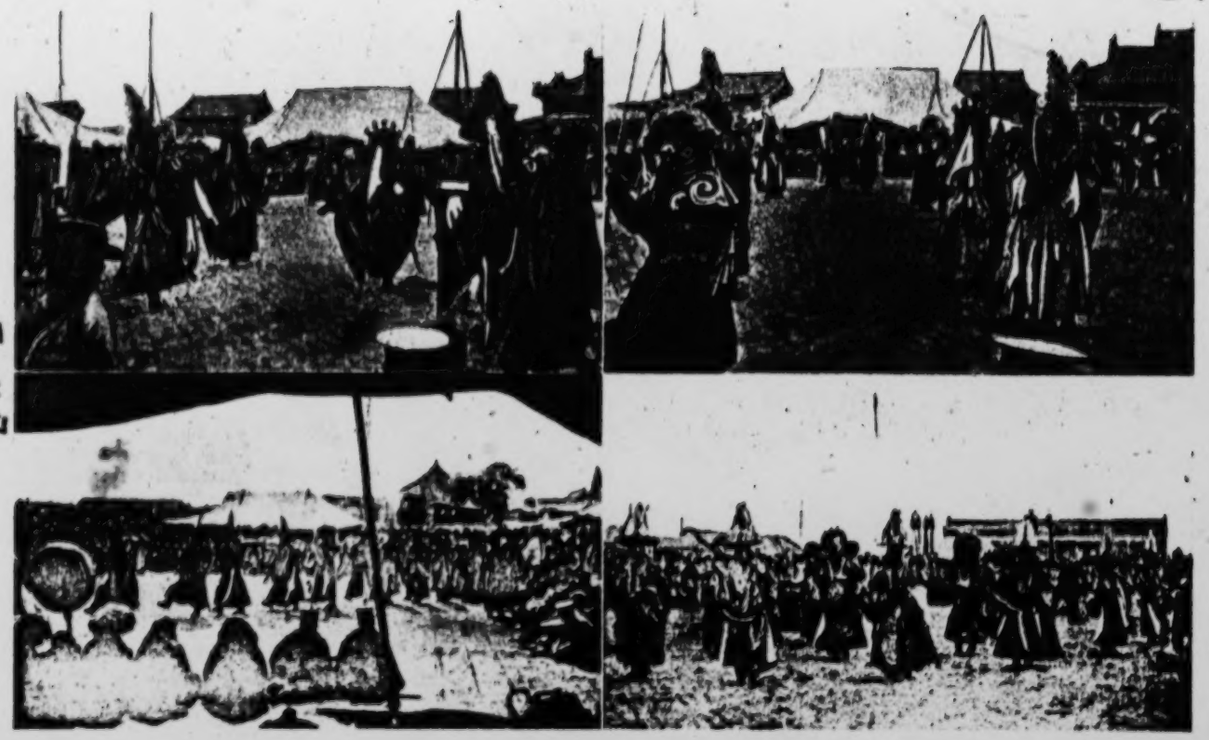
S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac- 000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

• 535 796

[p. iii]



THE "DANCE OF THE BLACK HAT"

[625]
[634]

ace having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there 579
ould be nothing to attract another raid provided there were
modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver,
ium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go
r. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou 712
as a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain
hind the town, built by the magistrate and the few
maining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In 534
e centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient
onze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang
ynasty, the only object of value which survives the
eriodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to
h'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west
ails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 487
90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through 133
oor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The
ess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the 361
hole region gives the impression of turning into desert.
everal miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of 342
aves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts
uilt of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity
f wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for
onstructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably
e people are so used to living in caves that they do not
el at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is
ot to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in
inter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage
hich is always going on in the loess these caves are con-
tantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct
hen it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan
a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a
ity.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River 487
nd follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after
hree to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass 133
4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen
hui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously
nough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent
nd descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy
lowns. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only 439
makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It
evidently owes its importance to its position as the most
westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like
Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans
going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important
element in the trading community. There was no civil
official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of
soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be
expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133
hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487
distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li,
T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng
80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated
plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north.
Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have
to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known
Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having [484]
to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly
busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than 563
any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all
Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the
owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could
only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol
population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792
which from its appearance might equally well have been
situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796
very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the
accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535
Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in
Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the
Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It
represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing
of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism,
by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before
the King in the costume shown in the photographs, con-
cealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796
graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the 782
same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan
ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

535

535 DANCING--dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk and limbs); gestures, postures, and their symbolism; solo, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, tap dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Gestures 201
Postures 816
Skating 826
Dance performances on the stage 545
Night clubs 547

/The Tibetans/

*563 533 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by [539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 535 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

*563 far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of profes-
535 sional dancers.

*563 It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the
535 West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches
536 its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church,
996 given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

536 The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was
*668 for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Com-
177 munist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

*[175] Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories
*668 requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes
• 535 to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement
545 factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'... a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

*668 No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It
533 brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not
545 without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:

"Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

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536 DRAMA--compositions for dramatic representation; types (e.g., tragedy, comedy, farce); themes (e.g., from myth, history, everyday life); treatment (e.g., realistic, stylized); conventional limitations on dramatic composition; characters and parts; impersonation; acting techniques (e.g., gestures, postures, emotional expression); costumes and paraphernalia; make-up; staging (e.g., scenery, lighting, props, musical accompaniment); acts, scenes, choruses, and interludes; specialists (e.g., playwrights, actors, stagehands, directors); relation of drama to dancing, mythology, magic, and ritual; special types of plays (e.g., puppet shows, shadow plays, musical comedies); special roles (e.g., clowns); etc. See also:

Gestures	201	Humor	523
Patterned expressions of emotion	201	Masks	533
Radio and television	207	Pageants and circuses	541
Cosmetics	302	Stage productions	545
Theater buildings	345	Motion pictures	546
Postures	516	Religious ceremonial	796

/The Tibetans/

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535 sional dancers.

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*563 West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches
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*668
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among those who promoted this movement during the earlier war years was Ting-ling (see General Handbook), whose dramatic team was particularly active before army audiences. Further impetus was derived from the foundation of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts, which also had a drama department. Ts'ao Yü and Ma Chien-ling are two of the more frequently produced authors.

The whole movement was streamlined, however, only in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on the "Problems of Art and Literature" (see General Handbook). The directive given therein to link up artistic activities with popular traditions was followed and, at least in name, the yang-ko movement gave contour and direction to the dramatic arts from then on. The yang-ko, literally "rice sprouting song," was a widespread and popular form of dance, songs—frequently antiphonies—and simple thanksgiving plays in the rural areas. Again the discovery of the usefulness of this tradition for contemporary propaganda purposes was not of Communist priority; it had been used in similar ways in the Ting-hsien experiment.

Very little but the name remained of the popular yang-ko tradition under Communist moulding. Most of their propaganda plays for rural and army consumption, whatever their topics and whatever their form, were called yang-ko. The number of so-called yang-ko pieces composed and produced in Yenan is legion. The most famous of them is, of course, "The White-Haired Girl," the libretto for which was written in early 1945 by members of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts (see General Handbook).

Other playwrights, particularly Ma Chien-ling, developed the regional style of the traditional opera, the so-called ch'in-ch'iang, into an instrument of Communist propaganda. Ma's first play in this tradition is called "Bloody Enmity," and was written in 1943, the enemy being the Kuomintang and not the Japanese. His second play, entitled "Everybody is Happy," was written in early 1944. Its topic is the conversion of an opium smoker and lazybones into a useful and productive member of the rural masses. This was followed in 1946 by the play called "Save the Peace," which is put into the take-over situation after the Japanese surrender, and in which the conversion of Kuomintang soldiers is the main topic; and in 1947 by the play "The Hate of the Poor People," a civil war play in which the objects of hate are, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, the "feudalistic" gentry and American "imperialism." It is worthy of note that at that early date the Communists came out into the open with their anti-American slogans in a context in which they believed themselves to be, and were, unobserved.

The appeal of casting propaganda plays in the opera style was

536 strong for several reasons. Not only was the entire population
*668 familiar with this style to the point of knowing from memory a
177 large repertory of traditional plays; the splendor of the costumes, falsetto singing and accompanying acrobatics were features in which any audience rejoiced. For that reason not only the local theatre style but also the Peking opera were cannibalized. An Institute of Research on the Peking Opera was founded at Yenan, the function of which was to remould classical operas along Communist propaganda lines. Particularly plays in the tradition of the great novel, Shui-hu (All Men Are Brothers), lend themselves to this type of recasting.

538 The story-teller's tale was also adapted to contemporary
*668 use. Perhaps the most famous of Communist epics in this style
177 is the story of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which was written at Yenan in 1945 by Li Chi. The author is not a poet, but has won himself a name as a Communist theorist since the 1920's. He makes use in this story of the rather freely modulated and crudely rhymed seven-beat line of the popular ballad for a story in which the landlord, who is a bloodhound as well as a lecher, is finally disposed of by Communist soldiers.

Another author who worked in this genre is T'ien Chien. His "Song of the Carter," written in 1946, tells the story of an oppressed, poor peasant who, after having received indoctrination from Eighth Route Army people, succeeds in organizing peasant resistance against landlord oppression, and in the course of this action also gains the allegiance of his sweetheart.

After 1949, the Shen-Kan-Ning region lost its leading place in literature and the arts to the major cities, particularly Peking. The general trend, however, developed during this period and remained influential in all later production (see General Handbook).

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
[353] home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven,

*668 533 545 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing, We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16, August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

*668 • 536 Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine. The Communist magazine stated:

"In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the los's and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

*668 The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently, but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 178 VII. Conclusion

A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semi-circle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.[1]

796 Within the temple buildings the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.

796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

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538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, men, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

Stylistics	198	Riddles	894
News stories and magazine articles	204	Lectures	544
Books and their publication	214	Mythology	773
Esthetic ideals and canons of taste	817	Sacred literature	779
Wit and humor	522	Humanistic studies	814

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [829] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

*563 mandment," is so called because it was translated from the
538 ancient Indian language. The code extends to one hundred and
979 eight volumes of about a thousand pages each. The Kah-gyur is divisible into three great sections: the Dul-va (Discipline), the Do (sermons), and the Ch'os-non-pa (metaphysics). These three sections are considered to be the antidotes for the three original sins; thus the discipline cleanses from lust, the sermons from ill will, and the wisdom from stupidity.

The Tibetan commentary or Tan-gyur is a great cyclopedic compilation of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian scholars and some learned Tibetans, in the first few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There are two hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is divided into two classes, the rGyud and mDo. The rGyud is mostly on rituals and ceremonies and the mDo on science and literature.

The indigenous works composed in Tibet are for the most part devoted to sacred subjects. The secular books exist, as a rule, in manuscript form, as the printing is in the hands of the monks. The sacred books can be divided into (a) apocryphal and (b) authentic and quasi authentic. The apocryphal works are the most numerous and most popular. Chief among them are the fictitious "revelations" or Terma books. Other common apocryphal works are the manuscripts possessed by the monasteries which gave a more or less legendary account of the history of the monastery.

The authentic books include many religious chronologies and records. Most of these biographies and records are legendary, especially those of the earlier Lamas and Indian monks. Some of the later ones dealing with more modern personages are of a somewhat more historical character, but are also overloaded with legends.

The leading ritualistic manuals of the various sects are of a more or less authentic character and small pocket editions of these prayer books and hymns are very numerous.

*563 By looking outside the monastic circles, little can be found:
538 on the one hand, the elaboration of chronicles and genealogies of noble families, on the other, sacred plays, arbitrarily adapted to the people's psychology, temperament and understanding, by actors always ready to modify their literary origin. Folk songs and epics also originated by the people outside the monasteries. A collection of proverbs and drinking songs can be found in "The Precious Rosary" (rin-ch'en-p'ren-wa). The folk tales of the people (sgruns) are fabulous. The best known of these is that of Gesar. (Waddell suggests a possibility that the name may be derived from Caesar, or from Czar.)

Among the secular works of Tibetan literature, the most popular is the epos of Gesar, the national epic poem of the

*563 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of
• 538 Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 C. Tibetan Art

532 Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and
[177] the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on
[192] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production.
[192] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

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This war followed the pattern that had been established for millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army. 726

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen. 631

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examinations, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages. 538

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539 LITERARY TEXTS--texts, translations, and abstracts of folktales, myths, songs, and other individual literary products; critical analyses and commentaries thereupon; etc.

539 in heaven. And so they made him be ma wenn, that is, he became the stable ape. - Since that time the image of an ape or an ape itself is found in every large horse stable in China, and it keeps away disease. (See ape images that are used to tie on horses, Plate XII of Vol. I.) However, even in heaven the job of stable ape is not held in great esteem, and so he carried on all kinds of knavery. Once again T'ai schang lao din had to capture his son and this time he set him under the mountain Yin Shan, that is, "pressure mountain." The ape was given but one word of comfort: it was said that during the T'ang dynasty a man would pass by and if he wanted to serve him, he would be permitted to come out and travel with him to Hsi t'ien.

Now T'ang sen had come into the vicinity of the Yin Shan. In a deep valley he suddenly heard his name called and the words: Diu ming! diu ming! (Help! I am losing my life!) T'ang sen asked where the call of help came from and already he heard from inside the mountain: "If you climb to the top of the mountain you will see a bowl; if you lift it up, I shall be able to get out." Scarcely had T'ang sen lifted the bowl somewhat when the air was charged with lightning and thunder and the stone ape leapt out. They had gone on together for only a short distance when they met Guan yin p'usa, the goddess of the southern ocean, or, as the Chinese also call her: Kwan yin. She gave the ape who from now on also called himself Sung wu kung, a hat. Scarcely had he put it on when he discovered that he could not take it off. But Guan yin p'usa said to T'ang sen: "If the ape gets angry or wants to run away from you, just say the prayer: Tsing gu r tschu, then he will get a dreadful headache and will quickly come back to you."

They traveled on and came to a rich man who was very sad and at first did not want to take them in. His only daughter was ill; every night she was made mad by an evil spirit. T'ang sen promised to help if the man would take them in, and the stone ape had to catch the spirit. It was "Tschu ba dyi," the devil with the hog's head, in his black clothes. Now since Tschu ba dyi promised to serve T'ang sen, they saved his life. So the three set out and came to the mountain H'uo yüen Shan. On it there are poisonous gases and flames - hence its name - so that they could not pass over it. But near it lived Niu mao wang. This is an evil spirit with the head of a yak, who has a magic fan called Ba diu Shan, and with that only could the gases be dispelled. When the yak-headed spirit Niu mao wang had gone out, the ape quickly took on his shape and went to Niu mao wang's wife

and asked for the magic fan. Scarcely had he got it when he ran with 539 it up the mountain in order to fan away the bad smoke. But the woman had given him a fake fan. So the ape took on the form of a mosquito, flew into the woman's mouth as she was eating and thence into her stomach and from there he pulled at her heart with all his might. He pulled so long that she listened to his voice and told him where the /26/ real fan was. Then she had to open her mouth again so that he could fly out. Hardly was he out (in order to keep her from biting down on him he had cautiously inserted something between her teeth before he flew through her mouth) when he took the fan and hurried back to the H'uo yüen mountain. And while he fanned away, the smoke and the poisonous gases disappeared and they could all cross over. (1)

1. This scene is often depicted on Chinese pictures. The noxious gases are the ien tschi about which my men complained so much, for example on the Türketse pass. They are usually depicted in the form of smoke.

Now they came to Nü jen guo, the land in which there are no men but only women. But the women are very war-like and ride and hunt like men. There they encountered much difficulty with a magic spring. (2) ----Many another strange land did they have to pass through

2. T'ang sen had drunk from the magic spring and thus became pregnant. But because he was not a woman he could not bear the child and became very ill.

before they came to the Lu scha Ho. On this river lived an evil spirit with the head of a horse, whose favorite occupation was to devour humans. He also was overcome and had to travel on with T'ang sen if he wanted his life to be spared.

At last all of them stood on the Tung t'ien Ho which is the river that is called Yangtze Kiang down in China. On its banks they saw a water spirit sitting. They told him that they were traveling to Hsi t'ien, the western heaven, to Hsi fan Wo fo, the Buddha, in order to fetch prayers for the emperor of China. The spirit told them that if they came to Buddha they should also praise his good behavior, for he was a very good spirit and hoped for a reward for his continuous

539 good behavior over a period of a thousand years. (3) So saying he

3. This is an allusion to the usefulness of the Yangtze Kiang as against the devastation caused by the Hwang Ho.

carried them all across over the deep Tung t'ien h'o.

When they finally came to Hsi t'ien, Hsi fan Wo fo (Buddha) gave them his prayers. These were the most efficacious prayers and exorcisms. People who were at the point of death could, by means of them, be brought back to a happy life. So they hurried off, carrying the prayers, back to the T'ang emperor. Too late Wo fo (Buddha) realized that if henceforth everybody stayed alive, there might not be enough food to nourish the people. So he sent a servant after T'ang sen, who was supposed to take the valuable book away from him.

The plucky band again came to the river Tung T'ien Ho. There the river spirit had been expecting them for a long time. He immediately let them sit on his shoulders and began swimming across the river. When they came to the middle he asked them whether they had told the Buddha Hsi fan Wo fo what a good man he was.

"Haya! we forgot all about it!" they cried.

"Hm!" said the spirit and dove under. ----With great effort they reached land; but the prayer books had been carried away by the waves. The very best ones disappeared completely, only a few were they able to rescue. Some of them were pressed down on the stones along the shore and no amount of effort was able to loosen the impression.

To this day, therefore, the Tibetans imitate these imprints of prayers on the stones along the banks of the Yangtze Kiang, and carve them deep into slabs of stone.

When T'ang sen had returned to China, he gave the prayers that had been rescued to his compatriots, the Chinese. The Tibetans were given the covers and wrappings of them. The H'ui h'ui, the Mohammedans, also wanted to have prayers from Buddha. For them the ape made meaningless scratchings on a piece of paper, for of course he could not write, and gave them that.

The presents were used in various ways: The Chinese to this day prays without actually believing in his prayers; the Tibetan prays even when he performs the most unclean action; but the Mohammedans regarded the meaningless scribble of the ape as a real prayer and

honored it to such an extent that they touched it only after they had 539 washed themselves. For this reason the ape asked them whether they /27/ were near-sighted, and in order to make his meaning clear, he put his hands in front of his eyes. But the Mohammedans misunderstood even this, and that is why, to this day, they pass their hand across their faces when they pray. (1)

1. This story of my Tsch'eng who was himself illiterate, is taken from the Schih yu tschin tsuen, a Buddhistic novel which is read a great deal in China and is told orally. T'ang sen is of course supposed to be the well-known Hsüen tsang of history who, in the beginning of the seventh century, traveled over present-day Turkestan and Pamir to India, the home of Buddha. - Compare the Chinese book of 100 volumes Schih yu tschin tsuen (Account of a journey to the west) and taken from this: Th. Pavie in Journ. asiatique, V series, Vol. 9 and 10, 1857, as well as E. W. Thering, Chinese Fiction, in China Review XXII, XXIII.

For over a week I traveled down the valley. At times the little 000 river squeezed into a narrow gorge of rock between the sandstone mountains, and then again it spread out for a little way in front of one of the many parallel chains running always from west-northwest to east-southeast. The lower I came, the higher and more beautiful the deeply-cleft peaks arose out of the valley, and the prettier and more fit for human habitation the unoccupied country round about us became. The days passed extremely regularly. Each morning there was a thin coating of ice on the pools and puddles, in spite of the warmth of August, and around our camps on the brook lay hoar frost which is unusual in the dry mountain climate of Tibet. The morning dawned clear and windless. But it was scarcely light when a little breeze came up. With a rising west-wind isolated fragments of cirrus clouds appeared, as though shy at first, and then suddenly - before nine in the morning - a small cumulus settled down over a peak. Others gathered rapidly. The sky became black and blacker. All at once the stagnant cloud mass pushed over us toward the west. Under a thin, light cirrus covering that came racing from the west, high up, a movement of air from the southwest, cloud-laden, was suddenly discernible. At a mountain-top height the southeast summer monsoon of East Asia prevailed. Often there was a thunderstorm

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541 SPECTACLES -- patriotic celebrations; parades; fireworks displays; military reviews; secular pageants; carnivals, circuses, and rodeos; animal racing and fighting (e.g., horse and dog races, bull baiting, cockfighting); gladiatorial combats; public hangings; organization of spectacles; financing (e.g., by profits, voluntary contributions, subsidies); admissions (e.g., gratis, by ticket); specialists (e.g., organizers, performers); etc. See also:

Breeding of racehorses 232
Animal transport 492
Attendant gambling 525
Clowns 522, 536
Religious spectacles 796

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also [437] often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues p. 354]

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527 541

(Captions on following page)

/208A/

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Plate XLV.

/The Tibetans/

*563 533 Outside the temples, secular music is to be found in the many folk songs of the common people. The Tibetans are very musical, and they sing on every possible occasion. Most of their songs are sung as they go about their everyday life, or during their festivals.

Some songs are sung individually, some collectively. Gral glu (row songs) are sung only in the New Year Festival or the marriage ceremonies, the singers standing in rows. Sgor bzhas (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp one another's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right, now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in a long line, one behind another. Each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front of him, and they rock to and fro as in a lullaby.

Most of the folk songs are anonymous, and usually they are circulated only within a small region. Only those which gain strong popular approval spread over a larger area, traveling with pilgrims and caravans. There are many kinds of folk songs, some of them peculiar to a special kind of work and therefore sung almost exclusively by those who engage in that kind of work. (There are special songs for harvesting, for parching corn, for making bricks, for building a house, for making the roof of a house, for loading beasts, for shearing sheep, for washing wool, and so forth.) There are many love and courting songs, and songs describing other sentiments (of sorrow, disappointment, et cetera). Some songs are composed for special social occasions, others for high dignitaries.

Following are three examples of folk songs (translated by [539] Tucci):

"From the mountain peaks in the east
The silvery moon has peeped out
And the face of that young maiden
Has gradually appeared in my mind."

"Anger and ill humour combined
Have made the feathers of the vulture dishevelled
Intrigue and worldly cares
Have completely worn me out."

"When the cuckoo comes from the country Mon
Then the seasonable essence of the soil also comes
Since I have met my lover
My body and mind have become relaxed."

*563 535 In dance as in music there is an absolute division between secular and sacred. The former comprises all rustic styles, both the elementary ring dances in the village squares and the

The situation resembles an
*668 old Chinese story which was translated recently by the Chinese
178 Communists:
539 "There was a man who made shields and spears. 'Buy my shields,' he would say. 'They are very strong. Nothing in the world can penetrate them!'
He also lauded his spears, saying: 'My spears are the sharpest in the world. They are so sharp they can pierce anything!'
One day someone asked him: 'If we use one of your spears to pierce one of your shields, what then?'
The man from the land of Chu could find no answer." (China Reconstructs, December, 1955, p. 25.)

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Kalmyk

summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men! 563 792

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up at the Tschürmong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation: 782 539

Lama la stiapsumdschü
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschü
Tschu la stiapsumdschü
Ginden la stiapsumdschü
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschü
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
mam la ptscha tsalo-o
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -

If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words, 782

782 he purified the animal. Then the horns and ears were sprinkled with water until the animal shook itself, a sign that the gods accepted it as a sacrifice. Then it was handed over to the Mohammedans. To complete the offering, the Fan tse Me threw clotted scraps of blood into the air with the ladle when the animal was being dismembered. If I had not had any Mohammedans with me, the men from Kue de would have killed the animal according to the Tibetan custom, they would have slowly strangled it with a rope pulled over its nostrils. When the animal was cut up, it did not take long before the sacrificial lamb was converted into blood sausages and sausages for frying.

782 It was dark when the meal was served. A ewer of horse-milk 264 brandy had been bought in the neighboring yurt for the occasion. The sky had become more and more overcast, there was only a little light from the resinous cedar wood, and in numerous tents and yurts in the valley friendly fires beckoned. When we had dined Tsch'eng got up and gave a speech, using many high-flown words and similes, and saying that Sung had now paid his wether and that now no one could accuse him of having infected us with his disease up in the highlands. Then the men sang their melodious songs into the night. 782 They sang melancholy Mongolian songs and light Tibetan couplets: 539

"Aláchimo! Maiden!
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from yonder shore,
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from the hither side,
Like a bridge with golden arches, heaven has united us with cords of gold." (1)

1. In the dialect of the Koko Nor Tibetans:
Tschü par re sege re
Tso tschü re sege re
Sang song be re se sa tsu tsa re
Li dyen dyi sege tenn da re.

or, a song teasing his beloved:
"Aláchimo! Maiden!
I have a cap of fox fur and a cap of lamb's wool.
If I do not wear the fox fur cap but the lamb's wool cap
I am just as happy.
I have a long sword and I have a short sword.
Whether I wear the long sword or the short sword in my belt,

[text continues on p. 569]

I am equally happy.
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love, 782 539
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill or a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. 782 Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil 789 and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam (tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centimeters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Buddhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was divided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times, then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were each given a khádar and silver, according to their rank and dignity, because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p. 571]

The great number of stone slabs that were covered 782
all over with Tibetan writing showed that our predecessors had traveled slowly. In the lonely valley were to be seen walls 10 to 20 meters long of mani rdo mgum (mani rdo hbum, i.e., 100,000 mani stones). While their caravan animals were resting, devout monks on their pilgrimage to Lhasa once carved these prayer reliefs, with the crudest implements, but so deep and so painfully neat as though they were afterwards not to be piled one on top of another, but openly displayed for all the world to judge who could do best. Decades of snow and ice have since then continued working on them and the bright colors are almost washed out. (Plate VII)

After my Tsch'eng had seen the prayer stones, he began to look for the Yang tse kiang every day. For the custom of carving these reliefs so laboriously is not common among the Koko Nor Tibetans; they are more often found near the Yangtze River.

We were on the way to the Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west. For many hours Tsch'eng continued to tell us the story of Tang sen and how it was through him that the mani stones came to the banks of the Yangtze.

The Legend of Tang sen

During the T'ang dynasty in China there lived a petty official by 539
the name of Tsch'eng guan wei, and he had a wife whose name was Yi man t'ang (2). This man had an /24/ elder brother whose name

2. I have written the names as my people pronounced them.

was Yi k'ai Shan and who was a very important official. When the couple were transferred to another place they had to travel by boat, and after they had sailed two or three days the boatman attacked the official Tsch'eng at night, bound him, and threw him overboard. But then the rapacious boatman married the woman. She was carrying a child in her womb and for the sake of it she accepted the robber's proposal. Thus they traveled on and after a month they came to the place where the official Tsch'eng was supposed to have entered his new office. With the help of the murdered man's papers, the murderer now got the job.

Four or five months later the woman gave birth to the child of Tsch'eng, but the husband's murderer was not aware of it. Right after it was born, she bit off the child's big toe, packed the child

into a small box and wrote on it: "Kiang lu sen" (river running along 539
to live) and threw the box into the river.

Farther downstream there was a monastery. The little box drifted to ward it and a priest found it and the child. He reared the boy who, when he was six or seven years old, had to help in the monastery. Once when he was cleaning he said to a clay idol: "Lift up your arm so that I can clean better!" And behold, the image actually lifted up its arm. Another time the old priest was impatient with the boy and beat him. Thereupon all the images fell to pieces and even the temple crashed. The old priest sent the boy out to beg for money in order to rebuild the temple.

About this time the mother heard that there was a miracle child in the monastery. Under the pretext of wishing to pray there, she visited the place and took along 500 pairs of boots as a present for the priests. She personally fitted each priest with a pair. When she had distributed 499 pairs, there was one left over, but there was no priest who came to claim it. Now the monastery had 500 monks. After much questioning Kiang lu sen was finally found. He had timidly kept apart because he had no big toe. Then the mother recognized her son and for a whole day they wept together.

When she said farewell, the mother invited her son to pass by her yamen when next he was sent out to collect money. She also told him that her present husband was the murderer of the lad's father. A few days later young Kiang lu sen stood at her door and his mother gave him 300 ounces of silver. With these he set out and came to Hsi ngan fu which at that time was the capital of the middle kingdom. At that time there happened to be a dreadful drought. Everywhere Kiang lu sen found imperial proclamations posted which said that anyone who wanted to go to Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west, to fetch from there the true, efficacious prayers would get the highest decoration if he wanted to become an official, or, if he preferred, could have money or anything he wanted. When the young Kiang lu sen heard this, he immediately offered to go to Hsi t'ien if the emperor would rebuild his temple.

After Kian lu sen had been placed in the service of the T'ang emperor, he was called T'ang sen. After he had been on his way from Hsi ngan fu for two or three months, he came to the mountain Yin Shan. Now there is a very curious thing about this mountain. For there is another mountain in the middle kingdom, that is called Hoa gu Shan. There are many apes living on it, and there is also a cave

539 called Schui lien dun, that is, one that is closed up by a waterfall. And on the top of the mountain there is a very beautiful large magic rock. Long ago the goddess of heaven Wa men niang niang once came to it and sat down on the rock for a few minutes and her blood flowed over the stone. Later the god T'ai schang lao din came to the same rock. (1)

1. And added his pollution. /Et pollutionem habuit. /

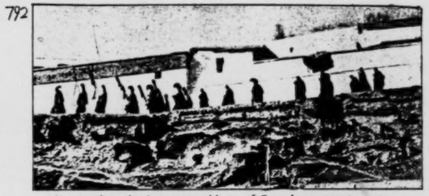
After five hundred years therefore an ape was produced from inside the rock by the action of the sun's heat. He burst his covering and jumped out. Now there was a law among the apes that whichever one of them could get through the waterfall into the cave would be king. Sche hu tse, the ape that had been born from a rock, was not afraid of the water. He entered the cave and became king of the apes. But after a few years he grew tired of that place /Plates V, VI, VII and VIII appear between pp. 24 and 25 in original text/ /25/ and wanted to become a tao yen, that is, a Taoist priest. For a whole month he sought a teacher, and then he came to a monastery in which lived the god T'ai schang lao din. He looked in his magic books and discovered that the stone ape was his son. And so he taught him more magic than he did his other pupils. Now one day when T'ai schang lao din was not at home the ape prattled his knowledge and showed how he could turn himself into a tree, a human or anything he liked and that he could ascend to heaven. He had just turned himself into a pine tree when his master and father returned.

He was very angry over his son's boastfulness and sent him away. The stone ape now went to heaven and came to Wa men niang niang's flower garden. There he found several servant women of the goddess who were guarding her peaches. He drove them away and ate the fruit. Wa men niang niang asked him who he might be, whereupon he passed himself off as T'ai schang lao din's apprentice. The latter, who was called to help, arrived and caught his unruly son, stuck him into an apothecary's oven and wanted to burn him. He left him there for 49 days, and even gods of heaven are supposed to be destroyed in it during that time. But after 49 days the stone ape was still there, but he had turned into t'ie t'ou t'ung, that is, to one with a head of iron and a back of bronze. When he was finally let out of the oven he went straight up to heaven again. There Wa men niang niang ordered him to watch her garden. But after that he had daily brawls

Captions for Plate XLV.

527 Celebration of the spring festival in Hsining fu. The clay cow
541 (page 354) was defended by the soldiers against the farmers. Two masks of lions danced at the head of the procession, behind them two dragons were being carried, and these were followed by soldiers bearing the honorary umbrellas of the hsien.

792



The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum goes to pray every day in the Tsogs kang.

527
541

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsining fu.

The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum. /208B/

painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the

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788

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalrymen, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star, after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter wore a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers, as well as the dao tai and the amban do not appear at all.

563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

543

543 EXHIBITIONS--international expositions; local and regional fairs; animal-judging contests (e.g., horse and dog shows); handicraft displays; automobile and flower shows; art exhibitions; special exhibits (e.g., by libraries and museums); offering of prizes and awards; organization of exhibitions; mode of finance (e.g., by sale of tickets, sale of articles on display, voluntary contributions); specialized organizers and dealers; etc. See also:

Libraries, art galleries, and museums	217	Markets	443
Zoological and botanical gardens	367	Sales promotion	446
Auctioning	437	Advertising	447

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

new acquaintance took over our job, and the same 494
evening we proceeded on our way. The coincidence of events which released him at the very moment when we required his services, and also put lucrative work in his hands, so impressed him as to make him exclaim at frequent intervals: 'Ai ya! That was a strange bit of luck! We shall get on all right on *this* journey. Fortune favours these Christians!'

Our direct route lay from south-east to north-west, but some important oases lay direct north and south of the main road, and we were determined to visit these very isolated localities, even though we were warned that in so doing we should add considerably to our fatigue.

Our first détour, then, was to Chikinpu, a little 543 ●
castellated fortress-town, where we were met with the news that every person had gone into the country to attend a famous annual fair and theatrical performance, in a temple five miles distant. Fairs and theatres are the preacher's opportunity, so we said we would go a-fairing too! It was a long stage under the midday sun before we reached the Temple of the Red Hill, where we sat by the roadside until the big carts lumbering behind overtook us. When travelling, our personal luggage was wrapped in a length of waterproof canvas, and on such occasions as this we were able by means of three sticks to transform it into a tiny tent, which provided a shelter in the shadow of which we spread our bedding. The spot was very attractive, for it supplied a bubbling spring, and near by there was a field of celandines on which to rest our sun-scorched eyes. We were now only a few miles from the lower ranges of the Tibetan hills, on which patches of shade were thrown by the passing clouds. To the back of us was a red sandstone cliff, which gave its name of Hung Shan to the temple. Farms were dotted over the landscape, each of which

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

● 543 was entertaining a large number of visitors for the days of the fair. In the early morning bullock-carts full of women dressed in green, red, blue and purple wended their way across the plain, together with hundreds of small donkeys, ridden by young girls or children, two or three of whom would sit, one behind the other, adroitly guiding the little creature by means of a single rope fastened to its bridle.

000 The preaching-tent, from which we proclaimed our Message, was crowded from early morning until late afternoon, and thousands of books were eagerly bought. We were becoming well known in Kow Wai, and many greeted us as old friends. The grinning face of the wily carter who had taken us to Kinta—Golden Tower—was one of the first to appear! He now completely disregarded the fact that at our last parting he had shamelessly handed us over to the tender mercies of an incompetent youth with only a bullock-cart, caring nothing for the agreement he had solemnly entered on, when once his illicit goods were safely delivered, but advanced with the utmost cordiality and friendliness. 'Why! Miss French and Miss Cable! who would have thought of seeing *you* here? Where do you not go with your tent?' Addressing the crowd he explained, 'These are old friends of mine. They stayed in my home last year. You must listen to their preaching. It is all true,' and with a patronising gesture he produced a copper, saying, 'I would like to buy a book for this small boy, my sister's son.' With a parting nod he added, 'Hope the sales are good?'

The nights *à la belle étoile* were delightful, the only disadvantage being that no undressing was possible, so we drew out our wadded quilts, and lay down covered with a rug, to awake at sunrise and find some ploughmen with bovine eyes gazing wonderingly at us. One

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang A1-1~~

● 543 Our meals were somewhat of a problem in this happy
265 valley.[1] Each party brought its own picnic-basket, and the food-vendors only supplied titbits such as lumps of fat fried pork, apricot tea, and fermented rice-water.

000 Our bag of bread was already finished, and the only food our men could make was flour mixed with oil, pulled out into long strips, nipped into small chunks, and boiled in water, and this meal we shared with them once a day, but still found ourselves craving for some form of bread. We were greatly delighted, therefore, when a little girl appeared with a home-steamed roll in her hand, and said: 'I have no money, but will you give me a gospel in exchange for this?' Finding that we were willing to do so, bread and new-laid eggs were afterwards frequently brought by children.

In spite of considerable forethought we had left Suchow for this long trip with a but poorly furnished store-box. Months before, we had written in several directions for needed supplies, but owing to the disturbed condition of China, all had failed us, and we were thankful to have enough tea in hand to allow ourselves a fresh brew once a day. Of the certainty of our daily ration we had no question, but beyond this many luxuries were supplied through the kindness of casual acquaintances. The old guardian at the Temple of the Red Hill, after we had sat and talked awhile with him, brought us back through his garden, and cut the best of his vegetables for us, while 'Lydia' also came down with a present of rice steamed with jujube fruit. On one occasion a resourceful student went out foraging for food and brought us back a dozen new-laid pheasants' eggs.

361 To the direct north lay a place called Hwahaitz, an
000 extensive oasis covered with large farms. Since our

1 [Near Chikinpu at a fair—Analyst]

5: Tafel--417 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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764 day after the death of his father, the son asked me for a small loan and for an advance on my rent.

000 Then, just after the coffin had been carried out of the yard gate amid a large display of fireworks, the twenty-five soldiers of the amban who had left twelve days before for the Koko Nor in order to pursue the Tibetan robbers, arrived and drove my stolen horses and yaks into my courtyard. Even the old bitch I had bought two days before the attack was returned to me. But of my equipment only a few broken saddles and a battered tea kettle and half an ice skate were returned, the rest of the things had found other homes. The soldiers refused to tell me who the robbers had been. All they said was that the culprits were "wild Tibetans from the south." They said that three days before the attack on me a band of about 30 or 40 robbers had attacked and robbed a Tibetan tribe of Koko Nor and stolen 150 horses, but that the tribe pursued and defeated them and the robbers lost their entire booty as well as three men. "You ran into this robber band, sir; they spied on you for two days before they attacked. But your /245/ defense made such an impression on them that they later released the stolen animals. We found your ponies about 10 kilometers from the place where you were attacked, and they were quietly grazing in a valley. We also found three dead men there, unclothed and frozen stiff."

On that same evening the amban sent me a message saying that it was evident the robbers were not men of his tribe, that this winter an unusual number of robbers had come to the lake from the south, and that therefore he could not pursue the matter further.

It is no small matter to keep eight yaks in a large Chinese city. And everyone who knows China will understand that I was not a little frightened when the animals were driven into my dwelling. Many of the citizens had never seen these clumsy black ruminants and so they besieged my inn all day long. It was out of the question for me to keep the animals in the city and when I wanted to sell them the butchers offered me one tael apiece (three marks) because they believed that I would have to get rid of the animals at any price. I therefore hired a man to drive the animals a good day's journey south of Hsining fu and pasture them there in the mountains. The ponies, however, I did not allow out of my sight and took them all with me on my next excursions.

361 I first went to a large fair that is given every year during the
543 first ten days of the second Chinese month in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu.

545

545 MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS--public concerts; operatic productions; performances by dance troupes (e.g., ballets); burlesque and vaudeville; production of musical comedies and plays; stock companies, amateur musicals and theatricals; metropolitan show business (e.g., selection of a play, backers, producers, casting, try-outs, staging, rehearsals, promotion, advance sales, first nights, reviews, runs, motion picture rights, royalties, returns on investment, road companies); promotion of other musical and dramatic productions; etc. See also:
Fine arts . . . . . 53 Theatrical supplies industry. 549

*668 requesting him to send the manuscript in immediately." (Wen-i-pao, No. 2, January 30, 1954, p. 33, Hu Chia-lin: "It should not be just a whirlwind").

Because of the necessity to fit into this sudden rush and dropping of programs, propaganda became a kind of bureaucratic routine. To quote the Communists' own words:

"'Our factory is going to have "check up and evaluation" so you better present a play of "check up and evaluation"!' Some factories
*668 requested the Peking opera actors to dress up in modern costumes
535 to show the movement of 'learning tricks'... In this, in cement
545 factories there is 'the cement workers' dance.' In the material department of the cement factories there is 'the material worker's dance'... Down to every special branch of the factory, there is a particular dance of the branch.... These, however, were about the same. At the beginning, a group of 'laborers' would dance out to the front stage, holding a file or a hammer, or just acting as if they were holding some productive tools. Then they would start the actions of laboring, going through the whole procedure of the department's job. After several changes of positions, finally all the people would hold their hands and jump a while to express their joy after laboring.... In the case of 'the dance of the hero who found the trick (of running a machine)'...a group of people on the stage pretended to be a machine; another man jumped around it, moving a 'lever' here, pushing a 'button' there, and finally 'the machine' started to move, indicating that the hero found the trick to run the machine. Then everybody yelled congratulations and celebrated. During the period when the hero jumped around, nobody in the audience understood what he was doing.... Some laborers reflected: 'We work in the factory with machines; we discuss in the group meetings about machines; when we come to the evening entertainments we are still seeing machines!' The workers are not satisfied with this kind of dance." (Wen-i-pao, No. 13, July 15, 1953, p. 36.)

2. Over-repetition

No doubt, repetition was a trump card in the process. It
*668 brought the successes of Communist propaganda, but it was not
533 without flaws. Quoting the Communists again:
545 "Amid enthusiastic applause, the curtain raised. Hundreds of pairs of wide-opened round little eyes looked at the young girl who announced the programs: 'The first song, "We Happily Sing!"' When she announced this, she announced it with a frown. Right after she finished her words, among the audience there was an unanimous - not applause, but a prolonged: "Yeo...". (A Chinese exclamatory remark showing disgusted feeling). Immediately the whole theater turned noisy and the audience of little ones lost interest in the program...

What was wrong?... In a certain concert, the song "We Happily

*668 Sing!" was sung eighteen times, while another song "Let's Sing,
533 We Chinese Youth!" was sung twenty-three times!" (Ibid., No. 16,
545 August 30, 1955, p. 32).

Misinterpretation

Other troubles came from misinterpretation of the doctrine.
*668 The Communist magazine stated:
526 "In the January issue of the Worker's Literature published in Sian, Shensi, in 1954, there was a play written for the local opera theaters, 'Sell the grain to the State'. (Author T'ien Yi-Yung). It described a peasant Wang Shou-ch'eng who did not like to sell his surplus grain to the state, until his thought transformed. Then he sold his grain to the state...

But how did Wang Shou-ch'eng transform? Because his son-in-law Li Hsiao-hsien helped him to figure out the loss and gain in the following way: the price which the state paid was 33,000 a peck, but each peck was 30 catties; though the dishonest merchant, Sun Kuang-ts'ai, promised to pay 36,000 a peck, it was counted by the local big peck of 35 catties. According to the government price, it would be 38,000 each peck. After this calculation...the thought was transformed...."(Wen-i-pao, 1954, No. 7, p. 38. The peck in Chinese measurement varies in different places. Usually it weighs 13 1/2 lbs. The pecks mentioned in this paragraph might be a kind of double peck.)

Obviously, this thought transformation was not the sort intended by the Communists. Therefore the Wen-i-pao criticized this play for capitalistic thought which should be discarded. The right kind of writing to promote the sale of grain should be something describing the peasants as willing to sell the grain to "the state" at any price, gain or loss.

The Communist propaganda programs often were innocently,
*668 but embarrassingly, twisted and misunderstood by the lower cadres and audiences. Furthermore, in nearly every propaganda campaign, there was a need for the exposure of evils. Even though the formula always gave final victory to the Communists, the exposure part often lingered much longer, and loomed much larger than the Party would like to see.

*668 VII. Conclusion
178 A real test of the effectiveness of Communist propaganda is now underway. In the past, Stalin was deified by the Chinese Communist Party. He was the genius strategist. He was the Great Leader. He was the eternal sun. He was the eternal steel. Now the Party propaganda machine must tear down this idol it created. If Party propaganda were as effective as it was believed to be, faith in Stalin should live in the people's hearts forever. However, if Party propaganda is as effective as it claims, there should be nothing that cannot be obliterated. The situation resembles an

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eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage [782]
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan ou, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly on their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of his cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252/

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners and
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistanced his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shouted and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, screaming with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances received the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thumbs, and praised the horse and the cleverness of his rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track which extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the midst of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luck with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, everyone became critical and the owners who had previously been less fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Mohammedans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic horsemen, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just as at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. But
[273] the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Round about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, especially young people. They gathered into groups according to the tribes and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of barley schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds among
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love, of
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at night

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546 MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY--production, distribution, and exhibition of motion pictures; script writing; casting; locations and sets; filming; special equipment and techniques (e.g., technicolor, sound); products (e.g., film plays, animated cartoons, educational and documentary films); system of distribution (e.g., chains, block booking, runs); motion picture theaters and their operation; specialists (e.g., producers, script writers, actors, cameramen, distributors, operators); economic organization of the industry; regulation; etc. See also:

Fine arts . . . . . 52 Cameras 416
Photography . . . . . 215 Visual aids in education 876
Sound recording 216

S 207 668 177 S [674] at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural district in Sinkiang.

These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being constantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village N [207] and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude * [668] the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai, [177] Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

N VI. Movies and Lantern Slides

• 546 In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in * 668 Peking to operate mobile projectors. At that time they planned 177 to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all. Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Chi'lin-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

551

551 PERSONAL NAMES--proper names of individuals (e.g., number and variety, meanings, circumstances of use); sex and status differences, special name usages (e.g., nicknames, aliases, teknonymy); name taboos and avoidances; etc. See also:

Incorporeal property . . . . . 428 Kinship terms 691
Naming . . . . . 583 Names as souls 774
Titles 884

795 563 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but • 551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to 191 have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and 563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but 580 the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and 783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other 291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to 356 housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty 346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. 634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
62 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
63 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
*563 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
621 first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
*563 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
621 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
771 At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
[794] a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
*563 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
545 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
621 In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
771 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
796 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[796] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
[567] in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

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563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[778] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[142] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
● [651] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

553

553 NAMING--bestowal of names in infancy; name givers and namesakes; naming ceremonies; exchange of names; reciprocal relationships created by naming or name exchange; assumption of new names (e.g., occasions, ceremonial); posthumous assumption of names; reasons for name changing; bestowal and assumption of honorific names and titles; etc. See also:

Personal names . . . . . 551 Godparents and godchildren 608
Titles . . . . . 594 Ceremonies during infancy 882

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but
pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be
performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go
to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N [783] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N [562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women
Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always
worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there
may be a number of women gathered together.

S The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N 562 During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
779 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
782 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
783 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a
feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant,
menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose
lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when
they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast
is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting
is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday,
Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
● 555 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the
occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N [788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and
N 563 from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page,
852 takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday
● [555] he is circumcised and taught to worship.
[788]

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the ex-
S ception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of
N 563 the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to
582 the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung
[191] reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Chris-
tian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree
to the union.

N In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with
● 563 a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle
585 or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home.
Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears
a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives
and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second
day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the
guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man
N may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage
582 to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must sub-
585 mit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the
[185] defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding
and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not
performed.

S d. Funeral and burial

N The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more dis-
563 tinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed cere-
764 moniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the
garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then
swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately.
Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do
people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The
wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the
grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the
bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered
with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin
is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head
to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family
may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood rela-
tives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange
the body.

S There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals
N 563 include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the
765
764

/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to
sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of
friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides
a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of
both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the for-
mality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratula-
tions and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders
are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status
are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with
a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they
have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both
families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the
mohasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for
three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the
641 third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally
852 preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity
[562] of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make
him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein
[751] of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to
Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ail-
ments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the
[853] same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The
*562 name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama.
● 555 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between
852 names for males and females. High lamas always give their
[793] own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-
giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to
give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily cele-
brated.

*563 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic
764 areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat,
the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the
stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant
*563 sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the pa-
[755] tient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant
[793] sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."
*563 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bun-
763 dle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the
764 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed be-
side him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant
prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
562

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589] Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 • [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 • 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 579 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N [798]

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 181 577 a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kon-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 576 431 [822] b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

[574] When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For • [554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained
[875] lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
875 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[806] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
* [554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Edu-
*563 cation became one factor in the general policy of assimilation

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/Chinese Moslems/

795 The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Mos-
621 lem community mainly in the organization of the community
793 around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar
* [554] in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

795 After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest
185 of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them spring-
[175] ing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it,
795 and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was
792 known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a
185 prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N
829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
829 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took
563 over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
[178] internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
[896] stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
[614] structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
[619] banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
[701] the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
[622] hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect
* [554] and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
179 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
[634] stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
[242] a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
829 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
179 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
[634] are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
[242] generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
[361] a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among
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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husbandis bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, 'The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. 'Like other Tungen landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They always think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ningsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoupitheir fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third, to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

A. Top Echelon Officials

The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immediately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Communists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou. The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places. Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts. Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and in the provincial committees.

Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional committees.

The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League; was also a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commission and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking, was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League, a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

S N 563 233 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether [521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social [554] [422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he [342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the [352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand [353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to [476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and 971 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [192] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [194] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

N *563 614 [421] as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates. The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N *563 648 [651] Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknowledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N *563 792 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no political control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 554 556 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the N [579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with N [574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S 563 121 175

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

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554 STATUS, ROLE, AND PRESTIGE--relative prevalence of ascribed and achievable statuses; statuses adapted to particular personality types; general comments on the social ranking of statuses and roles; types of roles and achievable statuses which bring the largest rewards in prestige; individuals typifying the foregoing (e.g., celebrities, national heroes); symbolic tokens of the achievement of prestige (e.g., medals, titles, insignia, praise songs, special privileges); general statements on the various avenues of mobility (e.g., technological skill, wealth, shrewdness, valor, piety, wisdom); etc. See also:

Social stratification 56
Relation between individual roles and culturally defined statuses 156
Ethos 181
Occupational specialization 463
Ethical ideals 677
Military virtues and prestige 703

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

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#175 Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's
635 Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's
554 Supervisory Commission.

In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between
N the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the
#175 rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was
554 a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
635 Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan.
#668 Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

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175 B. Parties

668 Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

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#175 In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the
#668 China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

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*175 Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia
*668 T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in
467 the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Finan-
• 554 cial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

N
*175 Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality
*668 in the Northwest is Chang Tzu-fang, onetime director of the feder-
554 ation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47 of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts, and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

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*175 Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950,
*668 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized
[467] to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953, there were 1,615 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

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*175 Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there
*668 were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations
648 in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

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*668 Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Govern-
701 ment of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the
[631] lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abolished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

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*668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered
[792] one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.
159 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Cen-
*668 tral Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

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*668 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-
792 jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual
• 554 errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

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*668 Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in
• 554 bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a tribute from Communist authorities.

159 Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer

A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from
*668 the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five
701 Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Com-
631 mittee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother,
159 Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Tem-
*668 ple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

[631] Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

159 Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official

Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political
*668 commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao
701 K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army
631 under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

N 159 669 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand S secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso [669] was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and N southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the • [554] whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse N 159 was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points: First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Rus- [648] sians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang, N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg S 669 in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien- 648 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the *668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai. [648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated • [554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League
*668 A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-
631 chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming *668 to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a 133
sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty 487
hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei, exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying [554] •
on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. [491]
Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland 487
journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields, mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels. There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) [243]
grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we [136]
were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under 4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials. It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of
some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and 439
poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in [281]
wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb-skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as 286
felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, M[illegible] 635
hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of N[illegible] Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chi[illegible] Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in 1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

N.W. China AF13

361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
[797] the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly
133 welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

•554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

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556 ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH--extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; means used to accumulate wealth or degree of skill involved; principal objects of wealth (e.g., money, cattle, slaves, land); relative importance of sheer accumulation, of display, of generosity in distribution; prominence of wealth accumulation as a mobility mechanism; desirable statuses achievable thereby; symbolic tokens of success; specific techniques (e.g., conspicuous consumption, potlatching, endowing a college, buying a title); etc. See also:

Property 42
Potlatches 433
Saving and investment 484
Individual enterprise 473
Wealth in relation to social classes 566
Hospitality 874

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

N The clan
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
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*563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
798 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
557 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
• 556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of

N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading.

N With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
[574] gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the Middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[795] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[251] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
[763] asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich merchants who have authority in political and economic matters, but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mongols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[441] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
[739] north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade. There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here generations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
[369] nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yellow earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy merchants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses. But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
*563 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
266 flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
• [556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits, fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted vegetables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn with the fur side inside.

/The Tibetans/

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
812 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
662 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
184 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet
• 556 cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a
[252] sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing
291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
[556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The
[793] robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way
[184] of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.

• [556] Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This
578 complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Ch'inghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou,
*563 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in
18 Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They
133 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the
823 characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communi-
[674] ties stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express
18 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and
526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

N.W. China AF13
Tu Ren

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of
people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the
sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been
erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco
pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several
acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and
through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as
is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator
need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience
gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds.
People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect
themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556] •
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the
festival view the performance from their private carriages whose
large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of
ladies on European-race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an
arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper -
is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the [782]
opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and
pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so
that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical
performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter -
and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however,
the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for
a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas,
and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, mere-
ly with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, ac-
cording to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased
with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a
nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan
ou, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in
front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

558

558 DOWNWARD MOBILITY--possibility and incidence of serious loss of prestige; extent to which such loss involves actual descent to less desirable statuses or merely a less favorable estimate of role enactment in the same statuses; major factors in downward mobility (e.g., loss of wealth, misalliance, cowardice, impiety, crime); special examples (e.g., losing face, losing caste); etc. See also:

Breaches of etiquette and ethics	57	Crime and sin	674
Social control	626	Poverty	736

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradi-
709 tion. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
*563 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obei-
592 sance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relation-
[196] ships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[184] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in
[593] it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted
N to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
*563 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
796 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the peo-
184 ple of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funer-
N als and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is
*563 more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
829 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The atti-
N tude toward life is more practical because of poverty and neces-
• [558] sary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

S
N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

563 1. The People

101 Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[161] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers.
[197] In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
N than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are con-
563 sidered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
181 said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

562

562 SEX STATUS--rights, privileges, powers, duties, and disabilities of each sex (e.g., legal, domestic, economic, political, ceremonial); special exceptions for each sex; general statements bearing upon the status inferiority or superiority of women; special elaborations (e.g., chivalry, notions of the uncleanness of women); explanations of sex differences; etc. See also:

Marriage	69	Cloistering of women	837
Status and activities of children	85	Transvestitism	838
Division of labor by sex	402	Menstrual isolation	841
Franchise	641		

/Salars/

563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
794 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
170 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
181 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
[144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
[062] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
[209] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
[203] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
794 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
795 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
563 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
794 caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
[198] are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be
[346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
• [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
563 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
794 division over religious questions makes their unification a
795 difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[68] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by YÜ Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
• [562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
ooo herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593
[182] The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
• [562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the
S occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The Tibetans/

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 • 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 881 [302] [292] [594] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [695] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

*563 585 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 544 852 852 • [562] [751] The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

[853]

*563 553 852 [793] The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 764 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 [755] [793] When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 763 764 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 764 562 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

/Chinese Moslems/

acter Hui signifying "to return."

The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old administration

of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other-well. His Oriental style of court life was approved by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organised official-dom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have any opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. 000
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh 563
trick practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup 221

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him every day during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I 562
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their 576
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the
process the wives became like commodities, albeit precious
ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their
wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the
women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and
Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks
to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters- 587
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they 607
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

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Kalmyk

remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to 437
him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, 563
like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which
one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling.
I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a 563
great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the 221
Horkuma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once
they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them
up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use
them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over
the great nuisance of having to change camp-site and endlessly hav-
ing to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the
farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of 563
their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided 562
contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strict-
ly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many
rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult
because the women had too little vision and would often not permit
the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having
large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can snatch
away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my 563
visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool 236
was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half tael were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels-20 marks. While I was in Barun a special courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

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the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun
hurk. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts
in groups of three and four of first Dun- and then Barun- Mongols.
Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I
exhibited my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep
for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen,
but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang
with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [591]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of
living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink
and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work
and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and incur the fortunes of the
family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man
who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was
given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale,
the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my com-
panions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mon-
gol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom
compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols
have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he 428
has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the
father is still living and the parents get old parents barely enough to
them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the
times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable
of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to
protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family
property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than 888
parasites and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to
live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that
was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their
son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual-
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while 546

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and a few oil lamps in the main street. A dao tai li had made him- 178
self very unpopular with the population two years before because he
wanted to force them to sweep the streets and because he numbered
the houses. He aroused superstitious fear in doing so and it almost
came to open rebellion.

Following the broad fertile valley of the Hsi Ho, one travels 487
from Tsinchow at first for a few hours between the persimmon tree
[illegible] beneath which poppies are grown - Tsinchow was, be- [illegible]
fore the war on opium, /327/ the center of opium-growing. In the
afternoon we crossed over in a ferry to the northern shore of the Wei
Ho (1,120 meters above sea level). Only a poor foot-path follows
the course of the Wei River, and this serves the small amount of local
traffic. The main road, a mule track leads over Tsing schui hsien
with about 3,000 inhabitants (1) and 15 li from there to the east I

1. A day's journey farther to the north is the important and busy spot of Tschwang kia tschwan under the jurisdiction of the Tsing schui mandarin, in which only Hui hui live and in which the chief ahun of the entire region has his residence.

In the Tsing schui district I saw for the last time a veiled Chinese woman. The custom that a young woman wears a black face veil in the first years of her marriage if she shows herself in public, is as frequent in the district of Tsinchow as in that of Hsining fu.

came out of the loess-covered clay mountains of the Tsinchow basin
into granite and entered a tangled and lonely wooded mountain range
which is connected with the Liu pan Shan and the mountain of Kung
dung Shan (40 li southwest of Ping liang fu) to which pilgrimages are
made. We soon lost our way completely in the ravines, had a wet
bivouac in the woods and did not get to the large mule track and
across the highest point on the Liu pan Shan (2,250 meters).
for two days. From this high point we looked south across long,
equally high ridges to the peaks, already mow-capped, of the Tsin
lung range, while in the east we already saw the low-lying loess of
the lower Wei Valley basin. I was now only a few hours from the
commercial city of Lung tschou which is still 980 meters high, and
soon one admires from below the mountain wall which extends in
almost meridional direction from Tsin lung Shan to the Lo Shan, Niu
tou Shan and Ala Shan and separates the present-day province of

563

563 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION--alien and immigrant subgroups; racial and national minorities, cultural differences between and characteristics of ethnic and minority groups, social and political status of ethnic subgroups; race prejudice and discrimination; assimilation and irredentism; extent of intermarriage; race crossing and amalgamation; racial hybride and their status; etc. See also:

Racial alliance	144	Ingroup antagonism	878
Elite composition of population	152	Nazification	641
Immigration	187	Conversion	487
Acculturation	175	Religious persecution	796
Degree of subcultural differentiation	184	Race theories	859
Ethnocentrism	186		

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghis (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Usbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-pu) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghis, Usbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghis, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (karis system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Büks with various ranks: the Ak'im-Bük, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bük, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bük, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bük, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Büks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N 175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
657 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
563 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
669 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N 175 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eartern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
E K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bMks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S
N units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 . Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat" (or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [209] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of [184] authority of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:

• 563 794 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia, another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family, and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a 563 794 177 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

• 563 794 177 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical [144] characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing [262] to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their [272] tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge [213] less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be [346] architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

N • 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a S small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle [422] owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

S The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N The Monguors:

N 563 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 341 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 23 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [564] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 B 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organisation and training of the men. Later

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
198 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
199 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
M [191] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
M 195 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
199 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

S N 563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
S N selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the
[651] societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
563 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
798 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful
182 Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

S N 563 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history,
182 continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual
S N understanding and esteem.

563 Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the
668 minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic
[641] regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the
S N nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities
[197] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivisation is yet to come.

S N Since the overwhelming majority of the population of
563 the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the
829 state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

S N The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and
563 ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described
668 as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities
578 and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension
669 and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

S N Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest
829 has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

S N The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main
829 and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation
591 among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

● 563

[For information on the various ethnic groups in Northwest China, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 140, 152-158, 177-180, 192-195, 199-211, 223-229, 235-238, 243, 258-275, 291-296, 301-302, 304-309, 316, 319-320, 358-359, 391-396, 421-424, 429, 432-434, 459-460, 475-476, 480-482, 484-485, 499-502, 504-505, 508-510, 516-517, 521, 524, 541, 543-544, 569-570, 574, 584-588, 630 and 689.]

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the SN Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization [668] can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances SN the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic 563 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily 153 matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable 577 inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered SN "bad" deeds.

563 153 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

SN 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

SN 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

SN 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN 563 775 771 [827] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 799 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 935 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 799 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a (798) united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

SN 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized SN [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

SN Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks 563 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in 795 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been 799 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only 668 true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern 795 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

SN As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it 563 can be stated that because of their geographical separation SN (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification SN and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only 563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say 668 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic 177 group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

S IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. SN In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious 181 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced 771 it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true [769] religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most S N [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer- [476] cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 971 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [992] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [994] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

S N V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

563 233 [423] [476] The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. S N 563 181 Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N S 563 181 As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, S N and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, 563 181 Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all 971 B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le 114 feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

N 563 992 Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its S N Lamaistic academies.

563 568 233 [361] There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
771 and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is
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181 rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as
[829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

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[635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively
[162] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

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181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided
166 into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu
167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

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181 Among the Chirese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile
N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed
[812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

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[668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

B. Population Problems

1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

"Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

1. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1)	New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2)	Kazakhs	300,000 "
3)	Kirghiz	70,000 "
4)	Taranchi	43,000 "
5)	Uzbeks	8,000 "
6)	Tatars	5,000 "
		3,426,000

It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1)	Chinese	about 210,000 people
2)	Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1)	Olots	15,000 people
2)	Torguts	18,000 "
3)	Khoshuts	21,000 "
4)	Chahar	8,000 "

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AII

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N [589]

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 563 342 171 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwellings

Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

S N 563 342 35 [369] [531] S N [212]

Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings. Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed mud houses built along the cliffs.

S N 563 262 184 S 563 262 184

b. Food

Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used. In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat, though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available, as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N 563 252

Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian, Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium. They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to prescribed religious ritual.

S N 563 291

The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

S N 563 291 S [292]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han-Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 979 984

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 185 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 979 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

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CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

658 schools.
871 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
*175 teachers and fourteen primary schools.
• 563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
[648] front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[658] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.
874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai
[872] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which
[563] served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-
• ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area
The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their
*668 own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as
179 follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 631 182 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 647 635 631 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 647 632 631 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan, and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

The mobile trading units are especially designed for the control of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to another, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

From T'ungKuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [712] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin 788 Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

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438 vegetable wax, cotton, hemp, hides, bristles, edible wood
fungus, tobacco, indigo, paper, cane sugar, straw braid, etc.,
241 of which the most important is the wood oil[1], crushed out of
the seeds of an apple-like fruit ripe in the autumn. Coal,
135 iron, copper, gold, silver, antimony, and asbestos, and perhaps other minerals, exist in the neighbourhood. As a result the basin of the upper Han is one of the most prosperous regions in the whole of China and the population one of the wealthiest. Rice is usually cheaper even than in Szechuan. But in spite of its prosperity the region is isolated and backward as regards foreign improvements, and will probably undergo a very rapid development when tapped by a railway. It is one of the anomalies of modern China that this rich well-populated region and also the productive wheat and cotton-growing prairies of the Wei River valley should still be without railway communication, though neither are really difficult to get at.

186 The population of Hsingan is somewhat rough, not over
friendly to foreigners, and strongly tainted with secret
563 society influence, and compares unfavourably with that of Hanchung and the towns further up the valley, which have been populated by the more kindly Szechuanese. There is a considerable Mahomedan community of immigrants from Kansu, who as elsewhere keep very much to themselves.

487 The Han River is of course the main artery of com-
munication. To Hankow downstream takes one to three
133 weeks according to the state of the water, and the return journey upstream one to two months. Steam navigation on the upper Han seems to be out of the question owing to the shallows, shifting channels, and rapids. The worst rapids, some of which are very dangerous, lie between Yang Hsien (at the lower end of the Hanchung plain) and Hsingan.

136 There is good pheasant, partridge, and wild-fowl shooting to be had round Hsingan, and immediately to the south lies a very wild and sparsely-inhabited mountain region on the borders of Shensi, Hupei, and Szechuan, which is said to harbour all kinds of big game, such as deer, goat, pig, bear, leopard, and even the tiger.

[1] Wood oil is nowadays one of the most important articles of the China export trade; the trees flourish on bare stony mountain sides incapable of other cultivation, and are worth studying from the point of view of afforestation generally.

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palatially lodged in the house of a former provincial governor.

There are at least three roads from Hsihsiang to Hanchung, *via* Yang Hsien, Ch'engku Hsien, and Kulupa respectively. We followed the latter, a three days' march. The path runs up the Muma Ho for some 15 li, where the hills close in on the river and bring the valley to an end, and then runs through the hills and along the river to the village of Matsung T'an, 50 li from Hsihsiang and, owing to a small rapid, the head of navigation for small boats on the Muma Ho, up to this point a placid stream. A little further on the trail leaves the main stream, which here flows down from the south, and turns up a small sandy tributary to the south-west, then turns west through low wooded hills intersected by rice fields, and then runs north-west up a small valley to reach the village of Shaho K'an, 25 li from Matsung T'an. This village lies, as its name implies, in a pleasant region of low sandy hills covered with small woods and intersected by rice fields much resembling Szechuan. For some reason or other it is largely a Mahomedan community with two mosques. In the woods one will often see heaps of old timber, carefully stacked, for the growth of a vegetable fungus called *mu erh* (wood ears), which is a much esteemed delicacy and forms quite an important article of commerce in the Han valley.

The next stage is from Shaho K'an to Kulupa, a distance of 70 li. The path runs up the narrow valley of the stream, occasionally cutting across the low wooded hills, for 30 li to the village of Sunchia P'ing, where the hills open out and encircle a little rice plain. The district of Ch'engku is here entered. The country is a maze of little wooded hills intersected by gullies growing rice, and its chief feature is the sand. The hills are of soft disintegrating sandstone, the stream is a trickle of water in a sandy bed, and the path a firm sand embankment between stream and rice fields. It is evidently an old sandstone plateau cut up into hills and gullies by the action of water, like so much of Szechuan. North of the Ch'inling Shan such a country would be a desert; here with the more abundant rainfall and its resultant vegetation, it is a garden. From Sunchia P'ing the trail continues westwards for a time up the stream, and then, as

S 793 [692] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has S [794] no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the
563 Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the
[197] Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of cor-
[142] rupt Turkish.

N The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the
795 Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found
[361] on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to
N the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this re-
[669] spect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against
[793] the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated
[177] many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not
[212] burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and ad-
798 ministrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

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TABLE I.

CONCURRENT POSTS HELD BY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1952

*175
635
*668
• 563

(All Communists, unless specified otherwise)	GOVERNMENT					MILITARY		PARTY		MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MINORITY PARTIES	
	CENTRAL		NORTHWEST								
	ADMINISTRATIVE	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	MAC	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP	NW AND SINKIANG BUREAUS	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST
Chang Chia-fu		1	2	1							
Chang Chih-chung (KMT-RC)	1		3			2				3	1
Chang Chung-hsün		1	1			1	1	1			
Chang Pang-ying			1		2				2		
Chang Tzu-fang (woman)			4							1	
Chia T'o-fu			4		1				1		
Han Chao-o (DL)	1		3		1					2	
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan-NC)			3		2						
Hsi Chung-hsün	2		3						1	1	
Ma Hsi-wu		1	2	1							
Ma Ming-fang			2		1				1	1	1
Ma Hung-pin (CM-NC)			4		2						
Ma Wen-jui			3						3		
P'eng Te-huai	2		3			2	1	1	1	1	
Saifuddin (Uighur)	3		3		1				1	1	1
Wang Feng			4						1		
Wang Shih-t'ai			4				1				
Wang Tzu-i	1		5						2		
Wu Hung-pin (CCM-DL)			1		2					3	1
Yang Ming-hsuan (DL)			3							1	1

ABBREVIATIONS CM Chinese Moslem DL Democratic League NC Non-Communist
KMT-RC Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

following page 490

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

174 B. Current Problems of Administration

*668 Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, [656] very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are 579 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one *668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the 669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counterrevolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated...," (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un- • 563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese *668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings 669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. I hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

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of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them[1] partly because of the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range immediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

487 Han valley like the main road does. The trail runs S.W.
down this valley through fields of wheat and maize past
133 several villages, such as Huangniu P'u, Hunghua P'u, and
Ts'aoliang Yi, in any of which a halt can be made. The
Tung Ho is here, in summer, already a fair-sized mountain
torrent, only just fordable, and is joined by several tributary
torrents from the wooded mountains on either side.
Between Ts'aoliang Yi and Feng Hsien, a distance of 70 li,
the river runs mostly through winding gorges, with the
path, a good mule-trail, ledged in the cliff over the water.

[361] Feng Hsien, a third class district city, consists of one
long street with a certain amount of life in it owing to the
traffic on the high road. It lies hidden by poplars in a
[E63] pretty cultivated valley. The confines of Kansu are not far
off and there seem to be a good many Kansu Mahomedans
in the district. There is plenty of loess in the Tung valley
round Feng Hsien, though it is on the southern side of the
Ch'inling watershed. There is not, so far as I know, any
loess in the Han basin, but it may be noticed in the valleys
of the headwater streams of the Chialing Chiang both here
and above Li Hsien in Kansu, and doubtless in other places
too. The presence of this loess south of the watershed range,
which further east forms a barrier to and is the southern
limit of this formation, seems to require a good deal of
explaining; if the loess was deposited by water the fact that
the relative height of the watershed above the ground north
of it is so much lower in the west than in the east, may
perhaps account for it.

484 We met a good deal of traffic on this road, in contrast to
the empty trails of Northern Shensi, consisting of strings
of coolies and pack-mules carrying tea, umbrellas, iron, etc.,
from Szechuan and the Han valley to Hsian and the towns
of the Wei basin; when we got into Szechuan the contrast
was still more marked, and the traffic was practically an
endless procession of carrying coolies going both ways; and
this in spite of the fact that Northern Szechuan abounds in
brigands too, but apparently of a less formidable character
than those of Northern Shensi.

487 At Feng Hsien the trail leaves the Tung River, which
flows S.W. into Kansu, and turns up the mountain side to
133 the south, reaching the pass, the Feng Ling (6300 feet) after

634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[443] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is 361 half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from 162 a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely 563 scattered throughout the districts of the province as merchants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The 563 Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides 792 a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yünnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, 487 a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan 133 pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern 619 Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured 563 prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

119 Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-
661 chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in
563 the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west, 487 reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence 133 it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang [242] side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

797 missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 175 1911; and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated 661 a province, there was little sympathy with the republican 563 cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

635 The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the
563 Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

affairs of the province during those critical times appears 635 to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the 563 troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the 669 province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the 563 so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

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down; and in that wild and out of the way country there soon arose a shortage of supplies for so many thousands. Northwards towards Lanchou the way was barred by the Moslem troops of Ma An-liang, and southwards towards the rich province of Szechuan the intervening country was wilder and even more desolate; and so the rebels started back the way they had come, through towns and villages already laid waste. The mountain tracks were bad, the stages long, and food and fodder scarce. The bridge across the T'ao at Minchou had been destroyed, and many were drowned in the fierce waters of this Tibetan torrent. At Fuchiang and other places on the road the local people wreaked a terrible revenge for what they had suffered, and many hundreds of rebels hiding in the cornfields and scrub were beaten to death with sticks and agricultural implements. Many straggled back through Shensi with their silver and opium to their homes in Honan, but this was really the end of the White Wolf rebels whom 30,000 picked troops of China's modern army had completely failed to destroy in the central provinces six months previously.

With the disappearance of the White Wolf rebels and the surrender of the nominal government by the Mahomedans to Yuan Shih-k'ai's Governor, peace returned to the province. During the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916 there was a renewal of unrest, especially after Shensi had joined the rebels, and influence was brought to bear on the Governor from various quarters, urging him to resign or secede from Peking. But a declaration of independence was successfully staved off until Yuan Shih-k'ai's death relieved the situation, perhaps largely owing to the attitude of Ma An-liang, who prepared his troops for action, and let the republicans know that if anyone was to succeed the Governor it would be himself, and that he and his Mahomedans would stick by Yuan to the last.

The shadow of another Mahomedan rebellion is always over the Chinese in Kansu, who stand in great fear of the Moslems and have passed through some anxious times during recent years. But the general opinion we heard expressed was that there was no need for alarm as long as the Mahomedans continue to be guided by the wise and statesmanlike leadership of their present chiefs.

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Many villages are passed on this stage, the largest being Ssushihli P'u and Chaochiakengtzu, 40 and 50 li out respectively. Ningyuan (new name Wushan Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in the irrigated valley of the Wei River producing heavy crops of corn and hemp. 487 133

From Ningyuan to Fuchiang is a long stage called 100 li. The road continues down the valley, crossing a loess ridge just before getting to the large market village of Lomen Chen, 30 li out. The valley on this stretch of the road is very fertile, thickly populated, and well timbered. Fuchiang is quite a wealthy town, and this part of Kansu is probably the richest in the province, with the exception perhaps of the Ninghsia plains. It used to be a centre for the opium trade, now more or less extinct. The poppy was formerly [276] cultivated extensively in all the irrigated areas in Kansu, and the product was considered the best native-grown opium in China and was in great demand in Peking, Tientsin, and North China generally.

At Fuchiang the road leaves the Wei valley and ascending a gorge in the loess hills, crosses a steep little pass and descends to the large village of Kuantzu Chen, 40 li out. From here it continues down this valley, that of a tributary of the Wei, passes through a stony gorge, and emerges at the village of Liushihli P'u, 60 li from Fuchiang, whence there is a good road through cultivated fields down the valley for the remaining 60 li to Ch'in Chou. The latter, now [36] known as T'ienshui Hsien, consists of no less than five cities built one alongside the other, and is one of the largest and most important towns in the province. A considerable [438] trade is carried on with Shensi and Szechuan, the exports consisting of the regular products of Kansu, such as wool, hides, deer's horns, furs, musk, rhubarb, mountain medicines, tobacco, and opium, and the imports of silk, tea, piece goods, etc. The Szechuanese element in the population is considerable, and the proximity of that province is in many ways noticeable. It is not a Mahomedan centre, but there [563] is a small community of Moslem merchants engaged as usual in the horse and cattle trade and in the export of hides to [438] Hankow. Two roads lead from here into Shensi, one *via* Hui Hsien to Hanchung, and the other *via* Ch'ingshui to Fenghsiang; two roads also lead into Szechuan, one *via*

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trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 187
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

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PLATE XXVII

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TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

TIBETAN VILLAGERS AND MAHOMEDAN SOLDIERS

[FACING P. 134]

563 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu
609 still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills,
487 crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.
563 Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque
[361] little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence
[792] on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the
[576] usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grasslands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be
487 about 8000 feet at Choni.

133 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

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Old T'ao Chou lies in a valley about ten li north of the 361
T'ao River at an elevation of about 9000 feet in the same region of bare red hills with cultivated valleys as the New City. At the time of our visit its chief feature was the fact that the four walls enclosed nothing but a mass of ruins, the town having been completely burnt out by the White Wolf rebels the year before; we saw many a ruined city in Kansu in the course of our travels—indeed in that province ruins are the rule rather than the exception—but nothing so utterly and completely destroyed as Old T'ao Chou. Outside the city, however, there was a suburb which did not seem to have suffered much, and here we were well lodged in a large Tibetan inn. T'ao Chou is the Kansu 439
counterpart of Tachienlu and Sûngp'an in Szechuan, a centre for the exchange of the products of China and Tibet, where barley meal, piece goods, tea, tobacco, and Chinese wares such as saddlery, boots, guns, felt, etc., are exchanged for wool, skins, furs, gold dust, medicines, deer's horns, Tibetan incense, and other produce of the highlands, a lucrative trade here largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. There are, however, certain marked differences in the conditions ruling at T'ao Chou and Tachienlu. For instance in the latter place trade during recent years has been greatly interfered with by the hostilities which have been carried on intermittently between Chinese and Tibetans during the past few years, whereas at T'ao Chou the traffic has been uninterrupted; secondly at Tachienlu the lamas and native tribesmen have been completely cowed by the Chinese and are not allowed to carry arms, whereas at T'ao [563]
Chou the wild-looking nomads swagger about the streets armed to the teeth, and have so far only been bested by the Chinese in commercial transactions.

A road leads from T'ao Chou through the grass country 487
of the independent Golok to Jyekundo and Central Tibet. Though this route is little known, it is said to pass through 133
good grass country most of the way, and is perhaps the easiest road from China into Tibet. Another road leads south to Sungp'an in Szechuan, passing over the Min Shan by a peculiar looking square gap in this rocky barrier range, called the "Shih Men" (Stone Gate), but it is little used traverses the territory of one of the most lawless tribes

is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

similarly on the grass lands north of Peking a *Hsi K'ou Ma* (pony from the Western Passes, i.e. Kansu) is a drug in the market; and both are useless on the stone paved paths south of the Ch'inling Shan, where the diminutive stallions of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichou alone are employed. Small horses from Turkestan are also often seen in Kansu, but they are not as satisfactory to use as the native ponies. A *sine qua non* of all travelling ponies is that they should be able to *tsou*, which means the smooth amble or pace of four to five miles an hour always used by the travelling horseman in Eastern Asia; a pony that cannot *tsou* is practically worthless as a mount in Chinese eyes, and the reason will be apparent to anyone who has tried to do a long journey on a pony which has no pace between a slow walk and a slow trot.

From Hsining to Lanchou there are two roads, a cart track *via* P'ingfan in eight stages, and a mule road down the Hsining River in six stages; we followed the latter. The first day's march is one of 75 li down the valley, which is most of the way a mile or so wide and bounded by bare dreary hills of loess and red sandstone patched with a white alkaline efflorescence, to the village of Changch'i Chai. Twenty-five li out at the hamlet of Hsiaohsia K'ou the hills close in to form a short defile, and the road crosses the river by a good bridge. Much of the valley is an arid waste like the hills, as the river runs part of the way in a trough at a lower level, thus rendering irrigation impossible. The next stage is one of 80 li to the village of Kao Miaotzu. The trail runs down the valley, fertile where irrigation can be practised; it passes through a rocky defile 15 li out and reaches the small district city of Nienpo 50 li out. Occasional glimpses are caught of the high range to the south separating the Hsining River from the Yellow River. There is a curious mixture of races in this neighbourhood, including some people locally called *T'u Jen*, who were described to us as "tame" aborigines, and some Mahomedans who are said to speak a Mongolian dialect. There is plenty of subject matter for the ethnologist's study in Western Kansu, as in Western Szechuan and Yunnan.

From Kao Miaotzu the road continues down the cultivated valley for 20 li to the village of Laoya. Here the

Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works.

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history.

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

CHAPTER X

FROM T'AOCHOU ACROSS THE GRASS-LANDS TO LABRANG MONASTERY, AND THENCE *VIA* HOCHOU BACK TO LANCHOU FU

Difficulties of travel west of T'aochou—Tibetan houses—Grass-lands of the Kokonor border—Tibetan nomads—Heitsō Monastery—Tibetans of Amdo—Labrang—Reception by Lamas—Hochou—Mahomedans in Kansu—Mahomedans and Christian missionaries—Return to Lanchou.

486 563 THE journey from Old T'ao Chou to Labrang monastery is usually made in four days, the distance being called 250 li. The track is little used and a local guide is essential, inasmuch as once on the grass-lands faint trails lead in all directions; a Tibetan interpreter is also useful, since few or no Chinese are met with *en route*. The Choni chief had very kindly deputed one of his own headmen to accompany us, since his jurisdiction extended some way towards Labrang, and the services of this man, as interpreter, guide, and sponsor were invaluable and cleared away all difficulties. We were also accompanied by half a dozen of the chief's Tibetan soldiers and as many Mahomedan braves, the latter being useful owing to the peculiar influence exercised at present by the Mahomedan leaders over the Tibetans; indeed it is commonly said locally that Labrang, formerly so bitterly hostile to the Chinese and strangers generally, is now entirely under the thumb of General Ma An-liang. It should be noted that the Kansu borderland differs at present from the same country in Western Szechuan in that the latter has been largely taken over by the Chinese, whereas the former has not. While in Szechuan, therefore, it may only be necessary to make arrangements with the Chinese officials for travel on the border, in Kansu it is necessary to arrange matters with the local native chiefs and the Mahomedans; otherwise travel west of T'ao Chou and Labrang is by no means safe. From Labrang to Ho Chou there is a mule trail much frequented by Mahomedan merchants, and no special arrangements are necessary.

[p. 138]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Leaving T'ao Chou the trail runs north-west over a low 487
pass in the red clay hills, traverses a cultivated valley
trending south, and ascends by easy gradients to another 133
pass, whence there is a particularly fine view over the Min
Shan to the south of the T'ao River. Beyond this point
Chinese cease to be seen. From this pass the track descends
steeply to another stream flowing south and then continues
north-west up a flat shallow valley bounded by bare grassy
hills. In this valley and its neighbourhood there are several [36]
Tibetan villages, in one of which, about 50 li from T'ao
Chou, we passed the night; its name has escaped me, if I
ever heard it. These villages are under the control of the
Choni chief, and preparations had been made to receive us
in the headman's house. The Tibetans are usually considered
to live under the hardest and most filthy conditions, which
is certainly so in the case of these Amdowa where they are
nomads on the grass-lands. But the houses of the headmen 342
of the agricultural Tibetan villages, both here and elsewhere
where we rested in them, showed an astonishingly high
standard of comfort and were superior to any Chinese house
I have seen. These houses are solidly built of wood and
stone of two stories, and the rooms of the one in which
we were lodged here were spotlessly clean and panelled
with stained wood.

An hour's march beyond this village the trail emerged 487
from the valley after topping an easy pass, where marmots 133
were very abundant, sitting up in front of their holes and
dodging in as one approached them. This pass is here the
boundary of the real grass-lands, and apparently the border
of the Choni chief's territory in this direction. Beyond it 235
all cultivation ceases, there are no more houses, and one
enters a region of shallow valleys and low mountains
(elevation about 11,000 feet) dotted with large herds of yak,
sheep, and ponies grazing round the black rectangular tents
of the Tibetan nomads, here, as elsewhere, called Drokba.
These grassy steppes, always referred to by the Chinese 133
as *Ts'ao Ti*, bound China everywhere on the north and
west, and always one ascends to them through a region of 563
broken mountains, whether it be from Szechuan or Kansu
up to the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, or from Chihli
or Shansi up to the highlands of Mongolia; and always it

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in
563 this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [491]

accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots. The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. 563
Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow 634
River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled 361
post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not 563
far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of 133
over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across 487
undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first [243] cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty 133
yards wide (in August). deep, and very rapid, has to be 487
crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads 491

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Êpo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious atmosphere created was always most irksome to us, feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different construction from those we had met with elsewhere, this being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn, or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded, and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities, the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

the sixty miles are far too long a journey for you to walk.'

CHAPTER X

A TIBETAN LAMASERY

563 THE Kanchow oasis reaches to the very foot of the Tibetan hills, and of all the North-Western towns which we visited, this city is the one most frequented by Tibetan travellers. We constantly met them strolling about the streets, or bartering their gold, silver, peacock-feathers and skins for the necessary grain which their nomadic life, as well as the climatic conditions, make it impossible for them to produce. The Christian community was deeply interested in these people, the more so since a recent visit to a Lamasery, where some of them had been hospitably entertained. It was therefore decided that a band of us should spend some time at the Kang Lung Lamasery, on the occasion of their yearly temple dances.

491 The first stage of the three days' journey was done by cart, and brought us to a large farmstead owned by a Christian man, who was making arrangements to supply us with sufficient mules, horses, and donkeys to carry us and our goods over the mountain pass. We were a party of twelve, and carried the tent in which we were to sleep, a folding-organ, a load of books, and a good supply of rice and flour. Five miles outside Kanchow is a wide and treacherous river, difficult to cross in the summer when snows are rapidly melting, and when thunderstorms in the mountains are frequent. Experienced men watch the river, and word was brought to us on the morning of our departure, that the waters

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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bought enough opium to kill herself, and kept it at hand for use when needs-be. A few nights later the Huei Huei appeared in her room, and informed her that she was his by right. Without a word she swallowed the opium, and then said: 'I shall soon be dead and you may do as you please with my body.' Meanwhile the neighbours, aware of what had happened, climbed on to the flat roof and shouted for Dr. Kao. He jumped out of bed, and seizing his medical bag, was soon over the roof. The woman was not yet unconscious, but when he wanted to give her treatment she said: 'Dr. Kao, it is useless for you to try and save me, for I shall cut my throat rather than consent to go with that man.' 'If you do as I tell you,' answered the Doctor, 'and trust me, I will protect you.' Then turning to the fierce, bearded bully he said: 'This woman is going to my wife this very night, and when you have anything to say to her you may come to me.' The Moslem slunk away and was seen no more, but the rage and hatred which Kao's uncompromising condemnation of evil stirred up in official and Moslem circles, burnt the fiercer, and vengeance on the Doctor was the more determined. The woman lived for months with Mrs. Kao, then having confessed her Christian faith, became one of the band of women who accompanied us to Suchow.

Besides the Chinese and Moslem populations of Kanchow, there are most interesting traces to be found of aboriginal races. It is not infrequent to meet men, women and children with fair, reddish hair of a finer texture and more curly than that of the Chinese, and light eyes, not blue but fawn-colour. They intermarry with the local people, have no distinctive customs, and are only recognisable by the constant reversion to type.

Soon after our arrival in Kanchow, it was reported

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any transition, from wastes of sand into a fertile zone, in which the city of Linshui stands. We arrived there in the evening, and after supper strolled out through the quiet street to the canal which bordered the watered land. Here we sat on a bank and looked down on what was to us a very beautiful and a very thrilling sight. The plain was wooded, and the early autumn frosts had painted the foliage with gorgeous tints which glowed under the level rays of the setting sun. A winding river showed here and there between the trees, and we knew that, hidden among the groves, lay the city of Suchow, around which our thoughts had centred for so many months, ever since the day at Pingliang when David Törnvall had laid his finger upon the map and said: 'Here is the city which awaits your coming.'

We sat until the sun had set nor did we care to speak, so full was the mind of each, of thought concerning all we had come through, and all that yet lay before us. Gradually the darkness closed in, and by starlight we slowly walked back to the inn, our hearts beating with high courage and great confidence in God our strength and our exceeding joy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPRING OF WINE

ANCIENT Suchow, known as Chiuchüan—the Spring of Wine—has vanished, having been replaced by the present town which has only arisen within recent years. The destruction of the former city being caused by the last great Mohammedan rising in 1862, the new settlers enforced a regulation ordaining that no Moslem should be allowed to reside within the walls, in consequence

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of which the eastern suburb has become the centre of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses, and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

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The population, as in all these cities of the North-West, is largely composed of Chinese from distant provinces who hold the main part of the trade in their hands. The Kansu man is the agriculturalist, but each village-centre offers scope for the trading capacity of a Honan or Shensi man, who opens a small shop in which he does a large business as grain-merchant and money-lender. The farmer values the services of this fellow-countryman, who helps him out of many difficulties, but hates the oppression of the Tungkan or Huei Huei—by which name the Chinese Moslem is known. The origin of the Huei Huei is disputable; they are a vigorous race of men, to whom the Chinese Government at one time made grants of land. They entrenched themselves in South Kansu, were responsible for the Mohammedan rebellion and massacres, and though quelled for a time they have so reasserted themselves as to now hold many of the important official positions in the North-West. Their regiments are feared by the local people, from whom they seize produce, grain, and animals, requiting them with personal violence if they dare to question the right of might.

An illustration of the high-handed dealings of the Huei Huei is supplied by the incidents which brought one of our women students into the Christian circle. She, a young woman with one small child, was married to an elderly man, who was both an opium-smoker and a gambler. Their little home was in a courtyard which backed Dr. Kao's dispensary. Her husband, after losing all his money in a gamble with a Huei Huei, put her up as the stake, and lost. She came to know of this, and when her husband spoke of going away from home for a few days, knew at once that this was a prearranged plan for the Moslem to come and claim her. She had no redress nor court of appeal, so she

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788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of
778 shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

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563.

barely entered the river-bed when we were joined by a party of Tibetans, who had come three days' journey to worship the Living Buddha. The young women with babies were mounted on camels, small children sitting before, and others clinging behind, and the remainder of the party rode little donkeys; one young woman holding before her, across the saddle, a live sheep which was to be their offering to the 'holy man.' As we overtook the party, an old woman, obviously very tired, and whose donkey was flagging, asked if we would let her little granddaughter ride on our cart, as the ass could no longer carry them both, so for the rest of the journey little Arti was our companion. She was a child of the mountains, and this was the first time she had ever ridden in a cart, this being her first visit to the plain.

The Tibetan ritual took the usual form of liturgies, intoned by rows of chanting lamas, who sat cross-legged facing each other, in the great, dark, pillared temple, below the dais on which the Living Buddha sat motionless. Round the door the groups of worshippers rose and fell in innumerable prostrations, bowing each time with their heads to the ground, until the whole forehead was black with dust. During the intervals of the liturgies an attendant ran in and out with a huge brass kettle full of 'butter tea,' and each lama drew from the folds of his shawl a polished wooden bowl, which was filled with the boiling beverage, then licked clean with the tongue, and replaced in the bosom.

The tribes which gather at Wenshu Miao belong to the 'Black Tibetan' group, and the women wore a handsome head-dress, high-crowned hat made of corrugated felt, and encircled with a splendid fox-brush. At one point of the ceremony a procession was formed, in which all the old women laid the volumes of the

563 sacred books on their shoulders, and marched through the temple courts and out into the valley, led by the chanting lamas, then returned to the temple precincts and piled up the holy books once more in the dark recess of the inner hall.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHILDREN OF THE NORTH-WEST

600 WHILE giving all due credit to the Pioneer Band of men and women, without whom the work accomplished would have been quite impossible, our highest tribute for sheer capacity and pioneering genius must be paid to the Children of the North-West! In spite of persistent poisoning of the mind by superstitious parents warning them that, harmless as we looked, we were steeped in guile, these plucky little people determined to stick it out and see us through. True, they half believed the gruesome stories told of being enticed to remote haunts, where eyes would be gouged out and hearts removed, then cleverly treated by magic and replaced, so that the victims, losing all power of resistance, might blindly follow us to the ends of the earth; but, meanwhile, they would 'wait and see.' We should be under their supervision, and they would prove for themselves whether the parents' old tales turned out to be right or wrong. Accordingly, from the day of our arrival, they watched us—watched us closely! Scouts were appointed to keep us and our doings continually examined, and every detail of our daily life was discussed by them. Did we go for a walk, then a gang escorted us; did we give a singing lesson, then a crowd outside the window soon formed,

000 third Tibetan Pass and Lamasery at Mati, about forty miles due south of Kanchow. The temple buildings, which proved to be both interesting and extensive, were built against a hill of yellow sandstone, and approached by a flight of one hundred stone steps. The most ancient shrines were in caves hollowed out of the stone and connected by tunnels and galleries which penetrated deep into the cliff. Many of the temples were inaccessible, except by the underground passages, and were lighted by windows cut in the most unexpected parts of the hill, high overhead. The various figures of the Buddha were finely carved, and among his attendant idols, which were Indian in style, were little, slim, alert, female figures with limbs swathed in light drapery and bangles on the ankles. Other rooms were in purely Tibetan style, with walls covered by small earthen *plaques* representing the sitting Buddha, or with well-preserved frescoes said to be the work of Tibetan artists.

During our visit there was masquerade-dancing by the lamas, whose costumes, used in the historical representations, were fine specimens of applied art of the Ming period. The Emperor Chien Lung endowed this Lamasery with one of his own imperial-yellow silk garments and a splendid inlaid saddle. In a dream he saw a unique temple and sent out messengers to seek the place of his vision. They wandered far and wide, but at last came to Mati, in which they at once recognised the object of their quest. The divine origin of the dream was confirmed when they saw a stone bearing the print of a horse's hoof supernaturally impressed by the steed of a deified rider, and to which Mati—'Horse's hoof'—owes its name.

563 Near our camp two families of Aborigines had taken possession of two disused caves in which they lived,

cultivating a small patch of ground. The women 563 wore their hair in a number of small plaits, Tibetan fashion, but their features were more refined than are the Tibetans, and they impressed us as being most intelligent.

We returned to Kanchow over a road which lay 247 between poppy fields now filled with gaunt, naked, dry 437 poppy heads from which the juice had been extracted. By the roadside, at small tables on which were piles of silver, and scales to weigh it out, sat the buyers of crude opium, and before them squatted groups of farmers haggling and quarrelling over the price of the bowls of thick, brown juice—the tragic harvest of their fields. The two months which we were able to give to 000 Kanchow passed only too rapidly, and as we were planning an extensive missionary journey for the early autumn we were obliged to start again for Suchow. We had only reached the first stage of the journey when our mule Lolly showed signs of illness, and we unwisely called in a village veterinary who assured us there was no cause for alarm, and wrote out a prescription.

Shortly after this noxious draught had been administered, the poor beast lay down in the inn court and died. Molly, who in ordinary circumstances would whinny incessantly if separated from her companion, took one long look at Lolly's dead body, heaved a sigh, and never called for her again.

On August 24th we reached Suchow, and immediately began the necessary preparations for the long journey ahead, in the course of which our aim was to visit every city of Kansu situated beyond the Great Wall.

We were a party of eight, including Elder and Mrs. 493 Liu, and their little boy. In order to carry sufficient 322 supplies we had to purchase a cart of the type peculiar to Kansu, having been made by a village carpenter

The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does 487 where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South 494 Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, 175 under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

Of the original city nothing now remains but a 361 ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by 563 market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason 733 for this change in the population is not far to seek, 563 opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

733 of the place are on the downward grade, being unable 563 any more to hold their own with the Moslems, who are forbidden by the laws of their religion to indulge in this vice, and so easily get its victims into their hands. Nevertheless, the memories of past prosperity, and the present post of importance held by the Military Commander, impart a certain consciousness of self-respect to the inhabitants of Tunhwang, so that the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the populace in this isolated spot.

563 Among our first visitors were two women from Kashgar. They were remarkably picturesque, and with splendid physique and deportment. They wore long, straight gowns of brilliant-coloured cloth, and a finely-woven veil falling below the waist, which softened the strong, handsome features, and gave them a most attractive appearance. They immediately mounted the *kang* barefoot, and it was a sight to see the face of Mrs. Liu—a model of Chinese propriety—as they slipped off their shoes, and the shapely feet were exposed. However, as they spoke Chinese fluently, she was soon in happy conversation with them. These ladies insisted that we should come that very afternoon to return their visit in their own home, and in an hour's time sent two charming children, wearing miniature Wellington boots, to escort us there. They led us safely past several ferocious dogs, through a spacious courtyard, to a living-room, where the whole family was assembled, the patriarch of the group being an Ahung, which corresponds to a Levite among the Israelites. After we had been seated for about half-an-hour, during which time they all listened attentively to the Gospel Story, a woman-servant appeared bearing a large dish of boiled lamb, the joints of which, being of the minutest size, were easily handled. The hostess,

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with unimpeachable manners, lifted the joints by the knuckle-bone, and gave us each one, saying, 'You know that it is not our custom to use chopsticks.' We accordingly sat, as to the manner born, and gnawed meat from the bones, greatly enjoying the entertainment. We also were specially pleased by the vivacity of the numerous small children, who sat in a circle on the floor round the brass dish, into which their elders from time to time threw their own half-stripped bones, to be further polished.

Several hours every day were afterwards spent by us in house-to-house visiting, and by this means we came into close contact with all sorts of people. After family prayers every morning, a couple of hours were spent in meeting the requirements of various early callers, many of whom came to buy literature, and also in arranging the day's campaign. Our method of gaining an entrance into the distant farm-houses was to carry an English book, and after walking a suitable distance, sit down and read aloud in the foreign tongue. On not one single occasion did we get through a page before some woman came out, greatly interested by what was taking place, and invited us into her home.

In one house we found an old lady of seventy, trembling with excitement at the prospect of seeing us, for the news had reached her that we were preaching 'the forgiveness of sins,' a blessing for the attainment of which she had vainly devoted all the years of her life, and she was now almost blind, and with death drawing near. No sooner did we appear in the doorway than she knelt up on the *kang*, calling out to her granddaughter: 'Burn the incense! They have come!' Protest was useless, for she had heard a report of our doings, and, in her eyes, our celibacy, combined with our age and the long and fatiguing journeys which we

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 651 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches. [661]

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living there and these were missionaries. 563 My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to the city in the spring of 1904. 651 In the summer of 1905 the old, very reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. 185 This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. [316] But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. [436] He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. [316] But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border.

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay in Lanchow fu. 574 524 I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574 was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

631 563 captain) is the Chinese name for the hereditary and domiciled Tibetan princes.

Di dao there are families who pay the kia tu se a sort of head tax a families who belong to the neighboring prince, the Yang tu se of Dschoni near Tao tschou, and in between live ordinary and Mohammedan Chinese who are subject to the tschou, the sub-prefect of Di dao. (3) These Tu se belong to the old Tibetan or Mongolian

3. The district of Di dao is said to have had 71,432 families or 516,000 inhabitants in 1831.

aristocracy, they have their own jurisdiction, but are treated condescendingly as barbarians by the Chinese officials in the province far from Peking, who have no feeling for aristocracy. When they are invited to dinner, the tu se - even though they may be holders of important mandarin buttons - must sit at the end of the table among the youngest lieutenants. In hereditary succession they must buy their position in the form of large sums of money payable to the /160/ provincial officials. They, like the Mongol princes of the Ordos and of Ala Shan are subject to special officials of the nearest Chinese district.

563 From Di dao tschou I traveled west through a country of loess- and clay hills and after three days came to the city of Ho tschou. My way was a carriage way, at least the Chinese used it for carriages. It led quite close to the Tibetan border. I had scarcely crossed the Tao River at Di dao tschou on the narrow, swaying wooden bridge which is set up on high sawhorses each winter when the river is low, when I met wild-looking figures dressed in limp and, in many cases, torn fur coats and with pliant, but determined bold and imperious movements. They were the first Tibetans. Most of them were mounted. With a sword in their belts they sat on bony, scrubby ponies and pulled their stirrups and thighs so high up that their calves lay almost horizontally against the sides of the small riding horses. When such a horseman appeared my servants became obsequious; however, I had only Chinese from the lowlands, who had never seen a Tibetan. But the bronze-colored figures were capable of making even a European uncomfortable.

The farmers living along the road also took on a different appearance. There was as yet no noticeable difference in the way they wore their pigtails, bound their feet or built their houses

[text continues on p. 263]

484 *kang*, scratched by a nail in the grime of the wall, were the following lines :

> 'To-day we came to Ansichow ;
> Midday to morn onward we go ;
> All through the night carters' oil-bottles flow ;
> Heat, hunger, thirst, cold I now truly know ;
> The mere sight of a cart makes my courage sink low ! '

This gloomy poem referred, we knew only too well, to the next stage of the journey, spoken of by the carters as a ' thirty-mile march which, with luck might be accomplished in eighteen hours.' On the opposite wall some homesick traveller had also written :

> ' Tho' a man travels far, yet his heart bides at home,
> 'Tis the prospect of wealth that still urges him on.
> But he looks for home joys when his hardships are past,
> And his wife's well-trimmed lamp guides his feet back at last.'

484 From Ansi we entered on a period of twelve brackish
312 water stages, and with this in view we bought some gourds as water-bottles, in addition to the aluminium flasks we always used for our personal supply, as well as a large zinc can given us by a Turki friend. There
[244] was still no fruit to be had, but cucumbers were plentiful.
[563] The Turki bakers, who formerly supplied us with excel-
[486] lent bread, had vanished. They were unable any longer to travel freely, and preferred returning to their
252 own people in Turkestan. We, however, laid in good stocks of *kwo kwei*, so familiar to every traveller in Kansu. These are round loaves of bread, two inches thick, measuring two feet across, and are baked on a circular iron plate covered with an iron lid, beneath and above which straw is burnt, while the heat of the smouldering embers suffices to cook the loaf.

000 A few days were enough for rest and provisioning, and for the small repairs needed by the carts, then once

from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563 ●
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely populated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them [361]
the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper. 563
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 579
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had rebelled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

361 Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the
701
563 ●

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Moham- 563 ●
medans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. [346]
Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their 631
country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

000 The ting told me of his adventures in the grasslands. He kept repeating how glad he had been to get out again alive. It was a dreadful land, this prairie land. He had been obliged to ride through the cold steppes for months on end. It was like winter in the middle of summer. And these bad roads, these storms in the passes! He told of wolves, bears, even tigers, and said that the dogs of the nomads were as large as calves and much wilder and more snappish than raving lions. And then the rivers! He said he had to ride through them on horseback or swim across. When he came to Denang, thousands of heavily armed Ngolok had surrounded him and threatened him. Amid threats they had called out to him: "We Ngolok are as numerous as the stars in the sky; what do you think you can accomplish with 45 men?" He said they had acted like disturbed hornets! The supreme authority of the Chinese emperor was in no wise acknowledged. They even wanted to stamp their riding boots on the imperial seal, which is a sign of the deepest disdain. He had been unable to accomplish a thing and for this reason the expedition even cost him a great deal of money. He lost his own riding horse and many yak who succumbed as a result of great exertions. The Chinese government finally paid part of the damage in order to satisfy the Lhasa Tibetans and above all the monasteries. "You who were born earlier, wait until the amban gives you soldiers to take along. You had better go to the lake in summer," thus spoke the friendly ting mandarin.

I replied, "Your illustrious colleague, the sub-prefect of Hsining, told me that it is impossible to launch a boat on the lake, it won't stay afloat, that a /179/ a ship sinks immediately, and that the waters of the Koko Nor do not have the power to keep a ship afloat."

[823] "Of course, if you must go out on the water and visit the island then you can only go now. I, too, know that the waters of the western sea do not have any supporting power." (1)

1. A superstition to which the Chinese cling tenaciously. There is not a ship to be seen on the entire lake.

"I shall see that you get soldiers during the time of the New Year," concluded the Chinese district chief, picked up the cup of tea which was set before him, noisily sipped a few draughts and took his leave.

361 563 Dankar ting is a city of about 8,000-10,000 inhabitants and an outlying stronghold of Chinese culture which, like the city of

Hsining and To ba, stems from the military colonizations of the Han period. (2) The city is 2,680 meters above sea level. In the 361 563

2. A few lis below the present city of Dankar, at the upper mouth of the valley, there are huge loam walls that might go back to the Tang period.

vicinity barley, oats, and vetch are raised, but no longer much wheat. There are still real Chinese farmers as far up as this, although not very many. With their industry and their stable culture they have spread out wherever the earth promises a yield, especially in the axes of the larger valleys. But in Hsining fu today, i.e., in the district under the Hsining inspector, to which Dankar belongs, all the smaller lateral valleys are inhabited by remnants of non-Chinese peoples. The Mohammedans who have been more than decimated since 1895 are to be found in great numbers only in certain places. One has the impression as though they were once artificially pushed in between the Chinese and Tibetans and as though the Chinese were only now following after. All the Chinese in Hsining fu still maintain that they come from the lowlands, most of them saying that they came from the Nanking region. (3) It is 563 167

3. Kiangsu province; either as military colonists or as exiles.

considered too barbaric to say that one comes from the land itself, just as in the province of Szechwan where the Chinese still assure you that they come from such and such a province but never from Szechwan itself, even though it has 45, in fact some people say 68 million Chinese today. (4)

4. The official count (better, estimate) of the year 1902 reports 68,724,890 inhabitants for Szechwan. Hosie, probably the greatest specialist on that region, estimates the population at 45 million. According to the census of 1911, it probably has 55 million. According to earlier official estimates, Kansu was said to have 10 million inhabitants. According to the census of 1910/11 Kansu has between 3,800,000 and 4,500,000 inhabitants, or 711,000 independent and 195,639 dependent families or households. Thus, according to my calculation, it has 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. 161

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361 563 443

Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal mon ony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonder. It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

485 437 631

The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is always bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had its own particular hsië dä where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has changed insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyone still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dankar in 1845 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as a Mongol he could find shelter only in such a house. In the

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K 619

14. The horde of the Hartschiu (Khara tschut) dsassak, formerly five squadrons and 750 families, now only 40 families who wander on the north shores of Danassu Nor.

15. The horde of Mortschi dsassak in the Lala Valley, southwest of Dankar ting, today a few families.

16. The horde of the Torgho dsassak around Schara khoto, today about 120 families.

17. The horde of the Gomi dsassak around Balegun Gomi on the north shore of the Hwang Ho, today 30 families.

18. The horde of Da tung dsassak near Da tung tscheng.

19. The horde of the Dia schir dsassak west of the Kurlik.

The Koko Nor Mongols on the right bank of the Hwang Ho have maintained themselves relatively better. Of the five banners which were formed after 1723 south of Kue de ting (one banner with one squadron Torghut, four banners with close to 20 squadrons of Khoshot) there are about 4,000 left. But in dress and manner of living they have adapted themselves almost completely to the Tibetans. Their highest aristocrat as leader (dsassak) of the first front banner was made king of the first class (tsin wang) a few years later because of his services in the conquest of Central Tibet in the years 1718/19. He has his residence in the monastery of Labrang gomba and designated himself on his Chinese calling card as Hwang Ho nan tschün wang (king south of the Hwang Ho) Ba la tschü la bu da (Mongolian: name would be Baltschür Rabdan). He is the most respected Mongol ruler of the Hsining amban-general through whom he annually drew a pension of 36 yüan bau at 50 taels and 34 bales of silk. The rest of the dsassak south of the Hwang Ho remained taidschi of the first class.

K [177]

There were once three tschün wang altogether (wang of the second-class), two bei le (princes of the third class), two bei tse (princes of the fourth class), four gung (dukes), eighteen taidschi each of whom led a banner battalion.

K 619 C 563

If in the census of 1910, the results of which were published on February 27, 1911 as the last important deed of the Manchu in the Peking state newspaper, the Hsining banner was said to have 2,032 families, this refers to these same Mongolian banners, and according to that the total number of Koko Nor Mongols amounts to barely 10,000 souls. The erstwhile power and strength of the Khoshot dwindled through the division into banners and the simultaneous creation of so many "lords" and courts. The Mongols of the Koko Nor became such un-war-like shepherds that they no longer had any

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weapons when the Tibetans overran them in 1840.

The banner leaders were obliged to travel personally to the Manchu court in Peking every five years, in order to show their submissiveness and to bring tribute, and their journey was paid for from the Hsining border via Hsingan fu, Tai yüan fu by the Chinese officials; they received carriages and horses and every day a royal dinner. Usually a few Mohammedan and Chinese merchants joined them, from whom the Mongol dsassak profited. Nevertheless, the tribute journey was regarded as an oppressive duty by the Mongols. It is true, that as the princes grew older the semi-annual journey (twice 4,500-5,000 lis) was certainly not child's play. The Mongols abhor the crowded cities and the close quarters in Chinese inns. Many of them lived on the entire journey going and coming, on tsamba and butter which they had taken along from home, and anxiously avoided the large bowls with the greasy dainties which were placed before them by the Chinese yamen servants.

In Peking the Mongol princes were admonished to remain faithful subjects, they were given gifts which usually amounted to more than the value of their tribute. Besides /193/ that, all Koko Nor chieftains also drew an annual salary which they were obliged to get from the dao tai in Hsining in the tenth month. The wang were given 1,200-1,800 taels of silver and 24 (36) balls of silk; the bei le 1,100 taels, 22 pieces of silk; the bei tse 300 taels and sixteen pieces; the gung 300 taels, six pieces of silk; the ordinary dsassak, 300 taels, 6 pieces of silk which for the simple nomads, which is what they mostly are today, is considerable revenue. But in recent times their salaries were not paid in full, and all kinds of illegal deductions were made. The expenses which the Manchurian court incurred on account of the Koko Nor Mongols often aroused displeasure among the Chinese. But they stuck to the arrangement and to the costly tribute-journeys until the Chinese revolution intervened and the entire northwest along with the province of Kansu was for a time completely severed from Peking.

K 619

P. K. Kozlow in his Mongolia i Kam (St. Petersburg 1906) has up to now given the best reports on the Koko Nor Mongols and lists the following banners for the Koko Nor which are divided into two edeget (brigades):

A. Dsun (left) edeget:

1. Tsing hai Wang, once 3,000 families, now 130 families (corresponds to my Wang Ka).

5: Tafel--418 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJT Tibet

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yüan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei yüan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei yüan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place. 361 133

For, Wei yüan bu is an important town. It can even be called a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabitants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 families. For me Wei yüan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administration of the hsien of Hsining. 361 [624] [274] [162] [443]

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues. 563 167

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Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

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subjects of Lu tu se who has his residence on the lower Da tung 563
River in Lien tschen. If one passes through a Tu ren village of this 342
kind, there is little noteworthy to be seen on an ordinary day. The
houses are the same stamped-loam, flat-roofed dwellings that the
Kansu Chinese build. At most /247/ we note that the women in
these towns wear their feet only lightly bound or not at all.

At the present time the Tu ren speak mostly Chinese, but they 563
have also kept alive a language of their own which only they under- 197
stand. It is not written and consists of many dialects. I was re-
peatedly told that almost no one is familiar with Mongolian writing.
Seven-tenths of the Tu ren language in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu
is made up of Mongolian words, the remaining three-tenths has many
peculiarities, probably of Turkish origin, but also contains Tibetan
and Chinese words. (1)

1. The following sample may already show that the language is related to the Mongolian:

1	-	niga	11	-	haran nigä
2	-	hor	20	-	horun
3.	-	horän	30	-	h'otschin
4	-	deren	40	-	tetschinn
5	-	t'awen	50	-	t'a yin
6	-	dyurgon	60	-	tscheran
7	-	dôlon	70	-	dalan
8	-	nimen	80	-	wayen
9	-	schetsin	90	-	yeren
10	-	haran	100	-	negadyon

I - bu (wu)
you - tschi
he - tie
There is no plural pronoun.

man	-	de dyekon
woman	-	wereken
child	-	mola beli
Mohammedan	-	h'ui h ui
Chinese	-	h'ara tschitad
Gumbum	-	sgumbun
woman's coiffure	-	nudar
camel	-	temien

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197	I eat	-	wu tschilarä
563	bread	-	borzordeno
	Buddha	-	skopdyo renbodye
	living Buddha	-	Yerech'tuch' te
	tea	-	dya
	teacup	-	aira
	sky	-	tingere
	temple	-	larang
	horse	-	more
	mule	-	lossa
	plough	-	radschar fulin (Mongolian on Koko Nor: diasse, meaning "tool" in Chinese)
	house	-	ger
	tent	-	re (black tents: mongu bau /Chinese/ the Mongolian tents)
	ride horseback	-	moru h'anä
	walk	-	so wade
	I came	-	tschüre wu
	I went	-	tschisch tschewu

563 The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu told me they were Mongols. In
101 their own language they call themselves mongrolken, and while
they call the other, actual Mongols of the region h'ara monggo,
that is: black Mongolians, they speak of themselves as the "white"
or "yellow" ones. Most of them are farmers today, like the Chinese
[186] who afterwards immigrated. Many of them are very proud and self-
conscious and regard themselves as very special and much better and
more aristocratic than the Chinese and Tibetans. Nor do they like
the real Mongols. This is obvious from the epithet h'ara meaning
"black" which they give them, for this is of course synonymous
with "bad," while they themselves are the tsah'an, the white or
good sheep. In Chinese they refer to themselves as "Tu ren." In
a valley west of Wei yüan bu they told me: "We are 'Tu gu h'u
ren' and we are the ones who came here first." It is true, I did not
find many of those who called themselves Tu gu h'u ren (often also
pronounced: Tu gu h'ung), probably 2,000 at the most, and they
did not have their own prince but were directly subject to the hsien
563 of Hsining and Niem be. They told me: "We carried on farming
173 here when all the others were still wild and uncivilized." (2)

2. Wieger, S.J., Textes historiques, Vol. II, p. 1070

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quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn (or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A.D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chronicles. 563 173

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1) 167 175 563

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

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Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably always pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu. 167 175 563

The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession 162 563 175 563 175

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of Hsining, Niem be hsien and their surroundings. But it seems doubtful to me that they played the leading rôle in the Hsi Hsia kingdom- as a Liu tu se, a prince of the Tu ren told me. It seems to me that for this their dwelling places were too far south. The destruction of the Hsi Hsia kingdom, like the conquest of the Chinese Sung kingdom by Genghis Khan and his descendants did not bring about an extermination and expulsion of peoples, because the assault of the Mongols from the Altai with its relatively small /249/ forces could only cause dynasties to fall and cities to be plundered, but could not replace or destroy whole nations. 563 175

Sanan Setsen, in his history of the East Mongols tells us that Yen ta (Altan Gegen Khan) in his drive into East Tibet at the end of the sixteenth century, made war on the "Schara Uigur" who lived here, and captured several of their aristocrats. But these Schara or yellow Uigur (Igh'or) are none other than the "Hor" of Tibetan history and the old "Tu ku hun" (Tu yü hun).

As far as the above-mentioned Nan ding wang kingdom is concerned, of which the Tu ren spoke, it is probably the kingdom of An ting or Ngan ting which was said to have been located between Kanchow and Hsining. During the Yüan dynasty Buyin Timur, an imperial prince was set up as king there. After the Mongols were driven out of China his descendants were able to maintain themselves for a while as hereditary princes who were recognized by the Ming emperors. However, their subjects seem to have been largely Tibetans. When the northeast Mongol Ibula came, part of the An ting people fled to Scha tang tschuan east of Wei yüan bu. In the Ming period the military districts of An ting wei (Ngan ting), 'A duan wei, Tschu hsien wei, and Han tung wei belonged to Hsining, while Tsche dschin wei and Scha tschou belonged to Suchow. Under "Nan ding wang" the city of Wei yüan bu was said not yet to have existed.

When the Tu ren maintain that their national hero defeated Hoang tsch'ao we are reminded of the great "Schah to Turk" (?) Li (Schah to is the steppe in the northwestern part of Kalgan). According to Wieger, Textes historiques, Vol. 3, Hoang tsch'ao was one of the most blood-thirsty conquerors in the entire bloody history of China. He laid

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175 waste 879 cantons and ravaged the capital city of Tschang ngan (Hsingan fu) so that only Szechwan was left to Emperor Hi tsung. In his extremity he turned to prince To pa se kung from Hsia tschou, whom the historians sometimes speak of as a Turk and sometimes as a Tibetan. He had before that himself risen up against the emperor, but obeyed the emperor's summons in view of the expected booty and in the year 884 destroyed the rebel Hoang tsch'ao. As a mark of gratitude he was accepted into the imperial family. The Tang emperors descended from a Li family and for this reason the rescuer was henceforth also called Li or Li ko yung (Li K'eue young, according to Wieger). Besides, he received the title of duke of the land of Hsia. The descendants of this Li later became rulers of the kingdom of Tsinn in Shansi and, according to Wieger and de Mailla, they made themselves emperors of China with the dynasty title of Hou Tang (later Tang, 923-936) with their residence in Lao Yang (Honan).

Inasmuch as Chinese sources maintain that the Tang hiang prince by the name of To pa Sse Kong of Hia tschou helped the Chinese in 881-884, Devéria, L'écriture du Royaume de Si hia ou Tangout (Hsia Hsia), believes that the kings of Hsia Hsia kingdom who are said to be descended from this man, are also Tibetans, assuming with Klaproth that the Tang hiang people are Tibetans. But later on, he himself says that, according to Chinese sources, the title To pa which was applied to the Hsi Hsia kings means that they descended from the Sien pi. He says that the Sien pi who founded the Wei dynasty in the year 386 A.D. were formerly regarded as Tatars.

Tu ren of Wei yüan bu and their present-day Li Tu se told me that they were descendants of this To pa Li ko yung and the Hsi Hsia kings. Now, they are surely not Tibetans but Mongols, and ethnographically they show various peculiarities of both. Therefore, I cannot regard it as impossible that they stem from the Hsien be (Sien pi). In that case the Hsi Hsia kingdom could have been a Hsian be dominion and the strange, hitherto undecipherable language which has remained of this kingdom would have to be Mongolian or Tungus. Since to this day among the Chinese many things are done "ts'a bu do," i.e., "approximately," I do not

regard the old Chinese assertion that Hsi Hsia was a "Tanggut kingdom" and Tibetan as conclusive. (With the word "Tanggut" the Mongols of Koko Nor mean only Tibetans nowadays, but it is not known since when this has been done.) 563 175

/249/ The thing that strikes a stranger most when he comes to Wei yüan bu and to these Tu ren is the dress and the head-wear of the feminine population. Even in these regions in which the eye is certainly used to many daring color combinations, the feminine mode of Wei yüan bu is conspicuous for its particularly bright colors (Plate LII). The Tu ren women wear one or two cotton jackets next to their bodies, and these, just as with the Chinese, take the place of our chemise; they also wear two pairs of trousers which are rather wide and open at the bottom and not tied at the ankles as is the case with the men. The one pair is bright red, the other indigo. Over this they wear a rose red skirt which, however, is made more like a long apron and is split in the middle from top to bottom; in other words an article of clothing with no visible function. Over this is worn the most important part of the dress, a Tibetan caftan which is closed at the side and reaches about down to the calves. /250/ This caftan is sewn out of blue cotton material and in the winter when it is very cold it is padded. At the hips it is held together by a red wool belt from which hang three towels, a green one, a white one and a red one. But this by no means satisfies the clothing need and above all the love of color of the Tu ren women. The upper part of their bodies is also covered with a blue cotton jacket with wide sleeves which are sewn together with horizontal strips of green, red and blue cloth and on which are fastened black, yellow, etc., ribbons and bands. On their feet they wear cloth boots that are colorfully stitched all over and the legs of which reach to the calves. And on their head sits a fashion structure of the most grotesque forms and proportions. It consists of a more or less large hood, depending on the tribe and the valley around Wei yüan bu from which the person comes, with huge orange-colored tassels, with a center piece resembling a saddle from which hang brass buckles that widen out at the bottom (Plate LV). Altogether there are thirteen variations of this headgear. As a non-professional in hat styles, I noted particularly three kinds which I collected and photographed. Among the Tu gu h'ung women the headdress consists of a metal trident which sticks out from their blue-black hair, and 563 291

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563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards,
[669] one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

Tu ren

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of *ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an* arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage
[782] faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan bu, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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563 With a child-like smile he watched the performances, sipped
527 quantities of salted tea out of huge silver vessels and received
545 Tibetan visitors to the fair who came sliding up to him humbly their knees with their hats under their arms, kissed the hem of h cloak and in turn received his blessing through imposition. /252

541 Every day around noon during the fair week horse-owners an
527 fanciers assembled on a meadow somewhat apart and arranged
563 horse races, i.e., each of the competitors felt he had the best pacer. High trotters were never seen, they would have been ridiculed. Galloping was also considered a great mistake, as is generally the case among all East Asiatic horsemen. There was general approval only when one of the vigorous ponies outdistan his rivals on the short track in the midst of the eager spectators, at a pace gait (always left front foot and left hind foot together, then right front and back, which for our feeling is such an ugly gait). The horses were spurred on by the riders with short whips which they held straight in front of themselves, and they shoute and called in harsh, jubilant voices. The crowd joined in, scre ing with joy and enthusiasm and the friends and acquaintances r ceived the happy owner of the winning horse with upturned thum and praised the horse and the cleverness of its rider to the skies. Again and again he was obliged to appear and cover the track w extended only about 400-500 meters at a flying pace in the mid of the audience which was also largely mounted, and try his luc with new arrivals. If the horse only once fell into a gallop, eve one became critical and the owners who had previously been les fortunate, then had the scoffers and shouters on their side once
[492] more. The riders who were Tu ren, but also Tibetans and Moha medans, had very short stirrup straps, like all Central Asiatic ho men, so that the lower part of their thighs is braced almost horizontally against the horse.

[526] There were also stone-throwing and wrestling matches, just
[273] at the ancient Mongolian festivals of which Marco Polo tells. B the famous Wei yüan bu liquor was also duly appreciated. Roun about the fair grounds groups of men and women assembled, esp ly young people. They gathered into groups according to the tri and valleys to which they belonged, each one around a jug of b schnapps (Plate LIII). Boys and girls squatted on the ground in a
533 gay throng. Again and again the little jug made the rounds am
527 them and meanwhile they sang their ancient folksongs of love,
563 the old kings and champions and their heroic deeds. Even at ni

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there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533
inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527
ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563
which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang
part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed
and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until
morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought
up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers
would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys
would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun
awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563
withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609
of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123
stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous
creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil.
Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all,
and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand,
much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very
definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great
deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs
and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take
anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511]
the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said:
"We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never
been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents."
The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and
twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off
at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though
it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women,
that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around
1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby be-
come sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more
familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 152
inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled
than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The
Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes
them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

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792 The houses are not old; they were built after the great Mohammedan
346 revolution in the 1860s during which time the monastery burned to
the ground.

C On the evening of the second day of the journey beyond Wei
361 yüan bu, I had already reached Da tung hsien. I had again come to
701 a purely Chinese city, after having passed only Dungan and Tibetan
villages on my way. Da tung hsien is one of the extreme outposts
of Chinese colonization, the seat of a district head - the hsien was
established only in 1762 - and has a very large garrison. Besides
the Chinese soldiers and officials there is also a Tibetan prince
stationed here with a band of militia, and not far from the walls
Mongols pasture their herds.

C The city is usually called Mo bai tschen by the people, which
361 refers to the old market that belonged to the nomads here. The
town is small because only Chinese are permitted to live in it. Adjoining it on the west, however, is an attractive and busy suburb
where many Mohammedans do business. In the year 1895 it fell
upon evil days. The Mohammedans made every effort to capture
the city by undermining the miserable walls and making assaults
upon them. It is amazing that the city nevertheless held for four
months.

C The following day brought me through uninhabited high mountain
● 563 country and through snow a foot deep farther west, as far as the Mo-
361 hammedan town of Bamba. I found there only a few miserable huts
instead of the thousands of families that once lived here. But it was
possible to recognize all the old streets because of the countless
ruins, almost level with the ground, which testified only too eloquently of the unspeakable misery, of the destruction of a talented
people which, heedlessly, in a state of blind religious fervor, entered
into hopeless battle with the Chinese giants. Bamba and the extremely fertile valley 25 miles long of Schang wu tschuan as far as
Do ba where it joins the Hsining Valley was one of the centers of
the last Mohammedan insurrection. With the capture of Do ba the
revolt was quelled. The entire valley now has only 800 families
of Hui hui all told. Once (until 1895) Bamba was a great rival of
Dankar, today it is dead. Its caravan road which follows the narrow valley northwest up into the Koko Nor steppes is deserted because all trade from here is forbidden by the government. The Mohammedans whose families /256/ were forced to settle here after
the Chinese victory (1) must carry on their trade in Dankar and

1. In Bamba there are about 100 families of the old sect

[text continues on p.434]

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and sixty of the "new" who were forced to settle here. They 563
are still unable to get along among each other. 361

Hsining. But there they may only come as transients in order to
carry on their business and must live in the suburbs while their families are obliged to remain in Bamba.

I stayed a day in the town and bought mules and horses for my 000
forthcoming new journey. A great many people positively implored
me to take them along as servants. There were competent men
among them who knew the steppes and could speak Chinese, Tibetan
and Mongolian and so I took several of them into my service. When
the contract was signed by both parties and by witnesses the men asked
for the customary advance.

"We want to fetch our warm clothing and our felt coats immediately for the journey into the cold steppes. Our things are in
the pawn shop in the city of Mo bai tschen," they said.

"But do you have so many debts," I asked, "that you must pawn
even your clothes?"

"Heaven forbid! But we have wives and children at home and so
it is far better and safer to keep our clothes in the pawn shop."

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/257/ CHAPTER VIII

Departure for the Ts'ao ti

When it is winter in the Central Asiatic plateau it is not only 132
bitter and bitingly cold but a harsh wind sweeps over the land, turning everything rigid and lifeless, so that the people who live up
there, the devout and ceaselessly praying lamaists, have learned to
speak not only of a fiery, but also of a cold and ice-filled hell into
which poor sinners are cast naked and bare in order to be tamed and
purified in a hell in which glaciers will devour them, icicles spear
them, icebergs crash down on them and crush their bones with burning cold blocks of ice. But besides the cold which it brings, the
Central Asiatic winter is also uncomfortable because of its dryness
and its dust. Snow, the mark of our European winter, is a rare
phenomenon. Week after week and month after month a radiant,
cloudless sky stretches over a dried-up, impoverished earth. All
living creatures are envoloped in a white veil, a dust-impreganted

[text continues on p.441]

C Tibet, the last on the Hwang Ho inhabited by Chinese, in fact the
361 last town on this river, and has been fortified especially well by
the government. Tibetans live all around it; some of them are
farmers, others, especially in the south and west, are nomads. The
city of Kue de is only 2,310 meters high. It is the warmest city
of all the border towns of the entire fu, i.e., the prefecture of
Hsining to which it belongs. But directly west of the city, just
above a few islands the Hwang Ho flows through a narrow ravine
which it has cut into a terrace 250 meters higher, with steep embankments. On this terrace there is nowhere a small field or a
house. Thus, Kue de is an oasis in the midst of wild, bare mountains. When we /264/ left the Hsining Valley there was not a touch
of green to be seen on the numerous willows and poplars, but in Kue
de peach blossoms peeped coquettishly out from among the green
shoots of pear orchards and budding wheat fields. (1)

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1. This region at one time also belonged to the Hsi Kiang
and later to the Tu ku hun, and beginning with the end of
the seventh century, to the Tu fan (Tibetans). During the
Yüan dynasty the city of Ho tschou formed the outermost
Chinese government station on the border. There a department was set up for the Tu fan, and its sphere of influence
reached as far as Kue de. Later the town of Kue de was,
however, lost to the dynasty and was not regained until 1371
under Hung wu. In 1376 it came under the military district
of Ho tschou wei and the Tibetans were given a horse- and
tea-market as in Mo bai tschen. The city wall of Kue de
was erected in 1380. At that time 48 soldier-families were
settled here from Ho tschou who were assigned tax-free
fields for themselves and their descendants, for which they
were obliged to perform military service as militiamen.
Thereupon Tibetans and other Chinese settled in the vicinity.
In 1723 the city was hard pressed by the Mongols under Lobzang
Dandsin whose headquarters were at Mo bai tschen, but it
successfully resisted. In 1739 the town came under the rule
of the Hsining Hsien. In 1762 Kue de became a separate
hsien under Hsining fu, and later a ting.

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[651]

There are only a few Chinese farms belonging to the Kue
de district, but, on the other hand, 54 tax-paying tribes of
Tibetans (mostly farmers) and 19 partly-exempt Tibetan
tribes (nomads). Nominally, more or less all Tibetans

belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilo- C
meters (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of 563 ●
the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the 631
tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu T
of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not 101
guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the
end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red
button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually.
After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two
tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are:
west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan: south
and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang
Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in
lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in
the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a
tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-
10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the
farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of
the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in
turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his
district.

An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, C
with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze 361
himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us 631
here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former [112]
Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the
chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints. Besides a few dozen
miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with
their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones
the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for
defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling,
is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of
streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as
well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This
section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive
costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the
day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slung

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 200
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [563] ●
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling. [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass headlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully
[after leaving Ts'ien hu tsch'eng — Analyst]

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loaders) and heard that some of us - as Da Tschang lied to them - T 609
were soldiers of the amban. I wanted to buy sheep from them but they had only small flocks. They are very poor, live far away from the T 511
markets, and cannot, like the Koko Nor Tibetans, pay for their flour 437
needs in part by salt transports, but can only barter their skins and sheep wool. One afternoon, accompanied by Da Tschang, I went from tent to tent peddling thread and canvas, needles, razor blades and wool belts, combs, knives and rosaries. In one of the tents I T
was a witness to the native method of shaving and hairdressing. The 302
local Fan tse dressed like the Chinese. But they shaved a larger area of their heads, and allowed less top hair to grow long. Their method of shaving cried to heaven. They used their every-day knives that hung on their belts and shaved completely dry, or moistened their hair with a little cold water. Like all Tibetans, they plucked the hair of their beards with pincers.

Close to the black Rengan tents, separated only by a small brook, c
were the whitish felt yurts of the Schang rdi Mongols. I set up my 563 ●
camp, number 51, in their midst. The Mongols were also not very hospitable, in fact almost hostile, but I would not let myself be frightened off and stayed several days among them. In the end I succeeded in getting them to sell me sheep and milk, but I was not permitted to enter their yurts. I appeared in European dress among them and had to fight their notion that I could cast a spell on all the silver I spent so that it would come back to me after a time.

Schang rdi has a peculiar political position in Northeast Tibet; c
it /336/ is not under the jurisdiction of Hsining fu and its Mongolian 631
banner general, but under the sdeba gschung, the Lhasa government. (1)

1. In the Meng gu yu mu dyi (the Chinese chronicle of the Mongol nomads) it is mentioned as the Schang tsa country of a kampo of Pan tschen Erdeni (of Tashelhunpo).

Like all of the Tsaidam territory, it is largely inhabited by Mongols. (2) [563]

2. Tsaidam literally means "salt swamp." It is a word used by Mongolians and Tibetans (ts'a meaning "salt," dam, "swamp)." One always speaks of five Tsaidam dominions: Taidschinär, Dsun, Barun in the south, and in the north: Kurluk and Kukut.

Here, too, Mongolian rule was weakened by the rebellion mentioned
[The Rengan Tibetans. — Analyst] [text continues on p. 563]

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they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle, and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are insatiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quickly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting, grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak. In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563 ●
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

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●563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
[302] and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[799] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Bardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in 563
the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he 792
read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When
he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem
of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28
sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao 782
Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up 539
at the Tschümong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the
sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an
altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his
daily invocation:

Lama la stiapsumdschü
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschü
Tschu la stiapsumdschü
Ginden la stiapsumdschü
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschü
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
nam la ptscha tsalo-o
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If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. 782
It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed
according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying,
Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and
exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

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rented four camels for the crossing. On their high stilt legs they 193
brought the bags of flour dry to the opposite shore, whereas the water
ran over the backs of the bullocks.

We camped on the left side of the river at an altitude of 3,170 C
meters, in other words, not much higher than the large Tsaidam 136
Plain. Because of this, we were almost eaten up by millions of mosquitoes. To the north of us the Yohg'ore Valley soon passed over into the Tsaidam Plain. In the distance we saw the groups of houses comprising Schang rdi kura. On account of the mosquito-pest which was very painful for the animals - we were unable to let the horses graze freely even for a minute because they would immediately attempt to gallop off - I left the Yogh'ore Valley without visiting the houses of the Schang rdi with my caravan. On the following days I traveled over foothills and over several passes of 3,700-4,000 meters
into the Barun territory (Plate LXXVIII). I was constantly running in- C 563
to individual Mongol settlements, yurts and flocks. Through some 232
valleys I traveled as fast as I could. I suddenly learned that I had chanced on regions where there was a cattle epidemic. Now, some of my animals had allegedly had the disease, and I had bought them in regions where the pest had just raged very severely; yaks who have survived the disease are called tarma in Tibetan. Nevertheless, I was very much concerned for my herd.

On July 12 we crossed the Ara Usse gol. Da Tschang and I were T
far ahead of the caravan and we reached this valley early. I was 756
very hospitably received and entertained there by a Tibetan mamba, 342
by a colleague of the science of medicine. The mamba with his wrinkled spouse, a Mongol woman, lived in a Tibetan black yak-hair tent which, inside, was furnished in Mongolian style. It had a two-winged entrance door and instead of the takoa, the walled and well-burning hearth of the Tibetans which always divides their tents in half, it had, Mongolian fashion, a cooking pot on a round, iron tripod about a foot high in the middle of the tent. In the rear of the tent there were a few chests on which stood a few dozen brass bowls containing holy water. The gentleman had evidently carefully packed away his gods before he invited us to step inside. From the ceiling hung countless small cloth pouches, blackened with soot, in which he kept his medicines, roots and seeds. He pulled down a little bag from the driest corner and showed me its contents. It revealed nitrate of potash which was supposed to come from the Lop region, and which he used to prepare gun powder. We talked about the weather and about cattle epidemics. The Ngolok and K'am

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756 Tibetans are said to have a good remedy for the latter. They are said to induce a sort of protective disease in their animals so that their animals do not contract the diseases as often or as severely. They kill young, sick animals when they are in the recuperative stage and feed their meat and blood to well animals. After this the latter are said to be sick for almost a week and eat nothing, but afterward they are immune, the mamba said. This "medicine" is largely bought from the Ngolok by the Koko Nor Tibetans and Mongols. But by the time it reaches the north it is usually spoiled and then it is reportedly not very efficacious. /345/

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243 On July 14 we reached Ikhe gol. Here, at 3,185 meters, we
363 came upon barley fields which the Barun Mongols had planted. I had also seen some in the lower Yogh'ore Valley. They were capable of being irrigated but looked extremely poor. I never again saw such uncared-for fields. The Mongols maintain that they are able to cultivate the same field only every six years. Then only do they plow their fields and sow thinly between the huge clods of earth, without harrowing or fertilizing. The weeds which grow up during the long period when the fields lie fallow are almost never removed, so that it was difficult for me to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated acres. The Ts'aidam Mongols are surely the laziest farmers in the world. For this reason they are obliged to get the largest part of their barley supply in Dankar.

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133 From our camp along the Ikhe Gol we soon came out of the mountains. But we were obliged to march from morning till night in order to find a new pasture for our animals. The way led over a desert of stones, over the Piedmont gravel, the schala (Mongolian) of the Tsaidam Basin. The edge of the mountains, from which the Tibetan highland descends into the Tsaidam Plain, runs west-northwest to east-southeast. The declivity consists of completely barren, savagely cut-up crests which, toward the north, sink into the yellowish, weather-beaten dust and gravel of the schala. The latter is only very sparsely covered with desert plants, with tamarisks and other low shrubs. The bullocks reluctantly and very laboriously stamped over the sharp-edged stones of the ground. (Plate LXXVII). The farther west I came, the drier became the character of the landscape, and the more signs of vegetation disappeared. With every step it became more like a desert. For a long time now there had been no more small woods in the border-mountains, and the grass patches also dwindled noticeably.

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Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty 563
granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate 233
LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by an emissary of the dsassak (banner-leader) of Barun who presented me with a khadar and requested me to visit the dsassak in the plains, in Barun Kurä, where he was staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I had been warned on all sides not to go down into the hot, mosquito-filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outlet of which stood our

1. Ulässutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166, however, is of a different opinion.

previous camp. The region offered little that was attractive or inviting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere, and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in the mountains was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts of grass only above 3,700 meters. Far back in the valley we came upon about twenty yurts of the Barun nomads. I decided to stay here and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The bullocks were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were ready to fetch them, we found only their footprints together with those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They had been stolen and I never saw them again. (1)

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told me that the dsassak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dsassak of Barun 643
visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted 291
courier came dashing up, behind him came the dsassak in the midst of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall, an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100 centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted awkwardly from his horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He, as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gaily-colored caftan, except

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
782 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached. - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[i.e., of Barun.—Ann.]

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remarkably open and honest nature which quickly drew me closer to him. He wanted, of course, to do business with me, but he did not, like all the rest, waste a lot of time charging the highest prices which one then had to force down to the proper amount with a lot of haggling. I bought sheep, yaks and horses from him and then he told me a great deal about his life, about the many, many disputes with the Horkuma Tibetans up at the source waters of the Hwang Ho. Once they drove away 100 camels belonging to the Barun, and gave them up again only for a high ransom although they could not even use them in their swamps. He sighed over the life of the nomad, over the great nuisance of having to change camp-sites, of endlessly having to pack and unpack household goods, and said he envied the farmer who could call a stationary house his own. He complained of their poor customs, of the fact that within their families, in decided contrast to those of the Chinese, they always differentiate very strictly between "mine" and "thine," that their women have too many rights and that this causes endless quarrels, that trading was difficult because the women had too little vision and would often not permit the most favorable cattle sale. "The women take pride only in having large herds, they never consider how quickly an epidemic can match away the animals, or robbers carry them off." At the time of my visit, people were busy shearing the sheep. The thick winter wool was cut off and half pulled out with iron shears a foot long. (1)

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1. A picul (100 catties or 65 kilograms) of the rather coarse wool of Mongolian sheep cost 4 taels in Barun. Two and one-half taels were charged for the transport from Tsaidam to Dankar, so that on the Chinese border a picul costs the merchants to 6 1/2 taels 20 marks. While I was in Barun a mounted courier arrived from Dankar with a document saying that the agents of the Yang Hang (the Tientsin firms) had set the price per picul at 9 taels for this year and could not give a cash more. The resultant increase of 2 1/2 taels for the small wool-buyer was considered much too little. The wool business of Tsaidam was thereby supposed to have become practically profitless. The year before, 11-12 taels was paid per picul by the Yang Hang in Dankar.

The yak cattle are also sheared in July, that is to say, their belly hair, which is used for making Tibetan tent walls and for ropes, is plucked out by the owners. The

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entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and changes to rather stiff halts. The wool as well as the bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually so in domestic. But after the hairs have been plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture, they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia; the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one time like the wild yaks.

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After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode toward Barun kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that when we again met human beings we were on Dsun, that is, in the territory of the banner-dasask of Dsun which was west of Barun. Behind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schäia, which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone where the water that flows down from the mountains and is absorbed by the schäia, gushes out again, irrigating and making the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

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Here in Dsun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all five dominions of the Tsaidam Mongols that the rulers have a sort of business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs, or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get permission from the dasask to sell me his animals.

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Because the dasask of Dsun lived too far off my route, I myself did not visit him. He is said to live on a walled estate in the middle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5 kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches. The Dsun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

C 133

Between all this the salt lake Dabassu Nor stood out like a small, turquoise blue eye. According to my calculations this lake must cover about 120 square kilometers, but in the huge valley where there was not a tree, a wood, or a house for the eye to cling to, it dwindled to the size of a clear, pretty little pool. On Lake Dabassu the Tala Valley is already 40 kilometers wide. However, one could not have any conception of the true size of this valley in the sparkling clarity of the winter atmosphere and the total lack of objects of comparison. Lake Dabassu is the chief salt spring of the entire Hsining border territory. Its shores are bordered by a wide band of cooking salt, and snow-white masses of it float in the whipped center of the lake. On the north shore an old Mongolian fortress stands next to a spring. Today two communities of Duchu-Tibetans, Duchu goma and Duchu chima, occupy the east shore. There are 140 families living in tents, Still farther east they border on the Tschebä'sa.

C 133

As darkness approached we rode into a yurt village where a pack of dogs almost unhorsed us. We had reached the small community of the Hartschia (Kharatschut) dasask, where the two interpreters had to change their ula and their guides. Since I was traveling with the two Tung schu, I was, without a word, received as a guest into the yurt of a Mongol. For a small fee my horses were driven to the community pasture by the women. They also sold me meat and flour. If one disregarded the construction of the tents, one felt one was among Tibetans. Their clothing, the structure of their faces, their customs and weapons were those of the Fan tse.

K 145

Today the Hartschia are only a small tribe. There are cordial relations between the family of the Hartschia dasask and that of the Wang ka. Several generations ago the Hartschia (they are also descendants of Guschri Khan) helped out the Wang ka with a son and heir, when the Wang ka were only able to fill the Mina-fo seats in the temple with their first-born sons (78/ but did not have enough for an heir to the throne. At the present time the oldest son of the ruling Wang ye was presented to the family of the Hartschia dasask, because he had no male heir.

K 149

On that evening I saw no more of the two Tung schu, but I heard them working very hard. Blows were dealt because the Mongols did not bring them a sheep quickly enough; more blows, because the sheep, when it finally came, was not fat; still more blows because the Mongols wanted to furnish ula to a tribe in the north of the Koko Nor and not to one in the south. My ideas of the authority of the Chinese were completely refuted. I would never have believed that

K 149
C 133
C 133

he Chinese could risk such arrogant behavior in Tibet. At any moment I expected that the natives would band together and stage a general rebellion, and I hastened to explain to my host that I just happened to be traveling with the interpreters and that I would, naturally, pay for my lodgings. However, our hosts were Mongols and it did not occur to them to resist the Chinese. On the contrary, the head of the tent finally became rather a nuisance because he kept on begging from me and with great loquacity tried to make himself out as the poorest devil in the world.

November 4. In the morning it was doubtful whether the two interpreters would travel on or not; they found that they were needed to settle a dispute and hoped to earn more. They did not know when they would leave. I therefore decided at noon to travel alone with my men to Dankar.

When we were saddling our horses two young Tibetans came up to me and asked me to give them the horse which I had recently bought, as, if I did not want to sell it to them, at least to trade it for one or another of their mounts. (1) I was surprised at the strange

T 695

1. It was a so-called schen ma, a horse pleasing to God, for it had a mane that hung to the ground and was twisted into thick, tangled braids. Such horses may never be ridden by women, or the Koko Nor they are considered much too good, and are usually presented to some high lama.

T 695

offer and, demanding an explanation, I elicited a long tale of robbery. The young animal had been stolen months before from the Gan ts'a Tibetan tribe (2) in the north of the Koko Nor and the chief

T 619

2. Gan ts'a under the rule of a Ts'ien hu, is about 1,000 tents strong and is one of the eight Tibetan sub-tribes of the Banag kak or Baner, that is the Tibetan tent people of the Koko Nor.

had sold it to the Wanschdäch'-Tschabtsa. Thus the horse had passed to the T'sien hu and finally, through T'sien hu's mediation, to Schü who, in turn, sold it to me in Dulan se. The former owner of Gan ts'a had accused one of the young Tibetans who came from the Rengan tribe of theft and had placed 20 yak cows on the truth of his accusation. The pastures of the Rengan tribe lie near those of the

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had been exposed to light. The screws and screw holes of the small stereo-camera were not equal to the vigorous and ceaseless jogging of the journey on horseback. Unfortunately I lost all the pictures of the life of the people in Inner Tibet, many of which I had taken secretly and at the risk of my life.

The old city of Tao tschou, the tschu tsch'eng (in Tibetan simply: Batser of Watsi, meaning "city," an originally Turkish-Mongolian term) lies at the bottom of a valley between flat ascending terraces of tertiary remnants and red clays covered with a moderately thick layer of loess. If one follows the brook in the valley, which is low in water, one reaches the Tao ho after about two kilometers, at the village of Latsak and near Yang ba tsch'eng. The city has strong walls but they are no longer extensive enough and there are houses on all sides of the original quadrangle of the walls (Plate LXVII). The city is a military station and seat of a captain. The tschou of the district lives 60 li as away toward the east in Tao tschou-Hsin tsch'eng, the new city, which, however, is not nearly so important as the old city, although the district colonel is also /303/ garrisoned there. The old city is inhabited by Mohammedans who own a beautiful old mosque in the center of the city (Plate LXIX). Like the Salar, many of them did not wear pigtails. Here, too, it is the Mohammedans who have charge of the trade with the Tibetans. Where in the Ts'ao tä had I not met these courageous people! They are also the ones who bring wheat up from the Min tschou district, because the region does not furnish enough, due to the all too brief summer, and who annually buy up close to 10,000 young Tibetan mares in the hinterland and drive them to Shensi and Shansi to breed mules. Besides that they carry on trade in furs, skins, musk, and grain. Altogether the total trade of the district amounts to probably 600,000 marks.

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However, the old city does not have a prosperous look. The inhabitants number 8,000-9,000 and the natives are very poor. The yamen of the old city, in which the town captain is housed, was in a completely dilapidated condition: "It is an antique," its jolly occupant said, "it originates from the earliest Ming times and has never been repaired since, because none of us captains earns enough to be able to have the house repaired. When it rains my family and I have only one single dry tsch'ien (kien means compartment of a house) in the whole building. I was convinced that this tsch'ien was not in the shang fang where we ate together when I was invited there, for in the schang fang one could see the sky through the rafters between the broken tiles. But as a genuine banner-man and warrior,

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N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

N 176 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hsi-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely,banners ruled by dasasks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized the ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

N 176 563 N 176 N 631 N 176 N 631 N 176 N 631

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
SN altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
167 a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
621

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
• 565 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
423 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
[184] have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners. S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because N [651] there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common N people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to 565 181 562 829 social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because N they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding 565 829 181 their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
177 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S
[177] the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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184 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
577 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
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N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
[671] But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[674] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
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N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
S
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

159 Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.
*668
631 Chang Chia-fu

Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung

See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist

A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader

[565] A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to cooperate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League

Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

*668 suitable cotton strains for sowing and the best methods of irrigation
185 for the large-scale cultivation of cotton in the province. 17,000
248 hectares (42,907 acres) are now being surveyed in the Kansu cor-
311 ridor and the vast plains along the Yellow River in Northwest China for future establishment of mechanized state farms. Altogether, the corridor and the plain are estimated to have over 650,000 hectares (1,616,150 acres) of wasteland. In 1954, it was found that the greater part of 200,000 hectares (494,200 acres) of wasteland surveyed was suitable for cotton; three new mechanized state farms have been set up so far there.

*668 Some of the information available on agricultural policy in Kansu
241 deals with the area around Lanchow, where there is some suburban
369 farming, and the development of cooperatives in the Wu-chung Hui Nationality Autonomous Chou of Kansu Province (from a speech by Ma Teng-ai delivered on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress). Discussion of these areas will not give us a complete picture of the progress or difficulties in agricultural development but they will indicate the trend of agriculture in Kansu.

[565] In Lanchow, it was reported that the landlord class and "feudal"
[423] exploitation of the peasants in the suburban areas had been abolished. 15,112 mou (2,297 acres) of land had been confiscated and distributed among 20,400 peasants who possessed no land or very little. Production and livelihood materials were also distributed among
*668 these peasants. So far, seven vegetable and agricultural pro-
241 ducer co-ops and 606 mutual aid teams are in existence in the
474 suburban areas. These included roughly 32.46 per cent of the
369 peasant households; expanding agr cultural production to meet the
[476] daily growing needs for vegetables in the city has been stressed. By fall of 1956 it is planned to have eighty-three per cent of all agricultural rural households in the suburbs, in agricultural producer co-ops. Two socialist vegetable producer co-ops will be established. Future emphasis will be on the expansion of vegetable farms, orchards, and development of poultry and pig rearing.

*668 The city of Lanchow has grown greatly in the past five years
241 with the influx of troops, technicians, laborers, and their families.
369 It is questionable whether agriculture in the surrounding areas can have maintained this population growth. This would imply that some food would need to have been shipped from China.

[474] There have been some difficulties in developing co-ops and mutual
[476] aid teams, as in other parts of the Northwest. Planned purchases
[443] and marketing of food, extremely critical in this neighborhood since the urban life of Lanchow rests upon these marketing procedures, have not been carried off successfuly and have slowed up cooperativization. There has been evidence of bureaucratization, lack of class responsibility toward the poor and middle peasants, and a lack of serious study and investigation of conditions.

567

567 SLAVERY--presence or absence of a servile class of chattel slaves; number of slaves and proportion in the population; activities of slaves; methods of control; treatment; stigmata; rights and privileges of slaves (e.g., to hold property, to marry, to contract debts); rights, privileges, and powers of masters (e.g., to kill, to sell, to hire out); enslavement (e.g., of war captives, for debt, for crime); slave trade; permanency of servile status (e.g., hereditary, for life); redemption (e.g., manumission, adoption, purchase of freedom, escape, asylum); intermarriage between slaves and freemen; status of children of mixed marriages; etc. See also:

Enslavement of criminals . . . . . 681 Prisoners of war 727
Slave raids 731

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
798 and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical
[262] teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[561] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
101 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
519 howling wind, they would say frequently.

[529] The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[520] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[526] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
• [567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[546] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
[574] the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow. Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
[545] three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night-stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily
[443] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the
[237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and
• [567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

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571 SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GROUPS--incidence of types of social relationships (e.g., face-to-face, stereotyped); social interaction (e.g., interaction rates); categories of social groups (e.g., primary, secondary); general observations on the nature, structure and interrelations of social groups not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., intelligentsia, Philistines, secular cult groups, elites, etc.); sociometric data; evidence bearing upon the dynamics of group formation; general statements on decision-making within social groups; etc. Information on specific interest groups, kin groups, political and religious groups, etc. will be filed elsewhere under specialized categories. See also:

Personality	15	Age-grades	561
Property relationships	42	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Economic organization	47	Kin relationships	602
Family organization	59	Community organization	621
Political organization	63, 64	Contractual relationships	675
Ecclesiastical organization	79	Children's play groups	867

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563 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history,
182 continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

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563 Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the
668 minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic
[641] regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities
N
[197] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivisation is yet to come.

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563 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of
829 the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

N
563 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and
668 ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described
578 as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities
669 and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

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829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

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829 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main
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829 and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such
• 571 a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

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181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
791 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
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The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of
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35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

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• 571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
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562 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
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565 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
571 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
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562 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
176 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China,
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223 Kasakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the vailings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must not show their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also trade. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

000 standstill, since 'He that regardeth the wind shall not sow.' Accustomed as we were to discounting street talk, a strong instinct yet told us that, this time, we were up against a real danger in the matter of the Sinkiang frontier, and though for the moment we said no more to the young men, we deeply desired to be given a clear indication to guide us.

Some days later, when we were in the town of Santaokow, Mr. Tu suddenly complained of severe pain, and in a few hours it was evident that he was in for a sharp attack of appendicitis. We did what was possible to alleviate his terrible sufferings, but for forty-eight hours we had no idea which way the illness would turn, and our anxiety was extreme. After this time, however, his condition improved, but it was clear to the whole party that it would be madness to attempt a desert journey with a man in this condition, so finally it was decided to send him back to Suchow, escorted by two of the students. It was very pathetic to see the disappointment of the men, but when we ourselves actually reached the frontier we then realised from what a truly terrible fate this incident in all probability saved them, and at least they had had all the satisfaction of completing the preaching tour to the cities within the Kansu border. Those who remained with us were older men, and would, we knew, be regarded as our necessary personal escort.

485 From Yümen to Ansi we were travelling over
000 familiar ground, and at every stage of the way there was always some friend to greet us. We also tried to stay at the same inns as on previous visits, for the Chinese are warmhearted towards those who are known to them, and all the small resources of the inn were at once placed at our disposal on the ground that we were old friends, and sometimes our stay in the

572 FRIENDSHIPS--conceptualization of friendship; informal friendships and their development; formal friendships (e.g., best friends, guest friendship); reciprocal obligations of friends, etc. See also:

Economic partnerships	472	Relationships with nonrelatives	669
Economic cooperation	478		
Blood brotherhood and other artificial kin relationships	668		

house had proved to bring a blessing, so we were 485
welcomed accordingly. On one occasion, to our joy 472●
the innkeeper's wife assured us that she had never
once touched the opium-pipe since our last visit, for we 000
had told her distinctly that this *must* go if she would
serve God. Then, too, the stages seemed easier, from
the fact of their familiarity, as we now knew when to
look out for a deserted city, or a clump of trees, or a
rushing stream, or a sandy waste. We passed with
even more wonder than formerly the site of the buried
city of Pulungki, and marvelled once again that so
extensive a town could have been recaptured by the
Gobi till from being a busy habitation of men it had
become the haunt of wolves.

There is a certain ancient river-bed a few miles out 313
from Santaokow, which must hold some considerable
underground water supply, since groves of fine trees
border it, among which was a large-leafed vine growing
to the size and shape of an English oak. The
villagers had also effected an arboreal experiment there
which was new to us, for we saw large plantations of
young willows grafted with poplar, and they told us
that by this means they produced a very useful tree,
having the quick-growing properties of the willow
together with the superior wood of the poplar.

As on former occasions our journeys were taken by 484
night, but being midsummer the hours of darkness were
brief, and we had the benefit of a long evening as well
as of an early dawn, which enabled us to take more
note of our surroundings. Ansi seemed more deeply 361
submerged in the encroaching sands than even before. 738
One more winter of sandstorms had passed over it,
and its population bore the impress of yet another
winter of opium indulgence. Our inn rooms seemed
more than usually gloomy and filthy, while over the

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
563 enampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
563 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
594 after the guests and to whom fare-wells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
119 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenomenon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for the appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Nomadic unions, in a more or less brittle monogamy.

*563 Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
563 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of situation,
221 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through
the encampments are slowly climb successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the regular circular arrangement, which is well-suited to tents, the winter settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of twoand dual construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual
*563 pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
281 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking	27	Travel	494
Recreation	52	Banquet speeches	544
Eating	564	Wedding feasts	565
Gift giving	621	Mortuary feasts	785

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

N 563 The clan

614 As much owns no property. It serves only as a genealogical record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
(481) The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
limit the choice of possible spouses.

Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
(651) as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and,
though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's
household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
N 563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
648 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader,
712 i.e., every Tibetan.

Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
563 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
563 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as
a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
(874) nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth
rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading.
With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
● (874) gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's
influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success.
The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself
valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

574 to greet and welcome us. Rooms had been swept and got ready, and we were immediately served with bowls of hot, slightly salted milk, and fried doughnuts. Willing hands relieved our tired drivers of the work of feeding and stabling the mules, and within an hour we sat down to an abundant evening meal of the best food procurable. A sheep had been killed in view of our arrival, so there was meat and vegetables, with hot steamed bread. The kindness we received in this home is but typical of the grace of hospitality as understood by the Chinese, and such as has ever been extended to us on innumerable occasions by rich and poor alike.

Before dawn the farmyard was noisy with the braying of many small donkeys, hired and borrowed from neighbouring farms for our use. All our baggage was transferred to the pack-saddles, and shortly after sunrise we started to ride across the burning sands of the plain, towards the shady ravine, the entrance to which we could only just discern in the blue hills ahead.

491 The whole of the day was spent in following a narrow, uphill path through the gorge, where we crossed and recrossed a brawling mountain torrent. About mid-day we passed the watch-tower marking the frontier, and then knew ourselves to be actually on Tibetan soil.

000 By early evening we called a halt, and pitched the tent on a grassy plot near a hut, which was the only human habitation we came upon. In it lived one old man, who cultivated a tiny garden, and whose house supplied the only possible shelter to the traveller over-taken by a blizzard. A large saucepan was filled from the stream, and a meal of boiled rice, this time without any accompaniment of pickles, was cooked over the camp fire, and round it we hungrily gathered, each

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

Part of the complicated debt-system in which the whole of China's financial organisation is involved, is the general settlement of accounts, which takes place in the last month of the year. A son's inheritance of debt often exceeds the property devolving on him by the death of his father, which debt he hands on in turn to his own children. A creditor always claims large interest, which is due to be paid in the twelfth moon, but in order to collect the amount the problem is when and how to find the debtor. For many are the subterfuges and evasions practised by the impecunious, when the voice of the unwelcome visitor is heard in the distance—back-doors, roof-apertures, gaps in walls, all come in handy, and 'not at home' is the usual policy! During the final five days, the city is noisy throughout with the sounds of wrangling, quarelling and violent invectives, the uproar increasing in a regular *crescendo* until the appointed time when each family must gather within its own walls, to observe the religious rites necessary for the auspicious ushering in of the New Year. From this moment, suddenly, everything changes! Men, who a few hours before were heaping curses on each other's heads, now meet with urbane countenances, and exchange bows suitable for a Court function. Cordial greetings are also mutually expressed, and as with a sponge all animosities are, apparently, wiped off the slate of memory, while the whole population gives itself over to merry-making and feasting. 527 426

Long before dawn we were awakened by the sound of bursting crackers; temple-bells were clanging, gongs were booming, and the subtle perfume of incense crept into our room. As soon as the doors were opened, every man in the compound, dressed in his best clothes, came in to pay his respects, and from then onwards, throughout the day, we received visits of ceremony from all our 527 574

527 gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom
574 that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

527 The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted
525 into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

527 Within a week from New Year's Day came another
796 ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

N.W. China AF13

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before dark- 563
ness sets in.

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to 651
the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very 185
reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short [316]
day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in [436]
which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He there- [316]
fore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border.

It was in connection with this very program that I came into fre- 574
quent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay 524
in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574
was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious ritual. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 881 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [695] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

779 431 735 794 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor, and distributed among those who need it. The second institution is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

● 574 794 485 792 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

● 574 794 485 792 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 731 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 312 185 The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 657 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the [794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

[529] The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[521] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[796] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
[567] in dust clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a 487
pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from 133
Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. 712
The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the 574 •
time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended 651
on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

574 651 that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 651 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

792 574 We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

487 133 From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang 484

were too high to permit of a safe crossing before midday. 491 The sun was therefore high in the heavens before we started, and we reached the bank still uncertain as to whether we might not be obliged to return home and come back again the next day.

The water was very high, and divided itself into ten separate channels, some wide and fairly shallow, others narrow and deep, so that the furthest bank was half a mile distant. It was a critical moment when the mules and carts plunged into the muddy, roaring, tumultuous stream, in which large stones were swirled round and round like pebbles, by the force of the current. Only by long experience does a man learn how to keep his head. He must know, as the Chinese express it, 'how to look at water,' and how to restrain his eye from being drawn off by the rushing eddies from that distant bank which seems so far away. Happily, animals have this gift by nature, and keep cool and quiet, even when the driver may have temporarily lost his bearings. Bullocks are the most reliable under these circumstances, for they at once take to swimming when their footing fails.

We were more than an hour fording, and as we approached the furthest bank, the shaft-mule of our cart stumbled badly, so that for a moment we thought we were going to be swept away. A shout went up from the men on the bank as they prepared to plunge in to our rescue, whereupon the mules, realising the danger, recovered themselves with a tremendous effort, and promptly drew us into shallow water.

It was already dark when we reached the house 574 where we were expected. The fierce dogs were chained, the other animals had been fed, and the sheep folded so that the farmer's brief leisure hour had come. We were met at the door by the whole family, who emerged

574 good thing, control themselves masterfully, - as long as they did not go to sleep? The fan tai once gave a large, solemn dinner. He was the treasurer of the province of Kansu, the official just below the viceroy who at that time also controlled the foreign office of the
574 province. Before we sat down to dinner I was asked for my "expert
411 opinion on the latest invention of His Excellency. The provincial treasurer also had charge of the equipment of the army and the arsenal of Lanchow. He had now made a new kind of "three-man-rifle a large muzzle loader which two soldiers had to lay across their shoulders while a third aimed and pulled the trigger. Amazed at such "cleverness" which had already resulted in a few hundred of this model, "Lanchow 1905," being ordered from the government arsenal, I silently exposed His Excellency's cause, and in token of his gratitude for my suggestion that it might be better to use steel instead of Shansi iron at a somewhat exposed place, I was presented with a photograph of the inventor. /154/

000 At the feast itself there was also a Japanese present, who made himself out to be an officer and who was on his way back from Turkistan. He appeared in European dress but his hair which was longish in the middle but shaved on the sides and in front, showed plainly that as a rule he preferred to appear incognito as a Chinese or a Mongol and wear a queue, because the hair that had been left was just long enough so that a queue could be tied to it. He was, as he repeatedly assured us, on a purely scientific journey and had set out only to look for the se bu siang, the "four-not-equal" (1)

[136] 1. Elaphurus Davidianus, Chinese: se bu siang, was first discovered by Armand David in the imperial game park at Peking. The strange, stag-like animal was named "four-not-equal" by the Chinese because it was said to have the antlers of a stag, the feet of an ox, the tail of a donkey, and the hair of a mule. The species is today regarded as extinct. The game park as such has not existed since 1900.

which in his opinion still exists in the mountains on the Russian border. He said he had not been able to get it only because of the hostile entanglements of his country with Russia!

264 At this dinner we sat in an airy, half-open but very pretty
361 wooden pavilion in the fan tai's large garden in which there were lakes with many bridges and small boats between reed and bamboo

000 then quickly succeeded in getting back the stolen goods and even the people who were most guilty. Later on soldiers had to be sent to Tomba mda only because the French government insisted that the body be handed over. But it had been thrown in the Yangtze Kiang and the soldiers returned without having accomplished their mission.

574 During my stay in Dankar I was invited to a pleasant dinner at
291 the house of the ting, along with the officers of the place, the colonel, major, first lieutenant and a few second lieutenants, as well as a few Chinese compradors of European firms in Tientsin. Among the countless dishes the most interesting this time was the tasty Koko Nor fish which has no scales but an unbelievable number of bones. Although we all sat in the small workroom of the mandarin we were, of course, all dressed in the thickest furs which consisted of Tibetan lynx, snow leopard from Himalaya, Manchurian fox or fine lamb skin, according to the size of one's pocketbook. This made for an extremely motley assortment, for everyone were his costly fur on the outside in order that all could see what he had on. Although I wore a thick fur for under my Prince Albert I was nevertheless far too shabbily dressed and was often asked by the voluminous Chinese - many of them were not content to wear only one fur - whether I was not cold. I believe that at that time I had scarcely half the girth of a Chinese and that I must have looked like a ray of sunlight between the fat colossi. Our
[364] feet were clad in felt soles several centimeters thick we braced against the edge of a coal brazier which was the sole source of heat in the room. Charcoal briquettes were used and they had a dreadful odor. 574 It was therefore a long time before anyone noticed that the felt shoes
521 of two of the guests who had got too near the fire were slowly burning themselves. Finally the ting asked very politely whether he might be allowed to leave the room, apparently ashamed and whether they were sure no one would see his shoes. The colonel had addressed his question to two lieutenants. They were sitting on pins and needles waiting to hear what unpleasantness their superior might know about them. But the rascally [illegible] let them dangle for a long time until they themselves began to feel what was wrong, until even their thick socks finally began to smoldear. In the Kingdom of the Middle the loser is the last who dread 182 worry about derision. The stiff was-like faces of the Chinese gentlemen now took on life. Before that only one at a time had spoken while the others had slowly rocked back and

[text continues on p. 302]

forth from their hips, either sideways or forward and backward or c 574 ●
even diagonally, according to the available space, always with an 521
ingratiating smile - I was getting quite dizzy from it all. Now they became animated. The spell was broken. Drinking games were begun. Everyone wanted to tell an amusing story. Funny riddles and witty sayings were brought up as well as caustic stories of how mandarin so-and-so made a fool of his superiors and subordinates and c
directed a golden spring onto his acres. Even after the meal was 574
over the party did not break up immediately, as is customary and 276
even good form after a more formal dinner. In the adjoining room Japanese cigarettes and tobacco pipes as well as rice wine were offered and in one corner on a kang where the host slept there was a place for opium-lovers. At usual the pipes had already been prepared by the servants. The opium was first offered to each one in turn, and to me first because it was the guest of honor. I, of course, politely declined. I would not even have known for sure how to go about smoking opium, for it is an art. But the second in order, the colonel, then the major, and so down the line to the lieutenants with the charred soles, all of them lay down one after another on the kang which was covered with the most elegant knotted rug from Turkistan and heated from underneath with horse dung, lifted up the richly ornamented opium pipe with both hands and, with a silent nod, as though inviting the other guests and the host, took a few puffs and handed the pipe to the next person. Thereupon the smokers, wittier and more animated, again took part in the general conversation.

* * * * * *

/183/ [illegible]

[illegible] the Koko Nor

[illegible] valley, meadow a few tours south of the city of Dankar T
[illegible] yaks from Tibetans of Tombum da who had come 792
[illegible] Dankar to carry on trade. With these eight yaks and five mounted servants whom I had armed, as well as a few pack ponies, I left Dankar on January 11, accompanied also by a sergeant with a few soldiers. Ten kilometers farther west I passed the last frontier guards (Plate XXXIX) and before nightfall I came to the Gomba soma monastery (Chinese: hsin se, meaning "new monastery"). By journeying via Gomba soma, I was on the military road to the north

The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701
712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to ard say that thi means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty to- 241
day there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574 ●
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of them had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

422 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back 527
from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me 574
their New-Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the union and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form 527
of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes 777
his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Tang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Tsao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 1. Also called Tsao wang ye. This is the chief deity of
792 the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel. In short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ta'ai ba! fa ta'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574 ●
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not want us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the bandit dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys, at that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general
541 and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertain-
788 ment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues on p. 304]

*563 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has
264 his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a
• 574 feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The for-
262 mal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and
184 ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then
556 given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 c. Clothing

291 Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the
[556] ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots
[556] trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[193] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a
302 round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate.
[184] The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 181 579 a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kün-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 576 431 [822] b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living [574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For [554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
732 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak[1] pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbor. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, scumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürga, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

1 [ie., of Barun. - Anai,st]

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586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

643 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up
342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's
574 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

N.W. China AF13
KalmyK

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulaserä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en- [423]
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792]
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

575

575 SODALITIES--prevalence of clubs, fraternities, and comparable voluntary associations; types (e.g., lodges, secret societies, men's clubs, women's clubs); organization, characteristics, and activities of each type (e.g., inter-sodality relationships; origin accounts, paraphernalia, etc.); selection of members; initiation; meetings; special rituals; etc. See also:

Medicine societies	78	Age-grades	861
Clubhouses	345	Military societies	701
Mutual-benefit societies	456	Veterans' organizations	729
Craft guilds and labor unions	467	Cult groups	794
Athletic clubs	529	Initiation at puberty	881

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N *668 177 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

S [668] [177] [494]

4. Religious organizations

N *668 798 669 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tao Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N *668 575

C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

N *668 669 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N *668 669 648 Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

S 668 669 648

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country. 871

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu. 575 669

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to 575 635 579

575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a
579 high proportion of the entire adult male population, are members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two
133 days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --Analyst]

133 Ch'inling Shan; above the loess bluff on the right hand,
487 however, the undulating uplands stretch northwards to beyond Fenghsiang Fu till they meet the Ch'ishan range; west of Paochi these latter mountains converge on to the Ch'inling Shan, and bring the loess plains of the Wei basin altogether to an end, in much the same way as the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain ends beyond Mien Hsien.

[361] Paochi, a first class district city, lies on rising ground behind the Wei River with its northern wall climbing the
[348] loess bluff. It is quite a big place and evidently handles a considerable trade with Szechuan and Kansu. The in-
[575] habitants have the reputation of being turbulent and the Ko Lao Hui is very strong in the neighbourhood.

The western districts of Central Shensi through which
231 we had been passing are the breeding grounds for the mules for which Shensi is famous, and which are exported in considerable quantities to the eastern provinces. At the time of our passage the wheat harvest was just over and the fields were being ploughed for the next crop. The endless plains of loess were everywhere dotted with ploughing teams consisting of mules and pony mares, the latter in almost every instance being followed by a mule foal. These Shensi and Kansu mules are the best in China, probably in the world. Fine upstanding animals, they carry loads of over 200 Chinese pounds (say 300 English pounds), travelling stages of 20 miles or more per day for weeks and months on end; the Szechuan and Yunnan mules, though good animals too, carry less than half as much. The secret of mule management in Shensi and Kansu is the feeding, and they are given an enormous amount of grain, which they spend most of the night in eating; a midday feed is not considered necessary, or even advisable, except on a very long march. The jack donkeys by which these fine mules are bred are large upstanding animals, the size of a pony, and very different from the ordinary pack-carrying donkey of North China.

133 From Paochi to Feng Hsien is a distance of 210 li and
487 includes the passage of the Ch'inling Shan. There are
[485] numerous inns *en route*, so that it can be divided into two, three, or more stages as the traveller prefers. Leaving Paochi the Wei River, at high water several hundred yards

276 conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

735 The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he
735 sought shelter and died. The gathering which we
575 witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

797 For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

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576 ETIQUETTE--greetings and salutations; obeisances; compliments; concept of courtesy; general patterns of etiquette in eating, drinking, smoking, visiting, and travel; deference to status superiors; noblesse oblige; breaches of etiquette and the resulting social sanctions; etc. See also:

Drinking etiquette	27	Intentional impoliteness	570
Patterned behavior toward kinsmen	50	Informal social control	626
Sexual etiquette	83	Court etiquette	644
Table manners	264	Diplomacy	648
Postures	516	Propitiation	705
Polite conversation	521	Religious ritual	750
Sportsmanship	536	Training of children in etiquette	867
Chivalry	562	Treatment of the aged	868

/Chinghai Tibetans/

19 that of the nomadic Tibetans (drok-skad "steppe speech"0.

*563 3) All reports agree that the sedentary Tibetans and the nomadic Tibetans have no difficulties in understanding and conversing with each other.

4) According to Prževalski the pronunciation of the Chinghai Tibetans (he calls them Tanguts) is somewhat like Lhasa-Tibetan, i.e. the initial clusters of consonants become either single stops, affricates or sibilants, e.g. dkrigs-pa "dark, dim" becomes tig-pa; bkrabs-pa "selected" becomes tab-pa; glang-chen "elephant" becomes lang-chen; sgyug-mo "mother-in-law" becomes jug-mo; mgo "head" becomes go. Furthermore, the final consonants are either completely omitted or they change the pronunciation of the preceeding vowels, e.g. las "business, enterprise" is pronounced like lai or la; lus "body" is pronounced like lui or lu; chos "religion" is pronounced as choi or cho. The same is true for other final consonants of stems ending in -g and -d.

5) According to Ekvall some nomadic Tibetans have preserved the pronunciation of those clusters of consonants (prefixes) at the beginning of words, although the method of pronunciation seems to be hard to describe. Ekvall says: "One or two of the variations of the nomadic dialect that I have heard have preserved most of the value of the prefixed and super-added consonants. The pronunciation of such combinations as brgy- is a remarkable performance. But the mean of nomad usage has been content to indicate the presence of these prefixed and superadded consonants by half-pronounced consonants, or by variations of breathing, etc., preceding the main initial consonant. Most, if not all, of the final consonants are pronounced at least partially, but the use of tones unobtrusive and the three vowels, i, u, and a have all become centralized until there is very little difference." Ekvall: 1939, 67.

6) The main difference between the two dialects, the sedentary rong-skad and the nomadic drok-skad, seems to be that the first one lost all final consonants with the exception of -n and -ng, while the latter one has preserved all of them with the exception of -s.

7) Besides these two, there are other Tibetan dialects spoken in the Chinghai area, namely Ngolok and Tebu, which are completely unexplored. It is believed that these are an archaic Tibetan, since especially the Ngoloks have kept apart from other Tibetans.

[212] Literacy is not a rare phenomenon. Thousands of Tibetans live in monasteries where they learn the Tibetan written language. Exact figures concerning illiteracy are unknown.

19 The following examples are taken from K. Futterer's, W
•576 Filchner's and A. Tafel's travel books which present a few
*563 greeting formulas in Chinghai Tibetan as it is pronounced es-
[127] pecially in the area between Kokonor Tossun-nor and the

19 Amne-machin mountain range.
•576
*563
[127]

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legs "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nåñ-mo-de-le
i'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'ug-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-lam-na-de-bar-tyŏ-chig

194 As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod,
*563 tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

191 The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second
*563 language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

*668 The Communist government is promoting literacy by publish-
212 ing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written
177 Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will
[191] become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

19 A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the u-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɲ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

S
N
563 /Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/
291 within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white
S or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate,
N with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear
[292] pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly
N like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their phy-
[369] sical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S d. Occupation

N Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and
563 most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the
463 Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign dis-
N playing a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese
563 characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness
265 and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect
262 to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become
N money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants
563 or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now ob-
463 serve this taboo is not known.
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3. Social values

S a. Group spirit

N The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole
563 group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed
186 by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed
183 with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social re-
N lationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied
563 even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old
571 signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence
186 Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of
183 the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the say-
[576] ing that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."
[196]

S b. Concept of charity

N Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon
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/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 a. Virtue

181 577 Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 b. Etiquette

576 431 [822] In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

[574] When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For [554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
• 576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.
[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal.
It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave
immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the
monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on
the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put
on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments,
and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village
form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the
temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to
witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 On the taird day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
527 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
88 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[302] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
792 After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[574] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[431] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any
man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the
parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[595] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the
terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of
the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the rela-
tives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes
for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in
livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the
family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for
the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

*668 to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the
658 minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in
Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to fac-
tories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway
cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

a. To minority areas

*668 There was another form of propaganda team which included
658 well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the
*563 head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win
over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the North-
west Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda
missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu
and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of
these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group
of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under
the leadership of Hsi-jan-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian
banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by
Hsia-jih-tsang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien,
Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second
sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived
at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first
sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy
Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang,
offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-
mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the
• [576] Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-
ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes
fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi
of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu,
were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of La-
brang. Similar organizations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

*668 Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minori-
658 ty groups, the local minority people were also organized and trans-
*563 ported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits.
484 There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might
come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training
and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following
are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association
was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and
convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationali-
ties: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien,
Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting
was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them
were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

• 576 As we rode into this little place,[1] cold, tired, and generally rather miserable, the entire visible population fell on their faces, since republican principles had not yet penetrated to this out-of-the-way spot, and they thought they were prostrating themselves before an "Imperial Mission." The headman had, however, prepared the best of the mud cabins for our accommodation, and we were soon warm and dry again, and engaged in disposing of some of the cock pheasants picked up *en route*.

487 133 A few li beyond Tachuangtzu the trail drops over the edge of the plateau to reach the considerable village of Ch'enchiachi, lying in a flat cultivated valley sloping north and surrounded by grassy mountains. We halted here for the night owing to the rain, only having made ten li; quite good accommodation was secured in a farm house, but it was miserably cold. From here the road runs westwards across rolling grass country intersected by shallow cultivated valleys sloping north with sheep and cattle grazing on the hill slopes. This curious grass-covered plateau, the presence of which is entirely unexpected in a region of steep mountains, appears to be the westernmost end of the Ch'inling Shan, a range which we had come to know so well in the course of our journeys. After about three hours' march there is a slight rise to a pass, and then a precipitous drop for ten li to reach a village called Panchi Chuang, lying in a narrow valley. Another two hours' march down this valley brings one to the large walled village of Lich'uan, 60 li from Ch'enchiachi and 70 li from Min Chou. Here the stream flows south towards Szechuan and one is again on the southern side of the watershed.

From Lich'uan the track runs N.W. up a side valley ending in a grassy pass. For the next five li or so it keeps to the top of the mountain, whence there are truly magnificent views over the rocky snow-patched Min Shan to the south-west, and then descends steeply through a ravine to the valley of the T'ao River. Two tributary torrents are forded before the city of Min Chou is reached. Being now again in the valley of the T'ao we were once more on the northern side of the Yangtzu-Yellow River watershed. Since leaving Ch'in Chou a few days previously we had crossed this divide no less than six times, which is sufficient

1 [the hamlet of Tachuangtzu -- Analyst]

563 609 treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

133 487 From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River.

563 [361] [792] Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamastery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the

• [576] usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

563 The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be

487 about 8000 feet at Choni.

133 Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

N.W. China AF13

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. 000
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup

1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him even during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I 562
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their 576
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit precious ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters- 587
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they 607
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is

2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
792 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[1. Ie., of Barun. - Analyst]

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000 to the dogs and the vultures and you will be eternally damned." - "We do not know what happens after death. The ahun says one thing and the lama says something else. I can make a good living here now. If I return to China, I shall be able to enjoy meat only as ts'ai - as a supplementary dish - whereas here it has become a chief article of my diet. Besides, I have to pay good money for the little meat and flour I get in China, and obtain the money by working hard for it. Here I do not need any money," argued the pseudo-Mongol.

My servant Han accomplished nothing. The next morning the relationship between the two brothers was so strained that it seemed to me high time for them to part.

264 When the flour was finally ground and while I was taking my
576 leave of the dsassak, I was invited to enter the reception room for a final drink of schnapps. A remarkably dark-skinned bondsman, a young Tibetan from the region south of Lhasa, entered with a stone-ware jug. He bent his right knee and bowed low before me, and with the ring finger of my right hand I had to touch a bit of butter that was stuck to the edge of the jug and to the stopper which consisted of a piece of wood. I had to smear a little of this butter on my forehead while the young chap held the thumb of his right hand against my forehead. After he had bowed before me, the young man made his bow in front of the dsassak, the wife of the dsassak, the lama (1) and finally in front of the small son, offering each of

[792] 1. Geslong lamas from the Galdan lamasery near Lhasa are always sent to the banner leaders of the Dam Mongols for a period of three years to act as high priests, advisers and shepherds of souls, so to speak. Their chief duty is to lead the ceremony for the dead.

them in turn the closed ewer with the little ball of butter, whereupon each person took some of the butter with his ring-finger and murmured some prayers. Only after he had gone around the circle was the flask opened and some of its contents poured into a cup. Again, a piece of butter adhered to the cup and again the servant handed each one the cup and each person made a libation into all four directions with his fourth finger. Only after that was each person, with the exception of the lama, given some of the schnapps.

576 After that, in accordance with the custom of the country, I delivered a long panegyric on the hospitality of the dsassak who replied

5: Tafel--588 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

by means of his interpreter with a seemingly never-ending hymn of praise about me, about foreigners and about all the subjects of the "white emperor." (2) When I departed I gave him some letters addressed to Germany which he was supposed to deliver into the hands of the secretary of the Hsining amban when he journeyed to Tsaghan Tsch'eng for the universal kowtow before the god of the Koko Nor. Then we rode off and by the time it was dark we had returned to our base camp up in the Wulasetä Valley. 576

2. With this he meant the czar; he thought all Europeans were Russians or Englishmen.

6: Tafel--213 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
N.W. China AF13
Kam

had become important gentlemen here.

We had a wing of one of the sprawling stone houses at our disposal. Through a covered gateway with a heavy folding door one entered a small courtyard that was surrounded on all sides by houses. The owner of the entire property lived in a four-story tower building which stood in the northwest corner. Three larger groups and several sub-lessees lived in the north and east wings, next to or above one another. On the south side there was a one-story stable with a ladder leading up from the courtyard to a flat roof; and from this flat roof, up three steps, I reached the west-wing apartment which I was able to rent for myself and my men. My kitchen was at the same time a vestibule onto which the four small rooms opened. T 609 342

Scarcely had we stored away packs and saddles when an old woman with two children in her arms climbed up the steps to my rooms with a bag full of dung, lit a fire and brewed tea. She had been sent by the be hu and, like all Kamba women, was very efficient in dealing with the diamtung, the wooden pipe about 60 centimeters long and 8 centimeters in diameter, into which the hot, brown tea concoction mixed with milk, butter and salt, is poured, and in producing a tasty and extremely nourishing mixture by carefully pounding it with a pestle in this vessel which resembled an old butter churn. Close behind the old woman came two men of advanced age. They bowed from the waist and stuck out their tongues in greeting, holding a small khadar out to me. They wore the customary K'am shoes with high, soft, red tops, and were wrapped in greasy, frayed fur coats; their hair was long and tangled and their whole appearance unkempt. They were two of the local dignitaries (Plate XXII), who inquired about my journey in a warm, friendly fashion. They promised me peace and friendship for the duration of my stay. They had hardly left /140/ when I was welcomed by six Schen si Chinese, merchants who were here in connection with the musk trade. We greeted each other like countrymen, like Europeans, who were meeting in the depths of China. They spoke with utmost scorn of the wild, stupid barbarians among whom fate had led us, and were anxious to hear something of the outer world, of China, of Hsining down to the cultural city of Peking and Shanghai. They stayed about two hours and we pledged each other mutual aid in case of necessity. For their visit all six wore their little black Chinese caps with the red string button on top and had taken their long blue cotton clothes out of their chests for the occasion. And they had not come empty-handed. They had sent ahead their red visiting cards, and after the greetings and introductions each of them 272 609 576

6: Tafel--214 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
N.W. China AF13
Kam

handed me a little packet of sugar from Yünnan. Most of them were intelligent and not narrow-minded and they had gone through a great deal. Thus our conversation was very stimulating, and it had grown dark when they set out for home. I stepped out on the roof terrace outside my apartment and saw, in the moonlight, here and there a column of smoke rising straight to heaven; a glimmering, fragrant burnt offering for the gods smouldered on the roof altars. But the network of narrow streets that led down the side of the mountain were all empty and there was no bright light to be seen. From the monastery yonder on the mountain the melancholy sound of trumpets sounded through the valley. I soon heard the sounds of evening devotions of the peasants coming from the neighboring houses; bass voices mixed with sonorous women's voices, now forte, now piano and softly fading away. There was a deeply religious and at the same time melancholy mood everywhere. - After their devotions the citizens of Dscherku ndo soon go to bed. They get up with the sun and begin their day by lighting resinous juniper twigs in their little incense stoves. 576 782

The village or the "city" of Dscherku ndo (Tibetan: Gye rgu ndo) is a main stopping place on the large caravan road leading from Ta tsien lu in a northerly curve toward the west into the Tibetan ecclesiastical state Lhasa. A few days' journey before it reaches its destination it passes through regions that will have nothing to do with the Lhasa government. Every day I saw traffic on this road consisting of large yak herds that had brought from the east Chinese tea, sugar, rice, silk, cotton goods, aniline dyes and all kinds of smaller Chinese wares such as porcelain bowls, cooking utensils, etc. (1) Many of 361 439 441

1. The total amount of trade from the east is about 550,000 marks annually, more than two-thirds of which is in tea. I found that there were three different kinds of tea, but they did not differ much in price because of transportation costs. Each half yak load (40 catties) was pressed and sewed into a piece of raw yak hide. The total amount of tea that was daily carried through Dscherku ndo during my visit I estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 kilograms, requiring 70 to 80 oxen. I was told that trade with Sechwan was very slack because of the war near Li tang. There was only a small amount of Sechwan rice that had arrived and cost 19 to 20 rupies per half load (40 catties), while the same amount of Kan tschou rice, which is brought from Kansu by way of Hsining, cost

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577

577 ETHICS--abstract ethical ideals (e.g., truth, righteousness, justice); ideals of individual virtue (e.g., honesty, loyalty, industry, courage, temperance, tolerance, filial piety); notions of right and wrong; conception of conscience and character; incidence and causes of, and attitudes toward breaches of ethics (e.g., lying, cowardice, flouting of kinship obligations); conflicts between ideal values and practical considerations; etc. See also:

Personality	15	Punishment of social offenses	669
Law	87	Military virtues	703
Ethos	181	Professional ethics	693, 759
Industry and sloth	481	Philosophical systems of ethics	812
Esthetic ideals	517	Ethnopsychological concepts of character	828
Organized vice	546	Chastity	831
Informal social control	628	Sexual modesty	834
Civic virtues	641	Inculcation of ethics	867
Crime and sin	673		

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads. 563 568 233

In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures. 563 181

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds. 563 (668)

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds. 563 153 577

The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal 563 153 779 155

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N [798]

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 181 577 a. Virtue

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:11.)

*563 576 431 [822] b. Etiquette

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living [574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For [554] one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 574 576 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor approaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

III. The Communist Period

871
*668 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest
177 1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.
877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
• 577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
*668 way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
177 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.
579
*668 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and the people's leader.
177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
177 a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, S [177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S N 184 577 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups

Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. S N [671] [674] But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N 681 184 674 in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a S N [565] nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: N 681 184 674 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification	56	Informal justice	627, 628
Family antagonism	59	Torts and crimes	673
Ethnocentrism	186	Slander	683
Economic competition	477	Litigation	691
Wit and practical jokes	522	Sorcery	764
Rivalry in sports	526	Cursing	769
Lying	577	Religious persecution	798
Avoidance relationships	602	Quarreling and fighting by children	857
Motety rivalries	618	Control of aggression in children	865
Social control and gossip	626		

S N 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

S N 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the S N [177] nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

S N 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

S N 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

S N 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. S N 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

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N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
579 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
669 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
648 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been
175 frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
197 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
197 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.

[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many
184 years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive
628 industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade.
325 The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is
439 no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by
476 small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the

*563 Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the
184 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the
628 Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which
369 require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper,
463 trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to
184 the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and
621 Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There
162 is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found
[578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. [361] Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of hi followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divin revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to a questions and appeared to know many things. As the founde a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by w his adherents might be distinguished from others. The diff ences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the fo lowing passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Kora should be recited once only instead of three times as held b Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised onc instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to ious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for culating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering s ly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chine lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat w praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to th dition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, wh the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria f preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to i ic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem st the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion durir nineteenth century.

S N *[578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in hi sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma H fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi h advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, came an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northw which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately the not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Su order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of J rivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like t Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally pised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, howeve identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriv

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a [556] person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This • 578 complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, 181 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in 183 Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They 829 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the [674] characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express 181 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and 526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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641 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are
668 many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the
771 spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized,
829 however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological founcation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

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641 The Communists believe that by turning the young people
668 against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when
771 the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Mos-
N 641 lems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army
*668 marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First
771 Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole
795 field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

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641 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist
642 Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his
*668 "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this
C 641 point.
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E. Practices

N Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as
*668 examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First
423 Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the
• 578 "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls
873 of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
*175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
*668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
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175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

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*175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
*668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

N in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
#175 January 8, 1952).
#668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
#563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

N A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
#175 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
#668 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
• 578 cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

*175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
*668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
• 578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse non-proletarian ideas have infiltrated into the party," he said, "and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the muni-
[681] cipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
[651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

*175 arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes. (Nan-fang jih-pao,
*668 June 9, 1950). P'eng Te-huai, chairman of the Northwest Mili-
• 578 tary and Administrative Council, declared that bureaucratism and commandism were the greatest dangers to the Communist administration of the Northwest and that the cadres in general showed marked tendencies of ostentatiousness and averagism.

3. Friction between party cadres and non-party cadres: The old cadres, men who had lived through the dark years of privation and danger during the war with Japan and the civil war that followed, were jealous of their prerogatives as veteran party members and as victors, and they regarded the new cadres as interlopers and the people of the Northwest as a conquered people. As a result, there were widespread clashes within the ranks of the cadres.

At the conference of cadres in August, 1951, Wang Feng, director of the Department of United Front Work, chastized the cadres for their haughtiness and their indifference to the alliance with non-party workers by saying: "Some of our cadres in the party, having inadequate understanding of the new situation and the nationalities and classes in the immense new areas of the Northwest, and having acquired a self-complacency and arrogance through victory, are not warm-hearted enough to the large number of non-party cadres and so there arose certain discords in our work. On the other hand, non-party cadres, working for the first time with the Chinese Communist Party members and having inadquate understanding of various policies, cherished suspicions and adopted an attitude of self-preservation entirely incompatible with the attitude that a master of a new country should adopt."

This situation, he said, was caused by the fact that "In the past two years, the United Front Work within our own party has not been sound enough and we have not sufficient knowledge of United Front Work in our government organs and the education of party members within the government organs has been poor." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 11, 1951).

*175 4. Friction between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres: The age-
*668 old antagonism between the native population and the Chinese in
578 the outlying regions of the Northwest persisted and was further aggravated by the arrival of the Communists. The party cadres,
*563 who were arrogant and overbearing, treated the native recruits with contempt. As early as 1950, General Wang Chen, commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang, expressed concern with the animosity between the Chinese and the non-Chinese population. The Chinese party cadres, he said, were still under the influence of Great Hanism and the local national minority cadres still suffered from the influence of Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism. As a result, he said: "Certain of our cadres, failed to pay adequate attention to national differences and failed to consult with the minorities. They resorted to commandism and

*175 *668 578 *563 bureaucraticism and isolated themselves from the masses. Various national minorities adopted narrow nationalism as a means of protection against the ruling race (i.e., the Chinese)" (JMJP October 1, 1950).

The conflict between Han Chinese cadres and national minority cadres, became so serious that in September, 1953, following the promulgation of four documents on the policy towards national minorities, the Government Administration Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a joint order to local party committees to investigate the implementation of the nationality policy and to cadres to carry out self-criticism and mutual criticism. The Jen-min jih-pao in its editorial (on October 10, 1953), also inveighed against the ideology of Great Hanism among the Han Chinese cadres and the "ultra-nationalism" of the minority cadres.

C. Cadres Reforms and Purges

*175 *668 661 578 The remedy the situation, the Communist high command instituted a series of reindoctrination conferences, the screening of government personnel, and wholesale arrests and purges to improve the quality of the cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün headed the panel of Chinese Communist Party and government speakers who harangued the cadres at mass meetings, held in May, 1950, in August-September, 1951, and in May, 1952, castigating them for bureaucraticism, commandism, incompetence, and corruption. The conferences of cadres were convened upon instructions from Peking. Following the speech of Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1951, urging Communists to take the lead in rallying non-Communists and Han Chinese cadres to check their growing tendency toward "Great Nationality ideas," the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party, at the conference of the cadres held in August-September, 1951, adopted a program for the reform of the cadres, to be in three stages. Stage one, to begin September 21, was for a two and a half month study of Chinese Communist and Soviet Communist Party documents; stage two, beginning December 6, forty days for the registration, reexamination and selection of cadres on the basis of their qualifications; and stage 3, to begin January 16, 1952, thirty days for the reform of branch organizations. (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

This was the occasion for the screening and dismissal of large numbers of cadres. But more drastic action was still to come. At the fourth plenary session of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, November 22-29, 1951, the program of party reform was merged into the campaign for production and austerity. Article 5 of this program was "to simplify and retrench the

*175 *668 578 661 government structure and to promote work efficiency," and article 6 was "to strictly enforce austerity, to develop the struggle against corruption, waste, and bureaucratism." (NCNA December 2, 1951).

The announcement of the "simplification and retrenchment" program was the signal for the purging of additional thousands of cadres, but this was still only the beginning. A month later, in January, 1952, Hsi Chung-hsün convened a conference of the Production and Austerity Committees in government organs throughout the Northwest, attended by cadres above the rank of deputy chief in the party, the government, and the military district. At this conference, Hsi Chung-hsün made a blistering speech charging that the campaign in the Northwest was not satisfactory, not penetrating, not broad enough, not directed to the main target and did not have concrete results. The leaders were sleeping, he ranted on, and the masses lacked leadership. The middle and minor officials were guilty of corruption, waste and decay. The top officials, he concluded, should assume responsibility and proceed actively in a militant attitude. (NCNA January 10, 1952).

The result of the purges, known as the Three-Anti Movement (anti-graft, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism), which was launched throughout China in 1952, and which, with its companion campaign, the Five-Anti Movement directed at businessmen, became a reign of terror unprecedented in magnitude and in horror. Untold thousands of cadres, Communists as well as non-Communists, and officials in the middle and lower grades of government, were arrested, tried and convicted in "people's courts," and executed while thousands more were jailed or condemned to corrective labor camps.

However, terror and persecutions did not accomplish the desired end of bringing the cadres in line. By spring of 1954, the demoralization of the cadres and the friction among them became so serious that a series of conferences was convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party at Sian. They were convoked upon orders from Peking, following the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in pursuance of its "Resolution to strengthen party unity." The speeches of the leaders all indicated that the demoralization of the cadres was worse and the differences and clash of interests between Communist and non-Communist cadres and between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres had increased. The cadres in general were charged with "conceit, departmentalism, dispersionism, exaggeration of seniority, boasting of achievements, concealing of defects, and suppression of criticism." (NCNA April 25, 1954), and the party cadres, in particular, were charged, at a later party conference, with "bourgeoise individualist ideas, conceit, sectarianism, parochialism, dispersionism and egotism." It was stated that "the low level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] [177] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
• 578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
[661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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*175 V. Political Structure and Political Progress
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A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

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*175 While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*668 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
635 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
632 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
666 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

S [175] [668] [631]

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

*175 669 The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

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II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

*563 578 In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese, and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
• 578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mongols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

*668 and are closer to the Chinese capital. Thus they are more easily
669 controlled than Sinkiang with its largely non-Chinese population and its remoteness which always have posed a greater problem to Chinese administrators. It is probably safe to say that a certain amount of subversion does exist in the Northwest and that a certain amount of truth underlies the Communist accusations.

In their methodical way, the Communists have divided "counter-revolutionaries" into five groups: former Nationalist forces, local forces under Osman Batur, Mohammed Imin Bogllah, Jamin Khan and Yolbars Khan, White Russians, members of secret societies,
*668 and bandits. Aside from the more basic incompatibilities between
• 578 Communism and the traditional ways of life, the present situation
*563 gives rise to continual cause for complaints and disappointments.

1. "Great Hanism" and "narrow nationalism"

Apparently, the old grievance against Han domination in the affairs of the Northwest has not been remedied. The Communist Party of Sinkiang, for instance, is still headed by Wang En-mao, a Chinese who has held this high position for many years. (CNA No. 113). On the next lower levels also, cadres holding responsible positions usually are Chinese. It has been estimated that only one-third of the people working in the Party Committees are native born and the rest are Chinese (Ibid.). In the field of trade and commerce, in the agencies handling the exploitation of local products, about 63% of the employees are Chinese.

The Communist leaders have continually condemned a policy
668 encouraging "Great Hanism." However, they are still more afraid of "narrow nationalism"- a nationalism that eventually may lead to a separatist movement. In an article written by Burkhan, Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, this theme is elaborated at great length. The ideas of Pan Turkestanism and Pan Islamism are shown to be completely imperialist. Discussing the differences between progressive and reactionary national movements, Burkhan comes to the conclusion that Pan Turkestanists and Pan Islamists are reactionary "in that they were all lackeys of American and British imperialism and the traitors." However, the Kulja movement, "formed a part of the general movement of the revolution of the Chinese people, being arrayed on the side of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union." He concludes that "at this juncture, any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese People's Republic for independence will be reactionary, since, objectively considered, it would undermine the interests of the various races and particularly the foremost majority of the race concerned, and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism.... for any movement, the prerequisites, time and locale should be coordinated, and what has been regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time." Thus it

*668 241 185 *175 Because Chinghai is a dry region and irrigation works are needed the Communists planned for 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) of land to be brought under cultivation in 1955. Five teams of irrigation workers arrived at selected places to help extend the area of irrigated land. The plan for 1955 involved improving the irrigation canals, servicing 4,600 hectares (11,367 acres), and the setting up of two pumping stations. The Communists claimed that by the end of 1954, fifty per cent more land was irrigated than before the "liberation."

*668 185 Chinghai's problems are similar to those that prevail in Sinkiang. Production plans are not fulfilled, especially those plans for oil bearing crops and the improvement of sheep breeds. This is supposed to reflect a lack of responsibility on the part of the cadres toward the State's plans but the real problem undoubtedly lies with the difficulties of intricate planning and the insufficient number of trained, skilled cadres. Excessive spending and waste were attacked and these were blamed on the weakness of ideological leadership. The report by Chang Kuo-sheng goes so far as to say that workers are honest and loyal but it is the cadres who still retain "bourgeois" thoughts, and are to blame. Thus, it appears that the peasants are not being criticized for planning and organizational defects for fear of antagonizing and isolating many of them from Communist rural organizations.

*668 185 241 It seems fairly self-evident that as the work of planning in the agricultural areas becomes more complicated and detailed in nature, the number of technicians will have to be increased. In addition to being skillful accountants, agro-technicians, etc., they will have to be ideologically trained so as to faithfully carry out the State's plans. The Communists, then, have a twofold job: to train members of the various nationalities to be technicians and at the same time to turn them into good Communists. The speed at which they are attempting to turn out a large number may mean poorly trained technicians. This will complicate and hinder agricultural planning even more.

*668 ● 578 Hsijaochiatso, the Vice-Governor of Chinghai, delivered a speech on July 22, 1955, to the National People's Congress on the progress made in Chinghai, which differed greatly in content from other speeches given by nationality leaders of the various frontier regions of China. While most of the other speeches to the National People's Congress dealt with concrete advancements made in the nationality areas, Vice-Governor Hsijaochiatso's report was devoted largely to acts of sabotage and resistance to socialization in Chinghai. A quotation will serve to point this out. "Because we are carrying out our construction plans very satisfactorily, the enemy both within and without the country has resorted to mad acts of sabotage in various forms. Very recently, in some pastoral areas, the rumor spread to the effect that the organization of cooperatives in pastoral areas is a disguised form

*668 ● 578 of the nationalization of cattle and sheep." And again, "there are also many counter-revolutionaries who exploit religion for sabotage and such instances are often found in the minorities areas. In certain pastoral areas in Chinghai, for instance, the discovery of heavenly edicts was rumored. These documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and the people meet with severe calamities and suffering." (Current Background. No. 356, September 12, 1955.)

Rumors and religious sects are apparently some of the more concrete forms peasant resistance has taken toward collectivization; among the various minority groups, such resistance can greatly hinder Communist agricultural planning.

*668 232 242 [474] No doubt there is much room for improvement in the pastoral sections of Chinghai, simply by the introduction of better types of breeding techniques and by showing the nationality groups the proper care of their herds during the winter season. In addition, more irrigation and better farming procedures ought to stimulate greater productivity. But the central problem will remain: whether cooperative organizations will yield benefits or whether they will reduce peasant incentive and thereby, in the long run, weaken agricultural development of the area.

3. Shensi

*668 433 *175 The following statistics are from a report by Hsieh Huai-teh, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry for the Shensi Provincial People's Government on 1954 conditions and tasks for 1955. (No. 1014, March 24, 1955. Supplement. Survey of Chinese Mainland Press.) By the end of 1954, the total output of food for the province was 10,091,790,000 catties (201,835,800 bushels); cotton was around 1,800,000 piculs (119,970 tons) as compared to 65,802 for 1938 (nearly a twofold increase); but insufficient attention was paid to the planting of oil bearing crops in various sections and the total output amounted to only around 117 million catties (70,571 metric tons) as compared to the pre-Communist period average for the years 1931-1939, 212,000 metric tons.

*668 241 474 *175 By 1954, 59.4 per cent of the peasant households in the province were organized into some form of co-op, and 13.22 per cent of them had joined permanent mutual aid teams. There were 3,048 agricultural producer cooperatives including one collective farm. All together, around 847 villages have virtually become cooperativized. In Shensi there are a total of seventeen

*668 *175 241 312 State irrigation canals which have enlarged the irrigation area by 44,112 mou (6,705 acres). The number of wells, water wheels and pipe wells have been increased, and the total area irrigated enlarged by more than 192,000 mou (29,184 acres), amounting to 86.7 per cent of the plan for 1954. The total irrigated area in the province is now over 5,623,290 mou (854,740 acres).

*668 231 The number of large domestic animals increased to over 2,586,000, that of sheep (including goats) to over 3,003,500 and that of pigs to over 1,825,000. There are four state livestock farms. Compared to pre-war figures, domestic animals and pigs increased twofold while sheep increased nearly twelvefold.

*668 313 *175 In addition, a campaign for afforestation and forest protection was launched so that in northern Shensi by the end of 1954, some 280,000 mou (42,560 acres) had been afforestated by the State. During 1954, 206,900 mou (31,449 acres) were afforested, nurseries occupied 4,900 mou (754 acres), 856,100 mou (130,127 acres) of wooded wilderness were surveyed, and new forest developments were carried out on 61,500 mou (9,348 acres).

*668 185 433 [241] [231] By 1955 it is planned to increase the grain acreage so that it will be 70,150,000 mou (10,662,800 acres) and the total output 1,970,000 piculs (13,002 tons). Oil bearing crops will be increased and plans to develop animal husbandry are underway so that there will be 2,790,000 large domestic animals, 2,008,000 pigs, and 3,515,000 goats and sheep to relieve the shortage of meat and dairy products in the markets. In 1955, the area to be [313] afforested will be 280,000 mou (42,424 acres) and 7,000 mou (1,064 acres) will be used for nurseries. Tea plantations will be strengthened and growing of vegetables in the suburbs of cities will be promoted. All this will be accomplished by increasing

*668 185 [474] [241] the pace of cooperativization for 1955; seventy-five per cent of all households will be cooperativized and agricultural producer co-ops will total 21,000. A spring campaign will be launched also to enlarge the sowing area and improve stock breeding, and efforts will be made to strengthen leadership over production in hilly regions; technical reforms will be continued and stepped up. Finally, satisfactory supplies of consumer and producer goods will be given to the peasant. The latter (producer goods) include farm implements, fertilizers, draft animals, insecticides, spraying equipment and good seeds.

Some of the defects that crop up in Shensi are particularly serious since it is one of the most advanced provinces in the Northwest, from the standpoint of the large number of co-ops. The following obstacles have arisen to obstruct the campaign to step up cooperativization. So-called rural "capitalist forces" and

● [578] rumors fabricated by counter-revolutionary elements have brought uneasiness to the middle peasants. Consequently, peasants have sold or slaughtered their farm animals, felled trees, rushed to buy consumer goods, squandered their money. This state of affairs is supposed to have resulted because the correct policy of solidifying poor and middle peasants has not been carried out. Commandism among the cadres is reported to prevail and this has had the over-all result of slowing down cooperativization.

000 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to

*668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security 669 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The 578 "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and 659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with 433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now, 248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han 563 groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer 474 co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 476 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are perma- 185 nent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. If hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter- *668 revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, 669 Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter- 578 revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities 474 against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organizing uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 C. Conclusion
24 The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely
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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 21 registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 87 We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 79 becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 31 in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 51 low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 24 few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- 5 ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep 7 poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

159 701 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the [648] Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 635 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia. 159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining [579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind [701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur- [648] rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 669 * 668 When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

than to make a detour along an easier line. The summit is about 6000 feet high. A little further along this range to the west is the famous Hua Shan, one of the sacred mountains of China. The Chinese call this pass Ch'inling, though as a matter of fact it is not the watershed. 133 487

Travel in China always seems to consist either in trekking across infinite plains or of following up and down river valleys and gorges to and from an endless succession of passes.

This pass is the boundary between the districts of T'ungkuan and Lonan, and a better boundary there could hardly be, for one can almost stand with a foot on either side of the range.

From the top of the pass the path drops steeply for a few hundred feet and then continues for 15 li down a picturesque well-timbered valley to the market village of Hsünchien Ssu, a pleasant little place lying at the junction of two clear mountain streams and surrounded by wooded slopes with pheasants calling in the maize fields. Though one is still in the Yellow River basin, i.e. on the headwaters of the Honan Lo, the bare stony mountains and loess plains of the North have been exchanged for the well-watered pine-clad valleys of Central China.

The next day's march, another long one, brought us to Lonan Hsien. The road continued down the wooded valley for three or four hours' march to the market village of Shihchia P'o where rice cultivation appeared (rice is grown [243] up to about 4000 feet in Shensi), and then turned up a side ravine and crossed a low pass in a range of bare hills giving access to the valley of the Lo Ho, which was followed up to Lonan Hsien. The latter is a small place lying well away from the main roads amongst flat open valleys of red clay backed by mountains, a sort of plateau supported between two series of ranges of the Ch'inling Shan. These shallow valleys contain the headwaters of the River Lo (sometimes referred to by the Chinese as the Honan Lo to distinguish it from the Shensi Lo, the chief river of the latter Province), which flows east past Honan Fu (the old Loyang) to join the Yellow River.

A glance at the map showed our next objective to be the 487 district city of Shang Chou, and as there did not appear to 579

487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no diffi-
579 culties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage. Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are
579 members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of
[627] more active members. Offences against the rules of the society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han
133 valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --ANALYST]

descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then 487
dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after
an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from 133
Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The
634 latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains
[579] not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens 361
buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages,
and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient 579
cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of 487
two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of
shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys 133

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The 133
regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large 361
city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous,
or rather least miserable, place we came across in that 249
region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here 701
joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously
609 enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a 579
small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

579 and levy blackmail on the villages. The north of Shensi on the other hand was at the time of our visit in the hands of organized troops of brigands of a semi-political character, robbers one day, rebels the next, and perhaps successful revolutionaries the next.

487 At Yao Chou we struck the main trail from Hsian Fu to Yenan, Suitê, Yülin, and the north of the province generally;
491 with the exception of the little known and seldom used track by which we returned it is the only trail connecting Central and Northern Shensi. As far as Yenan and Yench'ang it is passable for carts, having been constructed at considerable cost for the transport of the Japanese oil-drilling machinery to Yench'ang in 1906, and again repaired by the Americans during their oil-drilling venture eight years later. This road might at comparatively small cost be made passable for motor traffic, and had the American enterprise succeeded would doubtless long since have been made so. As it is, it nowadays leads into a depopulated, brigand-infested region where there is no trade and traffic, and is gradually reverting to the condition of an ordinary Chinese trail. But it is an example of the ease with which a comparatively good cart track can be constructed through mountainous country, where, without the stimulus of a foreign interest, the Chinese would for ever remain content with the usual villainous mule trail.

487 The first stage from Yao Chou is a short one, called 60 li,
133 to T'ungkuan Hsien, and lies up the valley to the N.E., which,
361 except at one point about half-way where it contracts into a gorge, is cultivated and bounded by low hills of loess. T'ungkuan is a little third class district city lying at the foot of the first of the mountain ranges which cross Northern Shensi from N.W. to S.E.

The next day's march is from T'ungkuan Hsien to Yichün Hsien, a distance of 80 li. The track runs up the valley to the north, the loess hills gradually becoming more rocky and less cultivated, for 25 li to the barrier hamlet of Chinso Kuan, where an old wall and fort guard the entrance to a gorge. Here the loess is left behind and scrub-covered mountains are entered through a winding gorge, which leads by an easy ascent after three hours' march to the hamlet of Liehch'uan, lying on the top of the range at a height of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district. 487 133 [36]

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them. [311] 136

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely 579 628

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579 BRAWLS, RIOTS, AND BANDITRY--prevalence and causes of brawls; types (e.g., drinking brawls, gang fights); running amok; incidence and types of riots (e.g., bread riots, race riots, political riots); methods of control; manifestations of mob psychology; incidence of organized violence (e.g., banditry piracy); etc. See also:

Political corruption 66
Strikes 468
Organized vice 548
Police 625
Social control 626
Lynching 627
Feuds 628
Revolutions 669
Punishment of disorderly conduct 689
Martial law 722
Warfare 726
Petty delinquency 738
Children's gangs 857

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety [443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling [584] young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 • 579 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. [792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re- [488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gvalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
*563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
792 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

174 *668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 • 579 *668 669 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counterrevolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 563 *668 669 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow... is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
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• 579 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the

*175 Chien-cha district in Chinghai province. It is a place in the wooded
*668 mountains on the west bank of the upper stretch of the Yellow River,
669 where over 8,000 Tibetans dwell together. After the liberation of
• 579 Chinghai province, large numbers of the KMT remnant bandits under Ma Pu-fang fled to the Chien-cha district, and instigated Hsiang Ch'ien, chieftain of the tribe, to oppose the People's Government, obstructed the communication lines in the adjoining districts, successively assaulted with force the Tibetans and people of other nationalities in the border regions of Kweiteh, Hwalung, Shunhwa, and Tungjen, and several times attacked the PLA.

"With a view to peacefully solving the problem of the Ang-la tribe, as early as October, 1950, the Chinghai Provincial People's Government appointed Hsiang Ch'ien as a member of the Consultative Conference. From September, 1951, to April, '952, the provincial people's government dispatched personnel 17 times to persuade and convince Hsiang Ch'ien. Chairman of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government Hsi-jao-chia-tso, Vice Chairman of the Consultative Committee Drashi, Deputy Secretary General Ku-chia-sai; Ta-erh-ssu-fa-t'ai-hsia-jung-to-pu, member; Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs; Sang-je-shia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education; Keng-teng, deputy magistrate of Kweiteh hsien; Ch'ueh-chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien; T'ung-ch'u-hu, magistrate of Haiyen hsien; Pa-meng, Vice Manager of the Chinghai Trading Company, and other prominent figures of the Tibetan nationality went in person to persuade him...

"In February and March 1952, Hsiang Ch'ien thrice instigated more than 1,000 persons to invade the border region of Kweiteh and other hsien, and attacked the PLA forces at the locality. Furthermore, he dispatched personnel to infiltrate into Tungteh, Hsinghai, Tulan, and other hsien with the intent of instigating and expanding the rebellion...

"In early May, under the assistance and cooperation of the Tibetans and the people of various nationalities, the PLA of the Chinghai Military District carried out an annihilation campaign in the Chiencha district. Most of the reactionary armed forces surrendered at the locality, while Hsiang Ch'ien himself fled and hid in the mountains, bringing along a small number of persons and horses....Hsiang Ch'ien's family was protected by the PLA...

"Chou Jen-shan, director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Chinghai Provincial Committee, Sang-je-chia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Nationalities Affairs, Yu-chia-sai, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial Consultative Committee, and Ch'ueh Chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien also went to comfort them...

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
• 579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

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175 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

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*175 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Administration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
S 175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

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9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
S 175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
694 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
• [579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between. Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-
hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to rea
133 city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a
flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country c
on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely popu
and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have
out of cultivation and render evident the depopulat
the region.

361 Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two n
valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class d
and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperou
in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically e
and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented
which contains the chief haunts of the brigand ban
Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabital
any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depop
669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and
162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losi
few remaining inhabitants of the better class throug
devastations of the brigands, many having moved acro
Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much
Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding
Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved
the river; but prompt military measures were taken b
Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to
original haunts with great loss. The question nat
arises, why should these brigands be left apparently
molested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of even
Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911,
579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Nor
Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men
are composed of the same material as the provincial tr
with whom they exchange rôles from time to time.
therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Fu
they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial
which are thus maintained without cost to the prov
[714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his
Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry w
round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acq
in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand

and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand according to his own tastes and the military requirements of the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have become scattered over the country with such disastrous results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

ably become detached, and had then fallen down. Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows: 'You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side-path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were

from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely populated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper. What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had rebelled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

free spot to be found. We were soon tired of searching and so we set up our tent in a quiet corner and drove the ponies into an empty, unclaimed courtyard, of which there are a great many since the last Mohammedan rebellion. We set up the tent in order to "make the face attractive," as the Chinese say and so that people would not say: the European lay down in the street. But the wind kept blowing the tent down and so we lay in the open street after all; on top of everything, the temperature was 20°.

In the early morning we then found an inn (Plate XXXVIII). We were even obliged to call it a good one because the doors could be locked, but of course the guest had to bring his own lock. I immediately handed out a list of the things we still needed. Even call Tschang hurried forth to do errands, although it would perhaps be more accurate to say he deigned to set out in order to look for things. He always undertook only those commissions that gave promise of the most profit for himself. Another servant repaired the windows of my room so well with tissue paper that the smoke from the wood fire which was lit on the floor of my room, presumably to warm me, made the tears run down my cheeks. Thus, the rare advantage of a hotel room with a door that locked was rather illusory. In the end it was better to warm one's hands at a blazing wood fire in an open court. In Dankar there is /177/ neither coal nor charcoal to be had, I might almost say, a proof of the fact that one is no longer in China. I need not say that nobody knows how to build a stove. The people of Dankar, Hsining and other places in highland China and Tibet have the sun to keep them warm in winter. Every day, even in December and January, women and children can be seen in a sheltered corner beside a wall, going about their usual business. Even though the air is several degrees below freezing, the sun is so warm that one does not feel the cold. Little children play out of doors from early morning on, dressed in only a short jacket with perhaps sock-like shoes on their little feet. But you never hear them complain about the cold. If you enter a yamen, you see the secretaries carrying their tables and chairs out of their offices and painting at their legal documents in the warmth of the sun.

"At noon I had a call from the ting of Dankar, a friendly, middle-aged gentleman from South China. The major of the town had called earlier and taken the occasion to offer me for sale a very lean pony. The ting came on behalf of the amban of Hsining in order again to confer with me about my journey to the Koko Nor. The amban I was told, requested me to wait another few weeks until

[text continues on p. 294]

C 579 after the Chinese New Year. The ting then proceeded to entertain me with the most hair-raising stories about robbers. In the summer of 1905 he had been in the Tibetan highland with 45 men, on behalf of the amban and the viceroy of Lanchow fu, in order to demand of the Denang-Ngolok (1) who live beside the tribe of Hantsien

T 619

1. In Northeast Tibet there are many tribes of tent Tibetans who are quite independent of each other. An oft-mentioned but today more historical division of the tribes makes the following distinction:

1. Banagkaksum, the black tent tribes of the Koko Nor (Rockhill's Panaka which, according to him, means eight Na tribes /?/). Baner (Banag) or Waner are the names of all Tibetans living around the Koko Nor, probably because of their black tents. But they are divided into various tribes who plunder and quarrel among themselves. The mightiest chief in Banagkaksum is the ts'ien hu, i.e., the head of an aggregate of a thousand from the tribe of the Wanschdäch'e. Besides him there are a number of other tribal chiefs who regard themselves as nearly as powerful, for instance Gan ts'a, Rengan, Tschamri, Lhardi, Tschebts'a. If they are recognized by the Hsining amban, they are given blue or red official buttons and - what is most important to them - an annual gift of grain. The new republican regime sought to win them over by giving them decorations resembling European ones. It is possible and probable that the Baner are those Tibetans who were once ruled by the Mongols. In contrast to the Ngolok, they wear pointed caps with a fur border, which are very similar to those of the Koko Nor and Tsaidam Mongols.

2. Ngolokhkaksum (Golokasum). These tribes, also nomads, live south of the Baner and around the upper course of the Hwang Ho. They consist of a number of large tribes who are completely independent of the Chinese and wage the most violent warfare among each other. The largest tribe of the Ngolok Tibetans is that of Ardshün whose chief even calls himself dyalbo (rgyalbo), i.e., "king" (from 1904-1909 a very war-like woman in her twenties was at the head of this tribe).

3. Mah'ah 'kami (Mah'ari). Those nomad tribes who live south of Kue de ting and the Hwang Ho are grouped

N.W. China AF13

together in Hsining and on the Koko Nor as the Mah'ah'kami, i.e., "those living beyond the Machü." Their chief /178/ is the Ts'ien hu of Lu tsang. But this chief, too, cannot by any means hold together and rule all the tribes round about him. T 619

Everywhere in Tibet there is a tendency toward splitting-up and separating into tribes and sub-tribes, an eternal feud, much worse than in the Middle Ages in Germany. But that is the very reason why the Chinese still have some power there; the Chinese like to see quarrels going on. They fill the pockets of officials and make ruling easy. Even in the year 62 B.C. in a report from the throne by General Tschao, the policy to split up the Tibetans is developed and recommended.

/178/ Doba on the upper Hwang Ho, repayment of stolen goods. Twenty-five people from Lhasa, merchants and representatives of the most sacred monasteries of Central Tibet, had been attacked and robbed near the source waters of the Hwang Ho. The Tibetan Lhasa government placed the loss at 26,700 taels (according to the then rate of exchange in silver: 70,000 marks) and the Lhasa-Tibetans sued the Chinese government. (1) The Ngolok tribe had perpetrated the C 579

1. From this we may draw some conclusions as to the extent of the trade between Central Tibet and Dankar. Each year two such caravans go from Lhasa to Dankar and vice versa The value of these would altogether amount to no more than 100,000 taels. The value of the animals should in part be included, for they are also commercial goods. The yaks used as pack animals are largely sold in Dankar by the people from Lhasa as well as from K'am and mules bought in their place, which they in turn sell at a profit when they get home. The trade of Dankar with the surrounding nomad country is almost three times as large, so that we arrive at a total of little more than 1,300,000 marks for Dankar's imports and exports. (Rockhill in The Land of the Lamas. p. 111 estimates the total value of the trade in 1889 at 150,000 taels.) C 439

attack and that is why the ting of Dankar was obliged to travel to Denang. C 579

581

581 BASIS OF MARRIAGE--theories of the origin, purpose, sanctity, and permanency of marriage; conception of the marriage bond and of the status of matrimony; economic, sexual, and romantic factors in marriage; incentives to marriage; qualities desired in a spouse (e.g., beauty, wealth, industry, skill); relation of marriage to the family; etc. See also:

Family organization . . . . . 59 Marriages of convenience 557
Sex 83

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

*A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
• 581 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
59 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and
*563 increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Mono-
gamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modi-
fications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accord-
ingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
*563 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried
592 children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
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[836] people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without
reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
[591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with
their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
*563 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
585 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's
591 family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family
name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own,
severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties
and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
*563 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is
595 rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is
not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head
of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife
(or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring,
regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the
head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
*563 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon,
162 such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced
their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of
rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim
the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs),
others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large
portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
*563 tinuity of the family. There is much greater degree of stability
593 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic
182 family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military
service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

582

582 REGULATION OF MARRIAGE--minimum and average age at marriage for each sex; postponement of marriage (e.g., for economic reasons, to enable an elder sibling to marry first); marriage laws and regulations; physical and mental bars to marriage; endogamous and exogamous restrictions; primary marriage preference and practice (e.g., with a cross-cousin, hypergamy); explanations and rationalizations of marriage restrictions; tests of marriageability (e.g., of skill, prowess, fertility); etc. See also:

Marriages between members of different social strata	56	Sex and marital offenses	684
Kin group exogamy	61	Incest taboos and privileged sex relationships	835
Preferred secondary marriages	587	Premarital sexuality	836
Polygamous marriages	595	Puberty ordeals	881
Local exogamy and endogamy	621	Definition of majority	884

177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
*563 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
628 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
167 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-
177 sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes.
Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages
very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number
of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chi-
nese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife.
The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population
reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which
lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and
especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest,
offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
167 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
727 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese com-
177 munity. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees,
[181] especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of
refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims
of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this
right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan
communities.

The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
*563 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
• 582 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
177 as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which
[591] through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in
the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further
contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a
Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a
generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate
the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man
marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally
attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode
of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members
of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him.
Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan
country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S
563 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days.
These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the
bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away
to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's
relatives.

S
563 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
586 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the
nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among
the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be
very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for
extremely grave reasons.

N
IV. The Chinese Moslems

121 Little information is available on the family structure and
59 relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated
[779] by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well
known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great
care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced
by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the
meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese
N Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
769 an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they
*563 possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem
778 religious objects.

N
Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
*563 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is
• 582 not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is
779 even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over
to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem
women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith.
The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially
converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs
to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and
beliefs.

N
The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
*563 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
585 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
586 addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
773 recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an
184 additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N
In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
*563 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists.
184 The law and traditions of the country play a more important part
in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.

593 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[182] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood neces-
sitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

*563 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
582 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either
584 may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and
563 from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page,
852 takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday
[553] he is circumcised and taught to worship.
[788]

c. Marriage

S N The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the ex-
563 ception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of
582 the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to
[171] the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with
*563 a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle
582 or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home.
585 Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man
563 may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage
582 to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must sub-
585 mit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the
[783] defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

S N d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more dis-
563 tinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed cere-
764 moniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals
563 include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the
723
764

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in
563 this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

794 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but
582 the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

583

583 MODE OF MARRIAGE--wife-capture (e.g., actual, ceremonial); marriage by exchange (e.g., of sisters); wife-purchase; marriage by payment of consideration (e.g., substantial bride-price, token bride-price; dowry); bride-service (e.g., premarital, postmarital); marriage by gift exchange; marriage by formal or informal initiation of common residence; temporary and trial marriage; elopement (e.g., motives, subsequent adjustments); prevalence and prestige of each mode; relation to rules of residence; conceptualization of bride-price or dowry (e.g., as purchase price, as compensation for loss of services, as guarantee of marriage stability); content and mode of payment of consideration; contributors and recipients; etc. See also:

Gift giving . . . . . 431 Residence rules 591
Differential modes in secondary marriages . . 587

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
51 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and
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gamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modi-
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182 family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military
service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
[431] Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through
this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their child-
ren's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
585 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
• [583] lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks
relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When
the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the
greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own
family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the
bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place
in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few
days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's
family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and
celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
[583] family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place
of honor in the tent.

*563 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
585 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
593 young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his
parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to
discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live
with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both fami-
lies object and the two are determined to continue their life to-
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585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for
the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our *litter-men* was a *Moslem—proud* and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

/The Tibetans/

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/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
• 585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the
844 third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally
852 preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity
[562] of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein
[751] of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the
[853] same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 The child receives a name when it is one month old. The
553 name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama.
852 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their
[793] own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic
764 areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant
[755] sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant
[793] sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bun-
763 dle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the
764 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
562

586

586 TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE--methods (e.g., desertion, separation, annulment, divorce); prevalence of each; reasons (e.g., cruelty, infidelity, laziness, sterility); initiative and rights of each sex; procedure; residence readjustments; allocation of children (e.g., to mother, to father, to parent least at fault, division by age or sex); property arrangements (e.g., return of bride-price, alimony); subsequent relations of divorced spouses; social attitudes toward separation and divorce; etc. See also:

Sex mores	582	Termination of marriage following the death of one spouse	788
Sex and marital offenses	684	Adultery	837
Dependency	736	Barrenness and sterility	842

it. But in Hsining and environs I found very few Chinese who really knew Tibetan. On the other hand, I did not succeed this time in getting the services of even one trustworthy Tibetan. There were six Tibetans who were willing to accompany me as far as the Koko Nor Lake, but they would not promise to go a step farther. They feared the dangers much more than the Chinese. Of my old companions, Da Tschang again entered my services.

In the meantime he had again got married. It was the fourth time that the less than thirty year old man took a wife. He proudly declared that not a single wife had ever died on him and that he had never had to pay the high cost of a funeral. He was fortunate enough always to get rid of his wives when he got tired of them. On the other hand, he constantly complained about how expensive it was to get married in Hsining, much more so than farther down in the real China; for a halfway pretty virgin one had to hand over at least 100 taels (300 marks) in his homeland. And, in fact, Chinese women are very much in demand in the Hsining valley. Because the cost of living is very low, all the wealthier men have several women and thus lessen the supply still more. I never heard anything about the killing of girls, for it pays to rear them here. It is almost impossible to find a woman of 20 who is unmarried. After she is once married, however, a woman rapidly decreases in value, in the eyes of the men.

In front of the door to my inn I once witnessed a case that was typical among the lower classes. A peasant loaned a soldier 20 taels and the latter had to pledge him his wife, because he had no other possessions. The soldier again needed money and the peasant gave him another 20 taels with the firm understanding that the wife now belonged to him exclusively and that the soldier renounce all right to her. The peasant even took the child which the soldier had by the woman, because he said he had already given the soldier much too much money. It is possible that Hsining, being a garrison town on the border, may present particularly extreme conditions. For instance, women are also exchanged; in short, every conceivable liberty is taken by the men. And no one bothers to consult the women much in all these matters.

One evening a farmer brought two mules into my courtyard. He wanted to sell them immediately and so I finally bought them very reasonably. I was struck by the farmer's haste, because it is characteristic of Hsining that, when it comes to selling, people always have all the time in the world. So I asked the horse dealer who /97/ negotiated the sale why the farmer was in such a hurry. My man smiled

583 and without a word he took me by the arm and led me along behind the farmer, to a house a few doors away. There the farmer threw the silver he had got for the mules on a table and roughly seized a middle-aged woman who protested in vain and who had evidently been sitting in front of the door, quite unsuspecting. He quickly lifted the woman onto his horse and hurried off with her toward the nearest city gate. Twilight had already descended. He escaped just before the gates were barred. The Chinese who witnessed the drama laughed aloud while the woman covered her face with her hands and sobbed loudly and bitterly. My guide explained to me, laughingly: "For your two mules the man has got himself this faded woman, a widow." It is not considered respectable to marry widows, and so no wedding is celebrated, nor guests invited. The new husband pays a certain price to the family of the deceased or to whomever the woman belongs, and departs with her from her old home, if possible in the dark and without causing much stir. If the widow is self-respecting and well brought up, she leaves her old home with tears streaming, even though she may be heartily glad to get away from it.

426 682 Around the same time there occurred another incident which is typical of the sense of justice of the Hsining people. The secretary of a yamen owed a certain bank five tael and left this small debt unpaid in spite of repeated admonishment. The owner of the bank thereupon sent one of his employees who demanded payment. But since the man either could not or would not pay, there was a lively altercation and the debtor suddenly took a knife and cut off a finger of his left hand, threw it to the young man and said "There's your money!" I was told that the blood balanced the debt. However, both parties were now so aroused that the quarrel continued and the employee was thoroughly thrashed by the secretary and members of his family. In his distress the employee kicked the secretary in such a way that the latter collapsed unconscious and died two days later. The wife of the secretary then went to the hsien and accused the bank employee of the murder of her husband. The hsien had the young man seized and would probably have beheaded him if his family had not demanded payment of 2,000 tael by the bank for the loss of their son. Finally the hsien (the father-mother-mandarin) decided that the bank should pay the secretary's widow 600 taels and thus redeem the young employee. Inasmuch as the "bank" had to pay the hsien for court expenses besides, the owner of the bank was on the point of bankruptcy when I left Hsining fu - all for 5 taels.

584

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries; courtship (e.g., opportunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through a go-between); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage; methods and consequences of rejection; requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, symbols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal (e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g., reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g., substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Sexual overtures	832
Contractual relationships	678	Adolescent activities	883

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
194 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
[442] pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[442] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[488] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged

*563 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
423 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
78 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of
61 encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
522 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[442] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
522 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
[521] no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593
[180] The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships

*563 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
595 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They
593 all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan

*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage

*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
[787] he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

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*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
(431) Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
*563 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
585 lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks
(583) relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
(583) family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
*563 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
585 young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his
(532) parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

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585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place; ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:

Marital versatility . . . . . 83 Residence in marriage 585

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days.
(586) These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
585 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the
586 nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N Little information is available on the family structure and
121 relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
59 as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated
(199) by the Sharia (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meager amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
N an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they
*563 possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem
198 religious objects.

N Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
*563 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is
585 not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is
(197) even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
*563 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
585 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
(585) addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
(586) recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an
184 additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
*563 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists.
124 The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

The bridegroom's family sends gifts to
*563 the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the
584 daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding.
(431) Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts
*563 preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite
585 lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks
(583) relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's
(583) family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may
*563 go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the
585 young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his
(532) parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the
*563 poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get
585 married and form a family will suffice.
(194)

Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders.
(526) Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however,
*563 with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If,
585 the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and
585 from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page
(586) takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the ex-
S ception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of
585 the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to
(586) the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with
N a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle
*563 or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home.
585 Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must sub-
S mit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the
585 defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding
(585) and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more dis-
S tinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed cere-
585 moniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the
(586) garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals
S include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the
585 (586) (585)

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 799 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 582 582 • 799 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 584 [431] The bridegroom's family sends gifts to the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding. Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 585 [583] After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent.

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/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 • 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [556]

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

M [182] [252] M [342]

M [264] [342] The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 592 554 [769]

N.W. China
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586 ●
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

N.W. China AF13
Kalmyk

● 586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union, she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who immediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry or pangamy.

The town of Barun kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled gates of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dsassak's houses enclosed by an extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Barun

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1886 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dsassak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dsassak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in debt, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

643 We lived in a tent in the dsassak's court. After we had set up
342 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dsassak's
574 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four meters. The dsassak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall, while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamasery, a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The rest of us sat in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left of the dsassak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside him sat the wife of the dsassak, and farther down, near the door, my companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, consisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

587

587 SECONDARY MARRIAGES--remarriage of widowed and divorced persons; differential rules governing secondary marriages (e.g., preference for relative of first spouse, reduction in bride-price, curtailing of ceremonial); levirate and sororate unions (e.g., prevalence, preferences, procedure); etc. See also:

Status and activities of widows and widowers . . 589 Polygamous unions. 595

N.W. China A.

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in dr
He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man
diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It wa
interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh
Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affa
was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his

> 1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu
> which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor,
> its liberation from the Dungan, and in which ince
> was burned for him even during his lifetime. The
> temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it w
> still new. But since Hsining condones the widespr
> Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temp
> rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this
> building will probably stand in ruins in another fe
> decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little
porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsini
was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials
wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. I
process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit prec
ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed th
wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to addre
women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining
Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man sp
to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their si
in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and
all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it

> 2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is s
> brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch eac
> If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law som
> as for instance money, he places it on the floor or th
> in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a broth
the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wif
"inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold ca

589

589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc.
See also:

Religious celibates 79
Care of widows 706
Mourning 765
Chastity 831
Premarital adulthood 885

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AI1

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589] Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

59

59 FAMILY--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of the family. The family is a social group consisting of two or more adults of different sex who are married to one another, and of one or more children, own or adopted, of the married parents. It is to be distinguished alike from marriage, the social relationship uniting the parents of opposite sex, and from the household, the social group occupying a dwelling or other domicile. Hence, strictly speaking, a married but childless couple or a widowed or divorced parent with children may form a household but not a family.

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V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
• 59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
*563 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
*563 592 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
[848] to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young
[836] people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
[591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with
*563 their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
583 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
591 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
595 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
162 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the con-
*563 tinuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability
593 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic
182 family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

591

591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a married couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existence of combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurrence of alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marriage normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another community (e.g., local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or unmarried adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); residence changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or current changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings 342
Settlement patterns 361
Bride-service 583
Postmarital visits 585
Residence readjustments after divorce 586
Organization of the community 621
Residence changes by widows and widowers . . 788

177
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
(181) the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which
• (591) through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
*563 Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accord-
*563 ingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in
592 this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born
(848) to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young
(836) people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage,
• (591) and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with
*563 their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her
583 family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.
591 The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more addi-
595 tional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually
*563 retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son
593 marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the
162 Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

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182 and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593
[182] The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

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619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
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*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[187] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

592

592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property 42
Type of dwelling 342
Servants 357
Cooperative labor 476
Slaves 567
Care of aged 737, 888

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
184 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N
The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
• [592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N
Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük-local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to N [342] each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 592 [595] N [768]

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 173 565

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 M 565 [701] M [614]

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N *563 M 614 554 M [428]

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589] Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
595 religious person will not exceed four wives.
777

S N Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
779 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were
829 carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S
121 ### A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
S 595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
S [562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of
59 marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.
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/The Han Chinese/

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The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

problem is no longer one concerned with opposition f
ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to coopera
Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big fa
opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of natio
(CMJP October 2, 1951).

3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there
of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the No
45 per cent of the total number of peasant household
jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number
peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Si
33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organi
the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average per
whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorabl
77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming
the Northwest, which were organized into farmers a
and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, ba
tics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in
are computed from percentages given of the total).

4. An important factor, too, was the special positi
Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeede
foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administrat
Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant
withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Sov
stationed at strategic points and Soviet party
actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests w
in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in
to which were attached two codicils providing for th
of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation
mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the po
mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet
implement these agreements, large numbers of Sov
arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and
Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinar
research, the operation of trucking lines and state
production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (N
with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27,
face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficul
China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, o
reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist Chi
visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to P
1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was re
it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders.
Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a
Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in th
stock companies to Communist China, transformin

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

Table 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTS IN THE NORTHWEST UP TO DECEMBER, 1953
(Based on Communist statistics)

	Total Population (1953 census)	Organized Farming Households		Mutual Aid Teams	Permanent Mutual Aid Teams		Agricultural Producers Cooperatives	State Farms
		Number	Percentage of total farming households		Number	Percentage of Total No. of Teams		
Northwest China	35,358,000	2,800,000	45 %				305	
Shensi	15,881,000	1,424,800	47 %	280,848	34,381	12.2%	234	93
Kansu (including Ninghsia)	12,929,000		45 %	194,400	19,400	10 %	32	50
Ninghsia (721,000)			53 %	13,615	2,535	16 %	19	-
Chinghai	1,677,000	96,000	52.3%	25,106	1,840	7.3%	10	-
Sinkiang	4,874,000	299,000	33.8%	51,600	(2,500)	5 %	10	-

593

593 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS--patterns of behavior between spouses, between parents and children, between siblings; rights, privileges, and powers of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister; family law; emotional attachments; evidences of ambivalence; etc. See also:

Kinship terminology and patterned behavior between secondary and remoter relatives . . . 80
Marital sexuality 83
Care, status, activities of children 86
Socialization 88
Personality traits 187
Division of labor by sex 463
Sex status 563
Quarrels 578
Conception of marriage 581
Incest taboos 836
Theory of paternity 942

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each
*563 wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the
595 encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife
• 593 frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks
594 after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

As is the case with most of Tibet, the problem of polyandrous
*563 unions remains unclear. One authoritative source assigns such
595 unions to the nomads, and another will insist that it is a phenom-
114 enon of the sedentary Tibetans. Each produces logical explanations for its appearance in the one and not in the other. Moreover, the Tibetans themselves will state arbitrarily that it is commoner in one group or the other, but again there is no unanimity of opinion. Out of all the conflicting accounts, it can be deduced that polyandry exists, probably, in both nomadic and sedentary Tibetan populations and that peculiar local situations account for its prevalence in one or the other area. However, it is doubtful that it is uniformly practiced by any section of the population. Side by side with polyandrous families, moreover, polygynous unions are also found. Most common, is a more or less brittle monogamy.

Since the people of the black tents practice transhumance,
*563 their nomadic activities are measured in terms of elevation,
233 rather than actual distance covered. From late spring through
221 fall the encampments as units climb to successively higher pastures and then descend again. Winter finds them at their lowest elevation and the group is no longer a tent-circle. Instead of the
[342] regular circular arrangement of the yak-hair tents, the winter
[361] settlement may consist of sod-covered huts, which may be of wattle and daub construction, rammed earth, tent-roofed sod walls or similar materials. There is no regular arrangement of the huts, because the factors which led to the arrangement of the campsites are not operative.

The different activities around the year help dictate the limits of communal action. The short growing seasons of the successive pastures, necessitate frequent shifts. Thus eight or nine movements between winters are not uncommon. The tasks of striking camp, keeping the herds along the route and reestablishing the circles involve maximum cooperation from all involved. None can travel with impunity ahead or behind the others. The encampments represent military units because raids and stealing herds are recognized as rungs on the ladder to success.

In winter, the activities are more diversified. Gone is the
*563 constant vigilance against human and animal foes. Gone too, is
221 the necessity of frequent, simultaneous uprooting and reestablishment. Life is conducted at a more leisurely and individual pace. Many of the nomads form trading caravans, which will
*563 journey beyond the settlements of the Tibetan farmers to trade
221 their wool, hides, and other products among the Chinese Moslems.
437 These caravans may be composed of some of the men of a single

THE FAMILY

S
N I. Introduction

121 Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities.
59 In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group
563 and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family.
N In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one
779 of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essen-
59 tial of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful
183 member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly
581 a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must
S N enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does
[589] not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group
N and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family,
59 furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members.
182 The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he
[554] is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is
[589] likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society,
N there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably
59 best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and
779 Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you
183 sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships
N within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or
• 593 wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis.
S A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward
N society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family,
[829] he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of
N the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put
592 in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his con-
593 trol completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S 121 592 A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. S 595 563 Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. S [562] [152] The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

581 59 *563 Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. *563 592 The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born [848] to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without [836] reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, [591] and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. *563 583 591 A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

*563 595 Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. *563 593 Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

*563 162 Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celebacy of a large portion of the male population.

*563 593 182 The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.

*593 [182] [562] [584] The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 592 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it [591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

*563 595 593 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

*563 582 [614] The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage *563 619 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 582 584 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 584 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If [787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationship which govern social intercourse are rigidly prkcticed. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential th prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we have a Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

594

594 NUCLEAR FAMILY--degree of emphasis on the social group consisting of a married couple and their children; exclusiveness with which this group is associated with economic, sexual, reproductive, child-rearing, and educational functions; other family functions (e.g., religious, recreational); domicile (e.g., single dwelling, apartment); family authority (e.g., matripotestal, patripotestal); family possessions; etc. See also:

Reproduction	84	Family budget	511
Education	87	Primary groups	671
Size of families	102	Collective liability	672
Inheritance	430	Child care	886

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organised use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by guilds of handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghis and Kazakhs:

Kirghis and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghis and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghis and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

595

595 POLYGAMY--relative prevalence of monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage; patterning of plural marriages (e.g., prohibited on principle, compulsory and exceptional, disfavored for economic reasons, confined to persons of wealth or high status, preferential); numerical limitations; prevalence of and preferences for sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry; distinctive procedures for secondary polygamous marriages; concubinage; organization and activities of polygynous families; relations between co-spouses (e.g., economic cooperation, supremacy of first wife); residential arrangements (e.g., common dwelling, separate quarters for each plural spouse); sexual adjustment (e.g., jealousy, sexual rotation); relations between half siblings and between stepparents and stepchildren in polygamous families; etc. See also:

Levirate and sororate marriages	597	Circumcision	837

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each wife must have her own tent which will be within the area of the encampment assigned to the husband. Within the tent the wife frequently has full authority. It is she who welcomes and looks after the guests and to whom farewells must be formally made.

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/The Sedentary Tibetans/

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

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V. The Tibetans of Chinghai

A. The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable. Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding its division, and increasing it, seem to underlie most marital variations. Monogamy, polygyny, and fraternal polyandry exist with various modifications, and the nuclear structure of the family differs accordingly. The most common and least complicated arrangement in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people before marriage and their offspring are accepted without reservation. Sons often will stay with their parents after marriage, and sons often bring their wives into the family and remain with their parents. A daughter also may bring her husband into her family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons. The Mag pa (male bride) suffers no disgrace. He joins his wife's family, and if the family is sinified to the extent of having a family name, takes her family name. He calls her relatives his own, severs all relations with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygyny occurs, the unit will include one or more additional wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get along together. Polyandry is not uncommon. In this case, the nuclear family includes the head of the household (the eldest married son), his brothers, his wife (or wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring, regardless of which brother is the actual father. Parents usually retire to their own separate dwelling, as soon as their eldest son marries, and leave him the authority and the responsibilities of the head of the house.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced their productivity considerably. Some refer to the hardships of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others blame the facts of polyandry and the celibacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family. There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

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avoid increased assessments.

The relationships between husband and wife have no religious basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom; she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Frequent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are concerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan system but they do have some regulations influencing their relationships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either is a mere formality, arranged by the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscope are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilineal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance	42	Class	618
Kin relationships	602	Collective liability	675
Lineages	613	Ancestor worship	709

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose main occupation is agricultural work. However goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also role. As a group, the Salars are economically since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds owners. Frequently one also finds them as lab farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family ow sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongoli becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsme Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Cla exists and the migrational units are the single economic centers, however, are their Buddhi for it is the monasteries who own the herds a dividual tribesmen.

The Mongours:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibet the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of that shifted successfully from nomadic pastor They learned farming and the use of their ag for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, et Chinese. However, livestock still plays an im the second important economic resource. Wh mules, and pigs are economically important, only because to own horses is a mark of pres

The basic social and economic unit of the extended family which is patrilineally and pat oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfat authority over all members of the family. Pr ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is hea whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain head of a number of extended families, whose directed and whose highest duty was the mili the clan through organization and training of

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*563 584 [431] The bridegroom's family sends gifts to the bride's family. The acceptance of the gifts implies that the daughter's hand is promised. The day is then set for the wedding. Those who marry by their own choice do not have to go through this complicated procedure. If the parents consent to their children's choice, the regular ceremony will take place.

*563 585 [583] After the wedding date has been set the bride's family starts preparing her dowry. On the wedding day both families invite lamas to their homes to chant sutras. The groom's family asks relatives and friends to go to greet the bride at her home. When the bride is properly dressed in her best clothes, she follows the greeting party back to her fiance's home. Members of her own family accompany the bride halfway and then return. When the bride reaches the groom's family, she occupies a humble place in the tent. The relatives and friends drink and feast for a few days. On the third day, the young couple go to visit the bride's family. The latter then summons their relatives and friends and celebrates for a few days. When a groom is taken into the bride's family, the ceremony will be similar, but he will occupy the place of honor in the tent. [583]

*563 585 593 If the young couple marries without parental consent, they may go to live in the home of some relatives for a few days. Then the young man will return to his home to negotiate the matter with his parents. If his parents finally give their consent, he then goes to discuss the matter with his wife's parents. The couple will live with the family that has approved of their marriage. If both families object and the two are determined to continue their life together, they may leave their families and form their own household.

*563 585 [184] The wedding ceremony is not always performed. Many of the poor people have no wedding ceremonies at all. A decision to get married and form a family will suffice.

[586] Once a marriage is concluded it cannot be annulled by outsiders. Regardless of whether it be the man's or the woman's parents who protest against the marriage, they do not have the legal right to annul it. They may withhold wealth and property from the couple, but they cannot take other steps.

*563 586 Divorces are not too hard to obtain. They occur, however, with much less frequency than among the Turks of Sinkiang. If, the couple does not get along well, or if the wife proves barren, she can be sent back to her father. The husband will have to pay her father a price in horses, yaks, tea, or cloth. The young husband may treat his wife badly and she may complain to her father who sends for a middle man to arrange the matter. If the middle man, after talking to the husband, learns that he insists on a divorce, he will report it to the wife's father. The matter then becomes one of bargaining. The middle man sits with the father and the husband while the two dispute the price of the divorce, and he usually helps them reach an agreement. If there are children,

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These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip.

to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feeding in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand sheep were spread over the fields around.

A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction.

The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before this grotesque monster came the highest official of the city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

596 627 ventionally blameless life. He was but sixty years of age, but sought in inactivity and premature decrepitude an excuse for shelving all responsibility as regards disciplining his children. On this occasion, however, the disgrace being flagrant, his self-esteem was so humiliated as to wound his pride to the quick, and to disturb his wonted equilibrium. Having decided what should be the culprit's punishment, and requiring for its execution the help of some of the younger men, he now proceeded to address the family council in the following terms :

'I have no option but to take action, the disgrace brought upon my country and family being so great. This boy ought to die ; but because, if I hand him over to an official, the family name will yet further be dragged in the dirt, with your help we can carry through what honour demands. To-night we will dig his grave, and in it shall my son be buried alive.'

There was no one present to plead the young man's cause, while even his wife could only silently weep, and bow her head under this fresh sorrow. One relative, however, did grasp the terrible urgency of the situation, and slipping unnoticed from the room, he ran to Dr. Kao, whom he roused from sleep, and presently both entered the room, where things were still unaltered. After expressing great sympathy, Dr. Kao now came forward with a suggestion : 'You must not despair,' he said. 'You know nothing of the Grace of God, nor of His power, through Jesus Christ, to change the heart and save sinners from themselves. Give me charge of the boy and I will deal with him.'

A party of men, accordingly, set off at once to the thieves' quarters, and in an hour's time the prodigal, bound with ropes, was standing before his father. The alternatives were then placed before him in a few

forcible words—to remain in his father's hands meant a living death ; in the Doctor's hands unrelenting discipline. He might take his choice. The decision was quickly made ; he gave Dr. Kao a kowtow, and then followed him home, to taste, for the first time in his life, a régime of justice tempered with mercy. On entering the class-room the next morning, knowing nothing of this incident, we saw sitting on a bench by the door a terrified specimen of humanity, with his toes thrust into ragged shoes, and wearing an indescribably ancient, greasy, sheepskin coat. Together with the other men present he stood up on our arrival, when we naturally took him for an opium patient—the dull eye, the sniggering leer, and the plain marks of enfeebled will-power being glaringly evident, stamping him as a moral delinquent of a particularly degraded type. Dr. Kao gave him just four days to get over the shock of quitting the drug, during which time he was forbidden to leave the premises, and then, immediately, certain duties were appointed him. But still no sort of improvement showed itself ; he neglected his work ; flounced about with an unpleasant smirk on his face ; and when an enquiry was held as to the whereabouts of the fur robe, giggled and sniggered, persisting that he knew nothing whatever about it. The end came swiftly and summarily. He received a sound flogging, from which he arose, potentially, a reformed character. He immediately produced the pawn-ticket from some greasy pocket, took his broom and set to work to sweep the courtyards, clean the rooms, and carry water. He soon proved himself an industrious and capable man, toiling from dawn to dark without a word of complaint. The expression of his face changed, and showed the satisfaction which he felt in knowing that someone had taken him in hand who was strong enough

596 627 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered ; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul : '*It is a new creation*' ; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 484 At the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period, we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue ! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

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607 SIBLINGS-IN-LAW--patterns of behavior between brothers-in-law, between sisters-in-law, and between brothers- and sisters-in-law; respective rights, privileges, and powers of the relatives involved; relationships with the spouses of siblings-in-law, etc. See also:

Levirate and sororate marriages . . . . . 587 Privileged sex relationships 838

N.W. China AF13

hsien (Plate XXXVI) turned out to be an admirable cheat in drinking. He constantly drank to the health of others, but, cautious man and diplomat that he was, he never touched a drop himself. It was interesting to watch the sophisticated way in which this Hupeh Chinese practiced his art. Once when I invited him to an affair I was giving in a temple (1) he bribed my servants not to fill his cup 000

> 1. In the temple in honor of the notorious Tung fu hsiang, which the grateful city built in 1899 in his honor, for its liberation from the Dungan, and in which incense was burned for him even during his lifetime. The temple was the most beautiful in the city, for it was still new. But since Hsining condones the widespread Chinese custom of donating an entirely new temple rather than providing annual sums for repairs, this new building will probably stand in ruins in another few decades, just like the other temples of the city.

but only to simulate the act of pouring whiskey into the little porcelain bowls out of which the Chinese drink.

Since I was the only person who took photographs in Hsining I was also kept busy at this time taking pictures of the officials, their wives and daughters. Day after day I was asked to do this. In the process the wives were treated like commodities, albeit precious ones. In my presence husbands and fathers never addressed their wives and daughters, nor was I, of course, permitted to address the women in the presence of their husbands. Among the Hsining and Dankar Chinese it is even regarded as improper if the man speaks to his brothers' wives. The brother-in-law must treat their sisters-in-law like air, even when the family property is shared and they all live together in one household. (2) On the other hand, it is 562 576 587 607

> 2. Even in the oldest classical moral teachings it is said that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law must not touch each other. If the brother-in-law must give his sister-in-law something, as for instance money, he places it on the floor or the table in front of her.

customary, especially among Mohammedans, that if a brother dies, the next eldest of the family takes over the widow as his wife; he "inherits" her as it were, for she has cost the family cold cash.

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609 BEHAVIOR TOWARD NONRELATIVES--cultural definition of nonrelatives; relationships and associated behavior defined by absence of kinship ties; behavior toward strangers and aliens; etc. See also:

Interpersonal relationships . . . . . 57 Behavior toward ethnic subgroups 343
Behavior toward individual observers . . . . . 173 International relations 648
Ethnocentrism 191

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamastery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands, passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

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596 The ancestral residence of the Tu family was typical
•609 of many such in Kansu. In the midst of widespreading fields an ancient walled citadel had been built, like an old baronial castle. A heavy, wooden door guarded the numerous courtyards, in which a colony of over thirty people, covering four generations, made their home. There was no access here for the Missionary unless by special invitation. Half a dozen Tibetan dogs guarded
596 the entrance, keeping all strangers and intruders at
609 bay. Within this fortress dwelt a family whose minds
231 were as strongly barricaded against new thought or new light, as was their castle door against the unwelcome stranger. When the message had reached the mother that her son was accepting the hospitality of a Kanchow Christian doctor, who also gave him medical attendance, her mind was instantly filled with fears that misfortunes of every kind would follow this rash behaviour. Acting on the advice of her mother-in-law and senior relatives, a letter was at once dispatched urging him to return, even suggesting that if he delayed the consequences might be serious to his mother's health.

A visit from Dr. Kao did much to ally suspicion, so that when we accepted the invitation to call on Mrs. Tu we were politely received and hospitably entertained. She had not taken this step, however, without consulting with the senior members of the clan, who had promised to be there and to give her their support in the event of our coming. We approached the house by an avenue of poplar trees. In an adjoining field a flock of herons had alighted, and stood at attention in every attitude of angular grace. Mr. Tu and his elder brother came out to meet us, and escort us past the kennels, where fierce dogs tugged at their chains. In the outer court stood the camels lately brought down from the pasture, in preparation for their annual trip

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to Peking, where local goods would be exchanged for 609 •
cheap Japanese merchandise. Many mules were feed- 596
ing in the spacious stables, and a flock of a thousand 231
sheep were spread over the fields around.

A crowd of about fifty women and children dressed in 609
their best came forward to meet us, and in a moment
the tense atmosphere of suspicion palpably cleared as 596
they discovered that we were dressed like ordinary Chinese women, and were also able to hold conversation with them in their own language. An aged dame, the most worldly-wise of the party, was deputed to sit at table with us, to report upon our manners. Her cordiality increased every moment on perceiving that we knew perfectly well when and how to respond to each gesture that the etiquette of well-bred Chinese society, of the last generation, demands. We were tactfully cross-questioned as to the reason of our being in China, and the old lady tried hard to elucidate the ulterior motives which had brought us so far from kith and kin! Amid many head-shakings, they all finally reached the decision that the desire for 'spiritual merit' was our ruling passion; and on this ground, understanding our motives, they gave us whole-hearted admiration. We realised, however, the force of the inexorable family decision, that neither the son, his young wife, nor any member of the circle, should be the *first* to break away from the age-long tradition of idolatrous domination and ancestral worship, which was the ruling factor of their family solidarity. Yet the young man ultimately proved himself to be immovable on the one vital point of loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ; and, strange to relate, when the decisive moment came, his timid girl-wife ranged herself on his side, declaring her determination to join her husband, and place herself, with him, under our instruction.

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FICHE

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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609 596 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

799 912 871 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

244 THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
201 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in
*668 Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Adminis-
631 trative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the
*668 local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

159 Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this
614 area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei
635 and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The [609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved 764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money 775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

there was little peace in and around the place. Every room of my 533 inn was filled, mostly with young men. By the light of the custom- 527 ary smoldering lamp dozens of them crowded around the coal braziers 563 which the innkeeper had set up, in their thick sheep furs, and sang part songs with melancholy trills and yodels and snickered and laughed and mocked the ones who were no good at it. All this lasted until morning. They were all happy like contented and very well brought up children. It was always long after midnight before the singers would gradually, one after another, fall silent. Then girls and boys would lean sleepily against one another and remain thus until the sun awakened them and they began their fun anew.

But I found it difficult to come closer to the Tu ren. They shyly 563 withdrew from me, avoided me wherever they met me, and many 609● of them obviously disdained me. To them, as to the Tibetans, a 123 stranger was uncanny and seemed to them an extremely dangerous creature who stands in close communion with death and the devil. Many of them had seen only few white men, some, none at all, and never one who wore Western clothes. /253/ On the other hand, much Chinese coolie gossip had reached their ears. They knew very definitely that our medicines are made of human hearts and children's bones. It took days of encouragement on my part and a great deal of baksheesh before I could get any of their legends and songs and persuade some of the men to let me photograph them and take anthropological measurements. It was particularly difficult because [511] the Tu ren are largely well-to-do and intelligent farmers and because the harvests had been good in the preceding years. They said: "We do not understand why you want this, such a proposal has never been made to us and we do not need your money and your presents." The few men I was able to measure were extremely frightened and twitched at every single measurement. More than a dozen ran off at the first touch of the measuring instrument, as excited as though it were a matter of life and death. As for measuring Tu ren women, that remained a pious wish on my part. (They were usually around 1.5 meters tall.) They were all afraid that they would thereby become sterile for life. In a few years, when Europeans become more familiar to them it may be an easy matter to make up for my failure.

It is often said that the Mongoloid peoples and especially the 157 inhabitants of China are much more calm, stoical and self-controlled than we Europeans. I discovered the opposite to be the case. The Chinese very easily fly into uncontrollable fits of rage which makes them capable of almost anything. It is also well-known, of course, 000

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 586
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while

614

614 SIBS--presence of unilinear kin groups of traditional, but not actually traceable, common descent; number and distribution; affiliation (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); regulation of marriage (e.g., exogamy, agamy, endogamy); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., names, insignia, totemism, food taboos); origin and traditions; organization; headship and succession; prerogatives and obligations of members; solidarity and group responsibility; common property and cult; relationship to clans; unilinear kin groups intermediate between sibs and phratries; relations between sibs; etc. See also:

Property 42
Mutual aid 476
Marriage restrictions 582
Blood vengeance 628
Totemism 779
Taboos 784

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determine l by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most S N [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) S N loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own [614] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to [426] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer- [476] cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, [794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

799 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
771 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
796 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
(351) which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
(342) house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
(621) the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
(614) bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
(532) stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
(172) figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
(511) upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

N
159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
101
631 Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

S
Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
(648) Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
(190) commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
(635) was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
186 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
(276) purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
(811) conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
(119) province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
791 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

619

619 TRIBE AND NATION--presence or absence of groups larger than the community to which people think they "belong" in an extended kinship sense; basis of identification (e.g., common name, common language, contiguous territory, common culture, tradition of common descent); intratribal intercourse and communication (e.g., trade, intermarriage), degree of development of nationalistic aspirations; etc. See also:

Tribal or national political organization . . . 64
Affiliation with a culture area or subarea . . . 101
Ethnocentrism 186
Intercommunity relationships 628
Intertribal or international relationships 648
Nationalistic movements 668
Ideas about race 829

S 631 659 175 647

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 659 563

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 631 619

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks;

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eartern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
E K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[199] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

/Kansu Mongours/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [291] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [197] [191] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölöts and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [191] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölöts and the [233] Torguts of Sinkiang.

N 2. Hordes

*563 [19] 561 [175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest

/Chinghai Mongols/

(8) the horde of the Tsunkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the r
of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no populatio
given).
(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few f
nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of T
(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomad
of Gungga-nor;
(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 famil
izing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families,
izing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;
(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families
southeast of the Dzun;
(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, abou
nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;
(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is compose
families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest o
(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomad
Shara-khoto;
(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northw
Kue-te;
(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-c
population figure given)
(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the
Bei-tse.

P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersb
another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdi
24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
2) Kükdd Beiti, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-t
4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi
7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably
8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut
11) Kurlik Daasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shu
4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel:?)
5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Ch

2) Kökköd Beili, 200 famil
3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 fam
4) Bukhain Gun, 4 familie
5) Arokholin Gun, 25 fam
6) Sham Gun, 15 families
7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 fam
8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 fa
9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 fam
10) Harakchat Dzasak, 30 f
11) Kurlik Dzasak, 24 fami
12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 fa

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5) Dondogo Gun, 10 famil

nilies (Tafel: Wang ...)
es (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
lies (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
s (Tafel: ?)
lies (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
(Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
lies (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
nilies (Tafel: ?)
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le).
s (Tafel: Muri Wang)
lies (Tafel: ?)
es (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
ilies, (Tafel:?)
ies (Tafel: presumably Chabcha Gung)

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representa-
[1343] tives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[584] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[792] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[488] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
123 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
621 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
619 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
123 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
593
[582] The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[562] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood necessitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are practically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obligations from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family. This is usually done through the parents.

*563 Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
584 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind, he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[589] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

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Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

6: Taler--220 1-3 (1903-1908) 1914 AJI Tibet AJI
N.W. China AF13

souls per square kilometer), inasmuch as the country has about 80,000 square kilometers, that is to say, it is larger than the kingdom of Bavaria, besides having plateaus in the northwest and countless valleys with fields in the east between which only the highest peaks have remained unused.

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The Chinese divide the Yü schu officially into 12 tribes, whereas the Tibetans sometimes speak of 25 (Bönka nischitsanga), sometimes of 30 or more tribes that regard themselves as a unit, and have recognized the Nan tsien dyalbo (rgyalbo) as well as the Hsining amban as their overlord, and are, for the latter reason, distinguished from their neighbors as Dya de (rDya de, writter: rgya sde), i.e., a Chinese province. In the north the land extends up to the water shed between the Yangtze Kiang and the Hwang Ho. The tribe to the extreme north is the Niamtso (Namtso), then come the Gu ts'a, Dyudyi, Tendu (Tendo) and Lab. Toward the west as far as Tschümar rab wden (2)

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2. See Vol. II, p.53.

are all the Yüchü /144/ tribes which alone add up to 12 sDe schok. These live south of the Yangtze Kiang in summer and graze their flocks to the left of this river only temporarily in winter. Their neighbors are the Yün cha (1), Mongu rtschin and Kaner and farther south

1. "Ch" is always pronounced as in the /German--Translator/ word "nicht."

at the head waters of the Mekong, the Gerdschi and Dung ba. South of Gu ts'a live the Antschun on the right bank of the Yangtze Kiang and their neighbors are the Deda, the Tsawu /including the monastery district Dscherku ndo/, the Lada (Rada), Pu chün (south of Dscherku). Farther south is the large territory of Surmo (Surman) (2) and south

2. There is a place called "Sourman" already on sheet 46 of the Jesuit map of 1708 and on the map d'Anville of 1735.

of this the actual native tribe of the Nan tsien king. Other tribal names include Tschum ba (3), Chona, La chü (Rachü), Chi wo. (4)

3. It is said of the Tschum ba and Yün cha that they

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emigrated from the Koko Nor only 100-150 years ago (?). Potanin speaks of an Arigi- and a Yundscha-tribe who were driven out in 1843 by the amban of the Koko Nor and wandered to K'am.

4. Kozlow, Mongolia i Kam, Vol. II, p. 262ff., ascertained the following tribal names: Namtso, Gutse, Amchek, Ayun, Haschi, Tschintson, Detta, Tschawut, Rada, Butschun, Surman, Yunscha, Kanar, Tsatschüka, Dobtschu, Tendo, Lab, Mongoltschin, Tsantschu, Gertschi, Raschi, Yuischu. Most of them are not in accordance with the ones I heard of. Of those who are said to live farthest toward Central Tibet he discovered the names Riu chi, Bak scho and Sogo deme (the latter is probably identical with the Bönbo on the Sog Tschü, the tributary of the Salwen near the Ba chen capital and the Truksun monastery. Farther on he writes that the Bak scho live northwest of Tsiamdo in Ts'ien tsang.

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I had touched the northeast corner of the Nan tsien kingdom near Lab gomba and Deda. From there the boundary approximately follows the 97° eastern longitude south in the direction toward Tsiamdo and two days' journey from this important place it touches the Wei- or Ts'ien tsang- (Chinese) or foremost Lhasa-territory whose chief town is actually Tsiamdo (Tschiamdo). From here, at about 31 1/2 degrees northern latitude, the boundary turns to the northwest and follows the course of the Tsche Chu upward, but in such a way that the right bank of this river is already under the jurisdiction of the sde ba gschung of Lhasa. Toward the west the sphere of influence of the Nan tsien King seems to extend in some places as far as 93° 30' eastern longitude. There in the north a territory joins it which is also called Dya sde by its neighbors, but which belongs to Bonbo and has its own overlord, the King of Hortsi. It extends 92° and (with 39 tribes originally) is nominally under the jurisdiction of the amban in Lhasa. (5) Just in that region the boundary is most uncertain because

5. According to Bower, Across Tibet, page 133, isolated parts of Dya sde extend far to the west of 92°.

the power of the priests and officers of the Central Tibetan ecclesiastical state seems to be mounting and friction is the order of the day.

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The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

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1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

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We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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621 COMMUNITY STRUCTURE--**physical type (e.g., migratory band, settled village, neighborhood of scattered households, aggregation of hamlets, ward or other local subdivision of a town); kinship structure (e.g., clan-community, endogamous or exogamous deme, segmented community of associated clan-barrios, unsegmented but homogeneous community, heterogeneous community); socio-political and economic structure and organization; local subdivisions of the community; community population (e.g., mean, range); area of territory exploited (e.g., mean, range); distinguishing characteristics (e.g., name, local dialect, local culture); tendency toward local endogamy or exogamy; cohesive and fissive tendencies; neighborliness; local pride;** etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements	36	Town and city government	63
Social stratification	56	Place names	100
Interpersonal relations	57	Real property	423
		Clans	618

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A group of patrilineally related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational) unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other Northwestern societies, has not undergone great changes under Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

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The Oirats (or Western Mongols).

The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads. Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the available resources.

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The designation for these small economic and migrational units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worthwhile to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger group and render services in return for the benefits gained thereby.

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Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in this group.

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The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of the group is arranged according to the age of the male members in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

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Wives of members of these extended families are also affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's. A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

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depends on his herds; they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

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The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the almaq) loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

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The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,

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invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can affprd it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition of giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

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563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[568] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
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C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
*563 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall ('939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[432] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
196 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
192 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[143] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
[192] Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
*563 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
423 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units
621 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of
619 encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[192] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
[621] no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
• 621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
[792] together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[123] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[292] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the commun-
[776] ity's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

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*563 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be fool-
• 621 hardy to leave crops standing.
241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of
N the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on
*563 and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the
592 family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house,
[595] instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the
N herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death
[768] of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N C. The Mongours.

*563 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a
M reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons,
173 brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in
565 Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops
563 depending on the size of the territory and the population of which
M he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor
565 social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol
[701] rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese
M and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four
[614] general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the
*563 appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan
M chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of
614 T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty.
554 Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his
M "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social
[428] organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

000kitchens."

N *563 M 60 59 For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 [631] [722] N [901]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country:

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The
first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble
the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
(443) liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
(632) village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town.
Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
791 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
(794) a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun.
In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
(764) Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
969 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
(346) In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
(891) at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
(985) they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
(996) eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
(994) As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
(578) relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
(979) still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many
184 years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive
628 industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade.
325 The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is
439 no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by
476 small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the
*563 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the
184 Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which
628 require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper,
369 trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportion-
463 ately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to
184 the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and
621 Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There
162 is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found
(578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
184 nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.
(651) These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the
(361) Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit
(162) of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
199 that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
199 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
167 a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
621

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
199 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen, and charcoal burners.

563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
199 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

There is little information about social classes and land tenure
563 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
565 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
423 of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
184 have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

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N
795 /Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Mos-
621 lem community mainly in the organization of the community
993 around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar
S
N
554 in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

S
N
G. Chinese Moslem Sects

795 After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest
185 of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them spring-
175 ing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

S
N
The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in
795 China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding relig-
792 ious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it,
185 and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese
181 whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
369 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the Northwest. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
241 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
361 from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
351 which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
342 house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
621 the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num-
614 bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting
631 feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
582 stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
172 figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
511 upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [198] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and 177 learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

197 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 198 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 195 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned
621 woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating
184 the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall,
722 were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with
727 which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason,
162 in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese
[562] woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border
*668 Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies
177 and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and sub-
[159] missiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

681 184 674 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean almost certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

• 621 184 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

*668 625 A. The System in General

In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

622

622 HEADMEN--existence of community chiefs or headmen; qualifications; mode of selection (e.g., by seniority, informal acceptance, election, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); functions and activities; domestic establishment; special status and functions of headman's relatives; authority; prerogatives; etc. See also:

Headmen of kin groups 61
Chiefs of territorial division 63
Leadership traits 157
Chief executive of the state 643

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554

[For information on the cadres - groups of especi
cooperatives and collectivization programs to trai

Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

lly-trained communist party officials employed in
n others in party programs - see category 668.]

S W A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican régimes.

S The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
563 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
233 Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S The designation for these small economic and migrational
563 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
621 families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[594] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
[613]

Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.

Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[613] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
[554] this group.

S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.

Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military
affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his
aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The
members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian
clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or
Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[668] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[565]
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
*563 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many
distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai
Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the seden-
tary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general
sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families
but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's
population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who
have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation
do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po
(elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is
an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokes-
man for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent.
Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's
people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed
that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition
to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may
include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work
in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the
products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In these cases where a man has more than one wife, each

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives.
221 Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be
[437] found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weav-
ing the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and
for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.
*563 The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en
221 masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-
796 winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both
792 pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representa-
tives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety
[443] of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also
[584] market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling
young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages.
Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.
*563 Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable
221 to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of
579 movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur.
Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables
[792] in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk re-
[488] lated to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded
in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery
and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of
Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged
*563 to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures
423 were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units,
621 (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of
619 encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.
*563 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might
423 form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority.
622 In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local
[792] monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the
laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units,
in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But
*563 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting
622 his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might
628 leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other
chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary
for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus,
just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger
units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each
of the component encampments.

*563 Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important
614 roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform
no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is
[621] not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines
of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village headman. But again the council of elders has considerable authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

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/The Monguors/

kitchens."

For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. R elationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organisations. E seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

Fuyi was the smaliest walled city we had seen, but stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

capable and intelligent Mandarin was evidenced as soon as the gates were reached, for on the plastered walls appeared practical precepts regarding the duties of good citizenship, and a series of pictures illustrating the downward course of the gambler and opium-smoker. 622 •

We were desirous of calling at one of the large farms in the neighbourhood, as it was the home of a young man who had been received into the Pioneer Band. This student, who had graduated from a Government Normal College, was a member of one of the most affluent and influential families of Fuyi. On his way back from Lanchow, he had come to the Kanchow Mission House with a request that he might be supplied with necessary dressings, having lately undergone an operation in hospital. He presented a pathetic appearance, being thin, pale, and melancholy, and at first sight, as he stood fingering the books of the lending-library in the guest-room, we read in his face an appeal for the help which would satisfy a longing deeper than the needs of the body. With characteristic cordiality and genial words, Dr. Kao made the necessary introduction. 'This is Mr. Tu,' he said, 'who is coming to spend a few days with me. He has been ill, and I cannot allow him to remain at an inn.' Then turning to his visitor, he continued: 'These ladies will be passing through Fuyi in the autumn, and I hope they may call then and see your mother and wife.' A few days were sufficient to transform this sad youth into one whose whole being, spirit, soul, and body, was irradiated with a new life. He read the Scriptures as one who found great treasure; but he also shrank from the difficulties of the return home, when, as a matter of course, incense would be burnt, and he himself would be expected to give thanks to the family idols for protection on the journey. 000

623

621 COUNCILS--existence of advisory or deliberative bodies within the community (e.g., 'council of elders, assembly of adult males); membership; mode of selection; organization; functions (e.g., advisory, judicial, legislative); conduct of sessions; powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Councils of territorial divisions . . . . . 63 Legislative and deliberative bodies of the state . . 648

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

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624

624 LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions . . . . . 63 State bureaucracy 647
Military organization . . . . . 70 Priesthood 793

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[For information on the cadres - groups of espec
cooperatives and collectivization programs to tra

ially-trained communist party officials employed in
in others in party programs - see category 668.]

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distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kanchow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

798 money, a few days of feasting, and the promise of generous sacrifices after death, in exchange for the risk
624 he should run of losing his life in an organised mêlée at the time of a coming fair. After some bargaining the matter was settled, and the tax-collector proceeded to secure the services of certain young roughs, always ready for a fight. The compact, however, was not kept as wholly secret as the parties intended, for some young girls overheard the conversation, and subsequently repeated it to their friends. On the morning of the fair a band of Christian men and women were selling books near the theatrical stage, when the tax-gatherer's gang began to pick a quarrel with them concerning the offence offered to the gods by their preaching. In a moment others joined in, and there were hot words and hard blows on both sides. Benches were used as weapons, and shortly afterwards the old beggar was lying dead, while the Christians were falsely accused of having killed him! It so happened that the more important Christian farmers were detained that day at a village three miles distant, but in a few hours' time a squad of soldiers arrived from Kanchow and took prisoner twenty Christian men, including even those who could prove an *alibi*. For weeks they lay in prison, without trial or proper investigation, wholly dependent for food on the charity of the Christian community, and not until one of them died, as a result of neglected wounds, was release on bail obtained for the remainder, the official refusing even to coffin the dead man until his old mother made her wrongs known by sitting the whole day wailing, in Eastern fashion, in the Yamen court, while the birthday festivities of the Mandarin were in progress! The facts of the story gradually became known, but no trial was held, and the accused were left in the supremely unsatisfactory condition of

being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798
although the whole populace declared them to be 624
innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, 798
however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635
the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701
diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

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There is not much to be said about the city of Hsining fu. It is 361
a Chinese city like all the others. And if one wants to be honest, one must admit that in the entire huge Middle Kingdom there is not a single really beautiful private dwelling. Hsining fu has only a "beautiful" city wall; and this is very necessary. As I briefly mentioned before, the city endured a four-month siege as recently as 1895, /170/ and about this Mr. Ridley once reported in detail in an English journal. Because of the lack of wood in the vicinity, the houses are small and low and built largely of dried loam with flat roofs. The number of inhabitants today probably does not quite come to 20,000. (1) Two-thirds of the male population are said to 624

1. Count Széchenyi: 3,000 occupied houses and 35,000 inhabitants; Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas, 1891: 30,000 -40,000 inhabitants. But this was before the last but one rebellion which was particularly bloody. Hedin, Durch Asiens Wüsten, Vol. II mentions 20,000 inhabitants, basing his figure on Ridley's statement; Grenard gives 15,000 inhabitants in the inner city, 10,000 Mohammedans in the suburb; Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, 1884: 60,000 inhabitants; Futterer, Durch Asien, Vol. I, p. 257, 1901: 60,000 inhabitants; therefore also Sievers, Asien, 1904, p. 491: 60,000 inhabitants; Filchner, Bilder aus Kansu, 1912: 60,000 inhabitants; Richard's Geography, Shanghai 1908: 60,000 inhabitants. The number 20,000 was quoted to me in the Hsien yamen, on the basis of the almost annual inquiries officially conducted around New Year. It is interesting to compare these figures with the impressions Tibetans have of the city. Chandra Das in his Contributions on Tibet gives the report of the Panschen Lama of the year 1779. He estimates the number of inhabitants of Hsining to be 300,000. According to the report from the crown of the ministry of the interior dated February 27, 1911, there were 2,032 families counted in the census of 1910, which would equal not even 10,000 souls. However, this figure does not represent the inhabitants of Hsining but the Mongolian banners that come under the Hsining amban.

be employed in the countless official bureaus or are soldiers or secretaries and secretaries' assistants. There is also a prince, a tu

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624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects, the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be- 346
side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha 778
in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

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from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

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Tu ren

ytlan bu. A single day's horseback ride took me there. (1) 361

1. Prschewalski's Yjam bu. In Prschewalski, Reisen in Tibet, translated by Stein, the Tu ren which I am about to describe are spoken of as Daldy, Doldy and Tunschen, and Prschewalski believes they originated in Samarkand and are a mixture of the Aryan and Mongolian race.

This Wei ytlan bu is a little market town, ninety lis distant from the city of Hsining fu toward the north-northeast, and is geologically in the same red tertiary clay basin as the prefecture city of Hsining and the monastery Gum bum. The edge of the basin is about 10 kilometers beyond on the north and east and it is only there that one again finds granite and slate looming up out of the loess-covered tertiary. Thus, from north to south the width of the red clay of the Hsining fu basin is 50-60 kilometers. In modern times these red strata were split up into so many valleys and ravines that even this tertiary region has now become a bizarre mountain country. The material is so soft that the valley bottoms of the larger streams have been washed out to form wide beds. At the spot where Wei ytlan bu is situated a large plain several square kilometers in size has been formed by the union of two such broad-bottomed, fruitful valleys. This undoubtedly accounts for the location and the importance of the place. 361 133

For, Wei ytlan bu is an important town. It can even be called a small city. It has a civil official who is now under the hsien of Hsining, it is the seat of a captain and second lieutenant, it has a city wall, a full half-dozen pawn shops, and all kinds of craftsmen. Above all there are important whiskey distillers among its inhabitants, who export their product as far as Lanchow and far into Tibet, and /246/ many mill owners whose mills, like those throughout East Tibet, are characterized by vertical axle trees and horizontally placed paddle wheels. In the census of 1895 the town had 820 families. For me Wei ytlan bu was important as the present-day chief town and market-place of the Tu ren who are under the administration of the hsien of Hsining. 361 [624] [274] [162] [443]

Tu ren (tu jen) literally means "earth man." It is a Chinese word and means "a resident." It refers to those people who were already in the country before the last Chinese inundation. This last large immigration of Chinese began in the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368) and still continues. 563 167

625

625 POLICE--specialized law-enforcement organs within the community and higher political units; personnel (e.g., qualifications, appointment, training, organization, promotion, retirement); equipment (e.g., uniform, insignia, arms); functions (e.g., crime prevention and detection, quelling disturbances, traffic control); specialization (e.g., patrolmen, detectives, vice squad); powers (e.g., arrest, detention, summary justice); degree of civilian control; special police organizations (e.g., state police, secret police); private police (e.g., bodyguards, watchmen, industrial police, private detectives); etc. See also:

Fire protection	368	Political graft	667
Examination of travelers	486	Legal and judicial personnel	693
Highway patrols	494	Methods of crime detection	694
Organized vice	548	Jails and prisons	697
Riots	579	Military police	708
Government pensions	657		

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/The Sedentary Tibetans/

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*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horoscope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. 621 241 [787] [292]

From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the community's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. [787] [776] [782]

From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community [625] [786] [651]

681 and has great prestige; robbery of a chief may be a life-and-death
184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

.*668 A. The System in General
• 625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

REGULAR POLICE SYSTEM IN NORTHWEST CHINA

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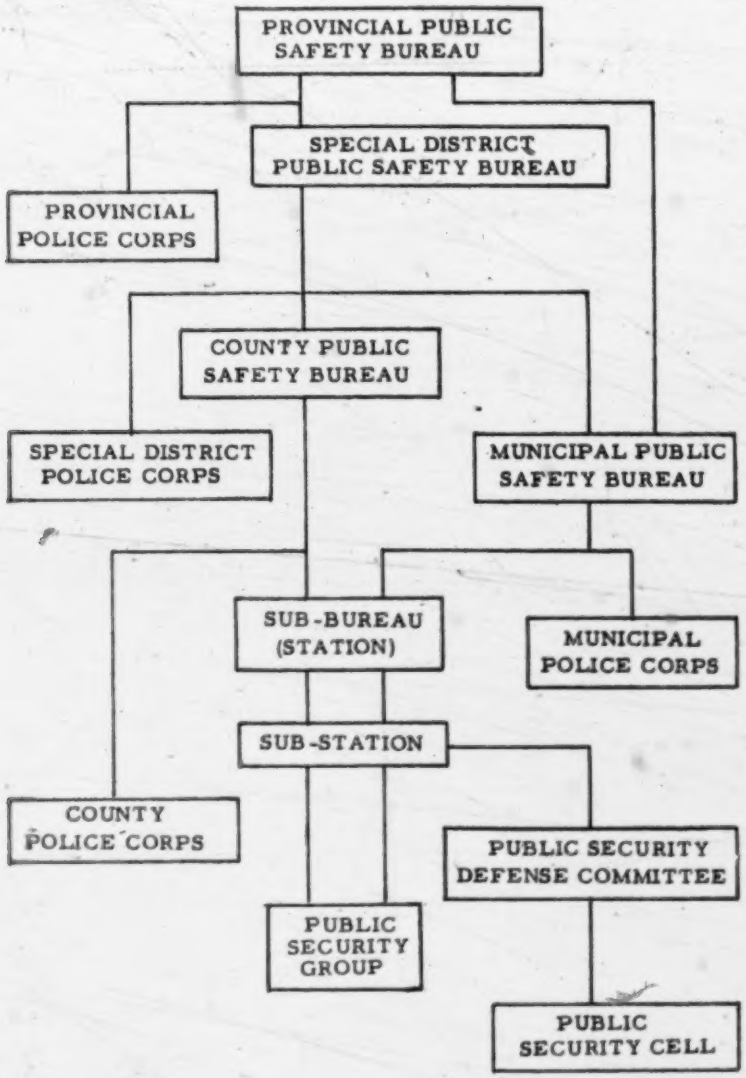

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1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's executive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

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2. Other police systems

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Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Government Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

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The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into foreign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

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The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

000 areas.

*668 Although there are so many different branches in the whole
625 police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

*668 Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a
625 Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the
649 regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Start-
[631] ing with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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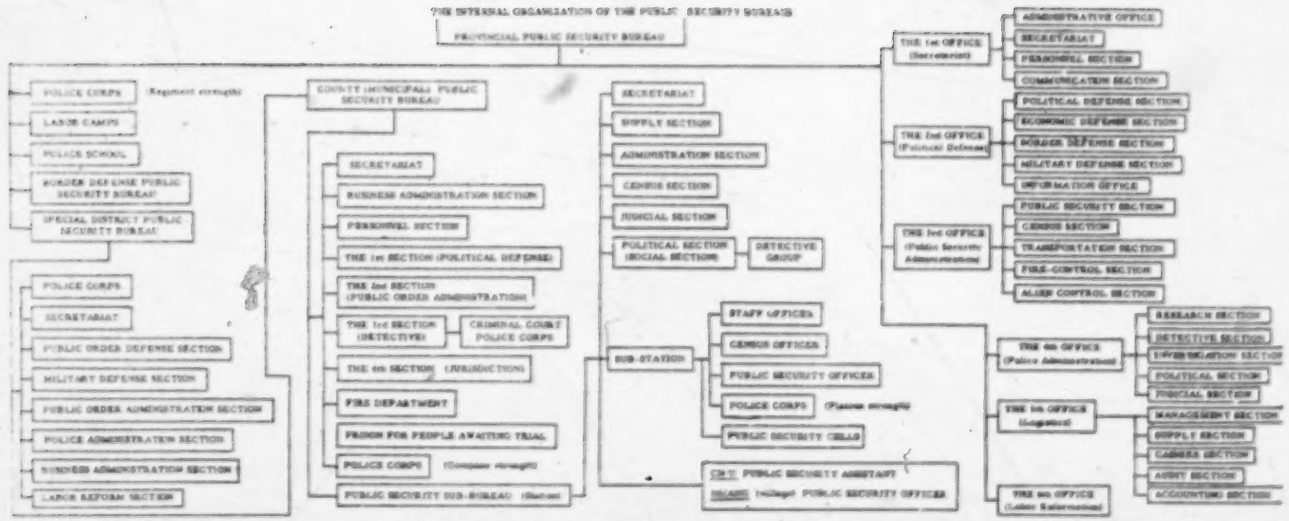
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAUS



625 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However,
*668 in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight
178 against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to
political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major
section in the internal organization of the police offices. To
673 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes
*668 can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered
sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

3. Committee of residents

625 In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also
*668 organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

1)...Arresting and rugning over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.

2)...Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but...have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.

3)...Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but...have no power to

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detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

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These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are • those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

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Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime committed now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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*175 During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the
635 eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police
• 625 system and the problems of public order and safety were simi-
184 lar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule
S
175 of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was
701 to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily
669 administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole,
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*175 however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the
625 northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

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In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors.
175 First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia
625 and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the
[648] Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of
[563] the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
S that
175 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases
669 of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incom-
668 plete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturb-
S ances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary
[674] crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

N The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
105 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
*668 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speak-
• 625 ing, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
133 few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
712 is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The
• 625 post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there
579 would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou
712 was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In
534 the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85
487 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through
133 poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the
361 whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of
342 caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River
487 and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after
133 three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

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175 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N
*175 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*563 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*668 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
669 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S 175 rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
563 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
668 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
669 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

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9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S 175 carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
668 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
625 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
694 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
631 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two special districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

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175 "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
668 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
674 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
62 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.

[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if

[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"

[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between

[578] Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
• 628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

*563 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many
184 years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive
• 628 industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade.
325 The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is
439 no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by
476 small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the

*563 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the
184 Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which
628 require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper,
369 trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportion-
463 ately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to
184 the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and
621 Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There
162 is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found

[578] only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
184 nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.

[651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predom-

[361] inantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit

[162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
• 628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
177 that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

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*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
• 628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.

*563 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
628 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
167 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-
177 sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is

*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees,

[181] especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place

[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a

*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

about 4700 feet. From the pass there is no immediate descent, the track following along a winding ridge in the grass and brush-covered hills for 25 li, and then descending a few hundred feet to reach Yichün, a dilapidated little city, built on the side of the ridge, the centre of a very poor third class district.

The range of mountains crossed on this day's march forms the watershed between the Lo and Wei rivers, the two principal streams draining Northern Shensi, and rises well above the loess covering. Perhaps the soil of no region in the world has been worked by man to the same extent as the loess of Central Shensi, where the Chinese have been scratching, sowing, and reaping uninterruptedly for some 4000 years or more, and the landscape of those plains appears tired and worn out. It is therefore a relief to get out of the loess, with its alternate dust and mud, glaring heat, insufficient and often brackish water, and treeless and monotonous scenery, into these mountains with their clear streams, grassy downs, and brush-covered slopes, haunted by innumerable deer and pheasants. In all our travels we found few spots more teeming with game than the hill sides in the neighbourhood of Yichün, and being now in a country where supplies were practically nil, we bagged quantities of cock pheasants, in pursuit of which it was seldom necessary to go more than a hundred yards from the road. We saw plenty of deer, apparently roe, too, but as we could get as many pheasants as we wanted, we did not trouble to go after them.

This range also marks the dividing line at present between the comparatively peaceful regions of Central Shensi and the brigand infested north. Yichün had been raided but recently, and was generally speaking in a most dilapidated condition from this and previous raids. When leaving the next morning we passed a crowd of the usual emaciated dogs outside the North Gate feasting on the remains of some decapitated brigands, an unpleasant sight at six o'clock in the morning, but one which gave great pleasure to most of the party. For a dead brigand cannot but be a pleasant sight to a peaceful Chinese, and my companions kept on repeating to themselves with real satisfaction *kou ch'ih t'u fei* (dogs eating brigands), as being an entirely

suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

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631 TERRITORIAL HIERARCHY--territorial structure of the state; the various levels of territorial and administrative organization within the state and their reconciliation with the categories below; hierarchy of political officials; integration with larger political units (e.g., Ukraine within the USSR); general nature of the territorial hierarchy (e.g., feudal, administrative, federal); degree of local differentiation in structural forms (e.g., federal districts, free cities, territories, colonies); etc. See also:

identification of the cultural group in relation to culture areas and neighboring societies. 101

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and,as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely,banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk,"local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the'Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

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626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience); means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Reactions to breaches of etiquette	576
Social norms	183	Breaches of ethics	577
Public opinion	208	Ingroup antagonisms	578
Wit and humor	522	Sorcery	794
Status and prestige	564	Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses	794
Loss of face	538		
Primary groups	571	Cursing	789

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

• [626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

194 *668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed *175 more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are 599 still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one *668 under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the 669 deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counter-revolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nation- *175 alities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or un- 563 consciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese *668 cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings 669 and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability	67	Offenses and punishments	66

575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing
635 nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are
579 members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of more active members. Offences against the rules of the • [627] society are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han
133 valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society--ANALYST]

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the 794
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627 •
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302]
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

596 627 ventionally blameless life. He was but sixty years of age, but sought in inactivity and premature decrepitude an excuse for shelving all responsibility as regards disciplining his children. On this occasion, however, the disgrace being flagrant, his self-esteem was so humiliated as to wound his pride to the quick, and to disturb his wonted equilibrium. Having decided what should be the culprit's punishment, and requiring for its execution the help of some of the younger men, he now proceeded to address the family council in the following terms:

'I have no option but to take action, the disgrace brought upon my country and family being so great. This boy ought to die; but because, if I hand him over to an official, the family name will yet further be dragged in the dirt, with your help we can carry through what honour demands. To-night we will dig his grave, and in it shall my son be buried alive.'

There was no one present to plead the young man's cause, while even his wife could only silently weep, and bow her head under this fresh sorrow. One relative, however, did grasp the terrible urgency of the situation, and slipping unnoticed from the room, he ran to Dr. Kao, whom he roused from sleep, and presently both entered the room, where things were still unaltered. After expressing great sympathy, Dr. Kao now came forward with a suggestion: 'You must not despair,' he said. 'You know nothing of the Grace of God, nor of His power, through Jesus Christ, to change the heart and save sinners from themselves. Give me charge of the boy and I will deal with him.'

A party of men, accordingly, set off at once to the thieves' quarters, and in an hour's time the prodigal, bound with ropes, was standing before his father. The alternatives were then placed before him in a few

forcible words—to remain in his father's hands meant a living death; in the Doctor's hands unrelenting discipline. He might take his choice. The decision was quickly made; he gave Dr. Kao a kowtow, and then followed him home, to taste, for the first time in his life, a régime of justice tempered with mercy. On entering the class-room the next morning, knowing nothing of this incident, we saw sitting on a bench by the door a terrified specimen of humanity, with his toes thrust into ragged shoes, and wearing an indescribably ancient, greasy, sheepskin coat. Together with the other men present he stood up on our arrival, when we naturally took him for an opium patient—the dull eye, the sniggering leer, and the plain marks of enfeebled will-power being glaringly evident, stamping him as a moral delinquent of a particularly degraded type. Dr. Kao gave him just four days to get over the shock of quitting the drug, during which time he was forbidden to leave the premises, and then, immediately, certain duties were appointed him. But still no sort of improvement showed itself; he neglected his work; flounced about with an unpleasant smirk on his face; and when an enquiry was held as to the whereabouts of the fur robe, giggled and sniggered, persisting that he knew nothing whatever about it. The end came swiftly and summarily. He received a sound flogging, from which he arose, potentially, a reformed character. He immediately produced the pawn-ticket from some greasy pocket, took his broom and set to work to sweep the courtyards, clean the rooms, and carry water. He soon proved himself an industrious and capable man, toiling from dawn to dark without a word of complaint. The expression of his face changed, and showed the satisfaction which he felt in knowing that someone had taken him in hand who was strong enough

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596 627 to control him. So great, indeed, was the change in this restored and reinstated prodigal, that twelve months later, when we made a long and arduous journey to distant cities outside the Great Wall, he came with us as our personal carter, and fulfilled his duties with ability. So much for the development of the natural man, under wise and firm discipline, fairly and justly administered; but when the time came for our leaving Kansu, there had still been no evidence of spiritual life. One could not say of him, in the language of St. Paul: '*It is a new creation*'; the Prodigal had left his swine, but had not yet 'come to his Father.'

CHAPTER XIX

A TRIP TO KINTA

494 At the end of March, a good many of our students, being obliged to return to their farms for a short period, we, with the remainder of the Band, made a trip in a north-easterly direction to visit Kinta, the only city lying between Suchow and Mongolia. As it was barely thirty miles distant we fully hoped to reach it easily in one day, although it was necessary to take the large cart for the Chinese women, in addition to some heavy loads of books and the tent. It being the first of April, subsequent events were in character with that day, the carter being one of those jolly rascals well known to travellers in China, who combine a sporting instinct with a very plausible tongue! He offered no sort of objection to our weighty baskets, but also took care, we noticed, to line the bottom of the cart with a layer of his own, unspecified, merchandise.

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628 INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries between communities; establishing, maintaining, and breaking relations; blood vengeance; feuds; negotiation and composition (e.g., payment of wergild); mediation and arbitration; etc. See also:

Formal justice	69	Gang wars	679
War	72	International law	648

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages.

Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 792 [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 792 These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But

*563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

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d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

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The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bük even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dsungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

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II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

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Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bük's policy

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S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
[441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
[622] still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghis and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

HISTORICAL SETTING

N
631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N (633) [177] [668]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

S 635 [131] [161] [563]

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 635

N
*175 A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle
487

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

S 175 487

/Chinghai Mongols/

*563 619 361 (8) the horde of the Tsinkuk (Tsunkuk) Gung near the monastery of Gomba-soma and in the Tsunkuk valley (no population figure given).

(9) the horde of the Dunkur Gung, consisting of a few families nomadizing in the area of Dunkur Monastery south of Tankar;

(10) the horde of the Chabcha Gung, 30 families, nomadizing east of Gungga-nor;

(11) the horde of the Taijinar Dzasak, about 1000 families, nomadizing at the southern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(12) the horde of the Dzun Dzasak, about 500 families, also nomadizing at the southeastern edge of the Tsaidam swamps;

(13) the horde of the Barun Dzasak, about 250 families, nomadizing southeast of the Dzun;

(14) the horde of the Harchiu (Kara Chut) Dzasak, about 40 families nomadizing north of the Dabasun-nor;

(15) the horde of the Morchi Dzasak, which is composed of a few families, nomadizing in the valley of Lala, southwest of Dankar;

(16) the horde of Torgho Dzasak, 120 families, nomadizing around Shara-khoto;

(17) the horde of the Gomi Dzasak, 30 families, northwestward of Kue-te;

(18) the horde of the Ta-tung Dzasak around Ta-tung-ch'eng (no population figure given)

(19) the horde of the Dia-shir Dzasak, westward of the Kurluk Bei-tse.

*563 631 P. K. Kozlov presents in his Mongolia i Kam, (Petersburg, 1906) another subdivision of the Chinghai Mongols. He subdivides the 24 banners into two brigades:

a) Dzun edeget (left brigade)
   1) Tsing-hai Wang, 130 families (Tafel: Wang-ka)
   2) Kökö Beili, 200 families (Tafel: Kukut bei-le)
   3) Kurlik Bei-si, 800 families (Tafel: Kurluk Bei-tse)
   4) Bukhain Gun, 4 families (Tafel: ?)
   5) Arokholin Gun, 25 families (Tafel: Dunkur Gung)
   6) Sham Gun, 15 families (Tafel: presumably Gobi Gung)
   7) Torgut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: presumably Torgho Dzasak)
   8) Tsulgen Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   9) Chonon Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: ?)
   10) Harakchut Dzasak, 30 families (Tafel: Kharachut Dzasak)
   11) Kurlik Dzasak, 24 families (Tafel: ?)
   12) Taijinar Dzasak, 600 families (Tafel: taijinar)

b) Barun edeget (right brigade)
   1) Muru Wang, 80 families (Tafel: Muri Wang)
   2) Erkhe Bei-le, 60 families (Tafel: ?)
   3) Chun Bei-si, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Shui-hia Bei-tse)
   4) Hargi Bei-si, 150 families, (Tafel: ?)
   5) Dondogo Gun, 10 families (Tafel: presumably Chabcha Gung)

*563 631
   6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
   7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
   8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
   9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
   10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
   11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
   12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [177] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

*563 [177] 195

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 341 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 • [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

*563 621 • 631 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 361 632 443

*563 621 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some peculiar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

[443] [632]

*563 621 771 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

[794]

*563 545 621 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 621 769 [764]

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were
436 effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chi-
181 nese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural
369 rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the North-
241 west. Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands
36 in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance
[351] from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall
[342] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial
[621] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of
[614] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large numbers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

• 631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon
[532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone
[172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert
157 Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a
485 small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed
[511] upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

N 635 *668 177 S 635 628 177 S [642]

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

N 635 • 631 * 175 S 635 631 175

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

N 635 631 * 175 N *[668]

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

S 175 631 635 [642]

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

C 175 642 669 668

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

C
668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

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668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
642 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

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C. Political Rights in Practice

• 631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights
*668 in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

N
631 "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
*668 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Committees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various
666 provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

N
631 "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Governments in the Northwest region have attached importance to
*668 People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

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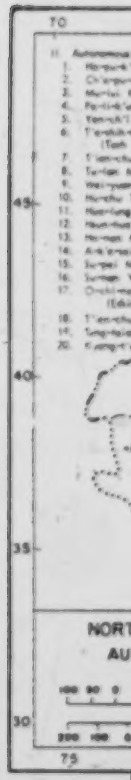
631 "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
668 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of



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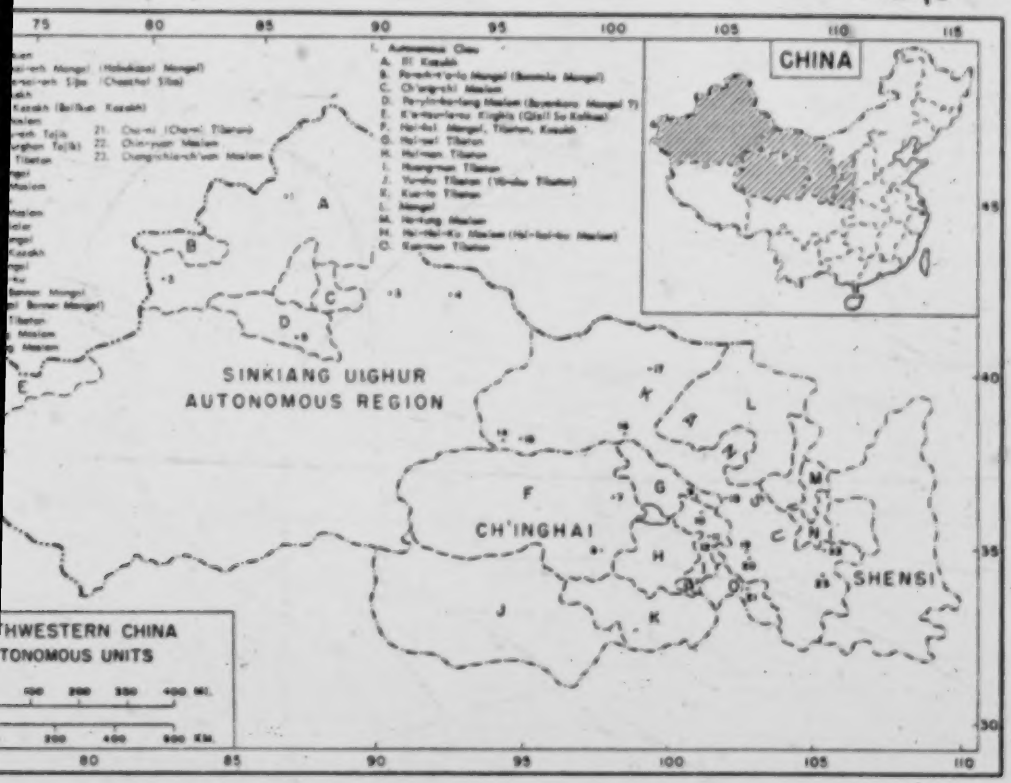

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STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

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A. Basis of Regions

The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central *175 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation *668 into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned • 631 areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

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B. Organizational Regulations

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;
(2) when land reform was completed;
(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

*175 *668 • 631 701 [666]

a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

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b. functions

Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 *668 631 647

After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices:

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

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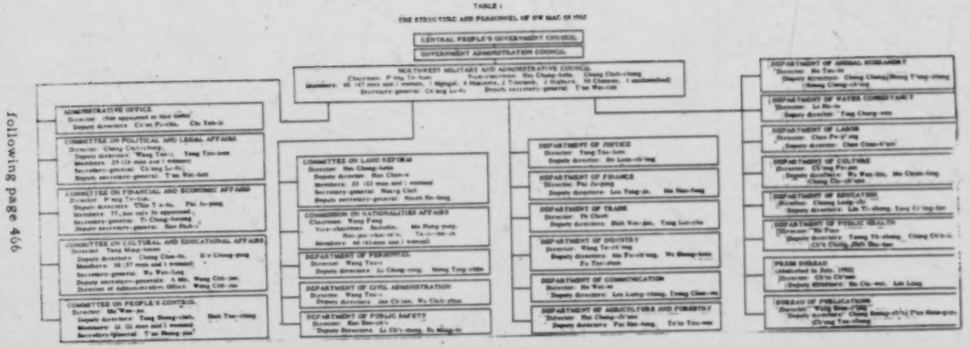

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Department of Finance;
Department of Trade;
Department of Industry;
Department of Communications;
Department of Agriculture and Forestry;
Department of Animal Husbandry;
Department of Water Conservancy;
Department of Labor;
Department of Cultural Affairs;
Department of Education;
Department of Public Health;
Press Bureau (abolished in July, 1952);
Bureau of Publications

d. drawbacks

With the gradual consolidation of the central government, the all-powerful Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions became less and less desirable, and the traditional conflict between the central and the regional forces became more and more significant. This situation reached a climax on November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution to change the structure and the function of the Military and Administrative Councils. It was stated that the change was necessary for strengthening the leadership of the Central People's Government in its new responsibilities of nation-wide economic and cultural reconstruction. The power of the provincial and municipal governments was to be strengthened, while that of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions was to be curtailed. At that time these decisions were made:

C. Reorganization

(1) to organize all the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions into Administrative Councils. Each council was to function as an agent representing the central People's Government to guide and check the local governments.

(2) to preserve the Administrative Office and the four committees on Political and Legal Affairs, Financial and Economic Affairs, Cultural and Educational Affairs, and People's Control under the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions.

(3) to reduce the original departments to bureaus and offices. Some of these new bureaus and offices were to be put under the direct control of the related ministries of the central People's Government.

This reorganization was to be accomplished before the end of 1952, but the actual reorganization of the Northwest Military and

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Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953. P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assignment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

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A. Relationship to Regional Government

The provincial governments traditionally have been important links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

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they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel, laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

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*668
[671]

The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of
• 631 municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts,
666 hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the
[563] voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are
631 numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the
671 people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible
631 to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

*668 includes, depending on its level, the provincial governor and
• 631 deputy provincial governors; the mayor and deputy mayors; the county head and deputy county heads; the district head and deputy district heads; the hsiang head and deputy hsiang heads; or the town head and deputy town heads. The number of members in a people's council (head and deputy head included) differs according to level, as follows:

(1) Provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority, 25 to 55;
(2) Municipalities, 9 t 25; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large population, but in no case may exceed 45;
(3) Counties, 9 to 21; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large number of hsiang and towns, as well as a large population, but in no case may exceed 31;
(4) Municipal districts, 9 to 21;
(5) Hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns, 3 to 13.

The term of office of a provincial People's council is four years. It is two years for those councils or municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns.

b. functions of councils

The functions of the people's councils at all levels are numerous. Many of them are traditional, such as collecting taxes, managing conscription, and running the administrative routine. But some are new or have been given new content, such as:

(1) Carrying out economic plans and budgets;
(2) Regulating and controlling the market and the local state enterprises, and directing the socialization of the private enterprises.
(3) Directing the production of agriculture, handicrafts, and mutual-aid cooperatives;
(4) Managing transportation, communications, and public enterprises;
(5) Managing local activities in the fields of culture, education, public health, pensions, relief, and social welfare.

65 The nationalization of business and industry has burdened the
631 local governments with much that formerly was done by private
*668 parties. Economic plans existed previously, but were limited to a few public works. Now the plans and budgets of the government cover almost every economic activity in the area. Previously, only when an occasional crisis arose did the local governments regulate or control the market. Now it is one of their regular functions. In the past, there were few, if any, local state enterprises. Now, with the program of socialization of private enterprises in full swing, the task of operating local state enterprises is tremendous. The local governments are responsible for the people from before birth until after death, and for controlling and managing almost every phase of their lives.

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory
• 631 character of the Communist system of local government. The
182 Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provin-
649 cial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices,
635 or commissions according to local needs:
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may estab-
649 lish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:
632
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

*668
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632
• 631

(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

*668 The county people's councils may establish, according to need,
649 the following divisions or bureaus:
634
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

*668 D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization
635 If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

N
*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

N
[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

N
*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
S Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
668 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the
635 present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

N
*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

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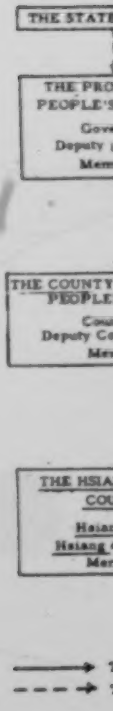

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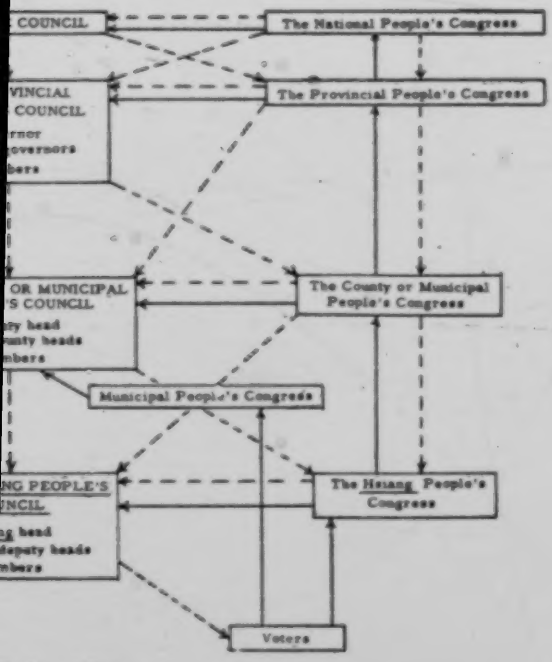
TABLE VI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



The Line of Election

The Line of Control

LEVELS

The Nation

Provinces, including:

Municipalities directly controlled by the central government

Autonomous areas

Administrative districts, including:

Autonomous chou

Counties, including:

Municipalities

Autonomous hsien

Hsiang, including:

Towns

Nationality hsiang

Districts under municipalities

The people

N
*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
N
(635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
S (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
668 region on October 1, 1955.
(635) Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N
*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
•631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 1955, are shown in Table 9.
631
N After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

N
*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

N
*668 with the local governm
*563 shown in Table 10.
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Sinkiang AI1

nental divisions down to the county level, is

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TABLE 7

• 631
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*668

Administration Units in Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Shensi province	Sian	4 municipalities 4 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 8 special districts having a total of 91 counties and 2 districts
Kansu province	Lanchow	6 municipalities 1 county under direct supervision of the provincial government 1 mining district under direct supervision of the provincial government 9 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the special districts there are altogether 80 counties, 9 autonomous hsien (counties), and 1 banner
Chinghai province	Sining	1 municipality 5 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 4 autonomous hsien (counties) 6 autonomous chou (special districts) having a total of 21 counties and 3 autonomous districts at the county level.

TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI PROVINCE	
Tibetan Autonomous chou of Hai-pei	Including the three counties of Ch'i-lien, Hai-yen, and Kang-ch'a, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Hai-nan	Including the five counties of Kung-ho, Hsing-hai, Kuei-te, Kuei-nan, and T'ung-te
Mongol, Tibetan, and Kajakh autonomous chou of Hai-hsi	Including the Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Huang-nan	Including the three counties of T'ung-jen, Tse-k'u, and Chien-cha
Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu	Including the 6 counties of Yü-shu, Lang-ch'ien, Ch'eng-tu, Chih-to, Tsa-to, and Ch'ü-ma-lai
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kuo-lo (Kolo)	The southeastern part of Chinghai bordering Sikang and Szechuan; situated east of the Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu and south of the Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ung-te. It covers 240,000 sq. kilometers, and has a population of more than 110,000 Tibetans. It is to be divided into 4 counties, the names of which have not yet been determined
T'u autonomous hsien of	Formerly Hu-chu county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Hua-lung	Formerly Hua-lung county
Salar autonomous hsien of Hsün-hua	Formerly Hsün-hua county
Mongol autonomous hsien of	Formerly Ho-nan district

TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI (continued)	
Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan	Formerly Wei-yüan district
Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan	Formerly Tu-lan district
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chü	An area west of Kokonor
KANSU PROVINCE	
Mongol autonomous chou	Including the county of Tun-k'ou and the Alashan Banner
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kan-nan	Including the two counties of Hsia-ho and Ho-t'an; and the Chu-ni autonomous hsien, plus an area cut from Hsi-ku, Min, Wu-tu, and Ho-ch'uan
Moslem autonomous chou of Hsi-Hsi-ho	Including the three counties of Ku-yüan, Hsi-chi, and Hsi-yüan
Moslem autonomous chou of Ho-tung	Including the four counties of Lin-wu, Chin-chi, T'ung-hsin, and Yen-ch'ih
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chin-yüan	Formerly Hua-p'ing county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chang-chia-ch'uan	Chang-chia-ch'uan
Tung-hsiang autonomous hsien	Su-nan-pa, the eastern district of Ho-chou
Moslem autonomous hsien of Kuang-t'ung	Probably the former Ling-ting county
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chu	Wu-shao-ling

TABLE 10 (Continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
KANSU PROVINCE (continued)	
Mongol autonomous hsien of Su-pei	Formerly Su-pei administrative chü
Kazakh autonomous hsien of A-k'e-sai	Southwest of Tun-huang
Mongol autonomous hsien of O-chi-na (Edsin) Banner	Formerly Edsin Banner
Cho-ni autonomous hsien	Formerly Cho-ni administrative chü

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six pe- cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined to the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region from 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberated areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'-war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this appeared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming Jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The total, therefore, comes to 51,541. In Kansu, the total number of cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.

Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ningsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng, December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80 counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the number of national minority cadres employed in government work

in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA January 8, 1952).

A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's governments. Up to the summer of 1955 the Northwest Revolutionary University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in government service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200. The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, section chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).

B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres, both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had served in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

The line-up of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and the provincial people's governments in 1951 shows that the responsible officials were either Communists or hold-overs from the previous governments who were approved by the Communists. In cases where the former governors were retained, as in Kansu and Sinkiang, one or two of the vice-governors were Communists.

To cater to the desire of the minority peoples for a voice in government, many of the native representatives were elected to be members of the people's councils. But they were mainly permitted to serve in the lower levels of the administrations, the Chinese practically monopolized the upper levels of government. Table 3 shows the number of chairmen, vice-chairmen, and the members of the councils.

It should be noted that the term "Chinese" refers to those of the Han race and that the term "national minority" includes also the Chinese Moslems, a people once known as Dungan and now as the Hui, or Moslems. In the Linhsia Administrative District in Kansu, for example, although the number of Chinese and Hui county magistrates were the same, the Chinese still predominate, Numbering 52 per cent of the population, they had 56 per cent of the seats in the district people's council, while the Hui, who numbered 48 per cent of the population had only 55 per cent of the seats.

These local people's governments or people's councils had little authority. Their principal responsibility was the transmission of the decisions and orders of the Government Administration Council in Peking. Military and financial matters were subject to the decisions of the Central Government (cf. Organic Law of Regional Governments, December 16, 1949).

B. Regional Autonomous Areas

The training of an army of national minority cadres had as its basic purpose, not only the staffing of the lower levels of the administration, but also the preparation of the ground for the establishment of regional autonomy for the minority peoples in the outlying regions of the Northwest. "The nucleus of work in the promotion of nationality regional autonomy and nationalities democratic coalition governments," stated the Jen-min jih-pao in an editorial (March 22, 1951), "lies in the universal and large-scale training of the nationalities' own cadres. It is only after the nationalities are provided with their own revolutionary cadres that their political, economic and cultural development can be further assured."

The nationality autonomous governments which were first set up in the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, were prepared by "the construction work of political and military cadres," (NCNA, May 17, 1951), who did the work of propaganda and organization of the people. (NCNA December 19, 1951). For example, the estab-

N
175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'un-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

S
175 The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
668 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
642 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
563 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
631 were quite obvious.

1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

S
175 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
668 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
563 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
631 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

N
*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N
*175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

N
*175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
S
175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

N
642 Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
631 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
646 mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N
*175 VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
631 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
*668 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
179 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

*175 Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged
• 631 into Kansu. (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edain-
*668 gol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia
177 Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

*175 Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean
*668 War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the
178 coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800
[496] kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

*175 However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly
*668 agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the
474 rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent
476 of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The
476 situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:
178 Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

Table 6. CADRES ASIGNED TO AND TRAINED FOR COOPERATIVE WORK

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*668
• 631
474
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	Total No. of Cadres	Number of Native Cadres	Cadres Assigned to Cooperatives	Cadres to be trained for cooperative work
Shensi			20,000	200,000
Chinghai	8,500	3,400	3,100	7,300
Sinkiang	51,000	34,400	27,000	
Kansu	(no figures available)			

N
*175 B. Transfer of Cadres
*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

N
*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the
upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
*563 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
• 631 cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
175 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
668 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
563 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang
631 En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 68 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

N
*175 To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*668 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
166 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1954. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

REGULAR POLICE SYSTEM IN NORTHWEST CHINA

*668
225
• 631

Following page 533

000 areas.

*668 Although there are so many different branches in the whole
225 police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party
631 Central."

*668 Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a
665 Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the
225 regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Depart-
647 ment, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Start-
• [631] ing with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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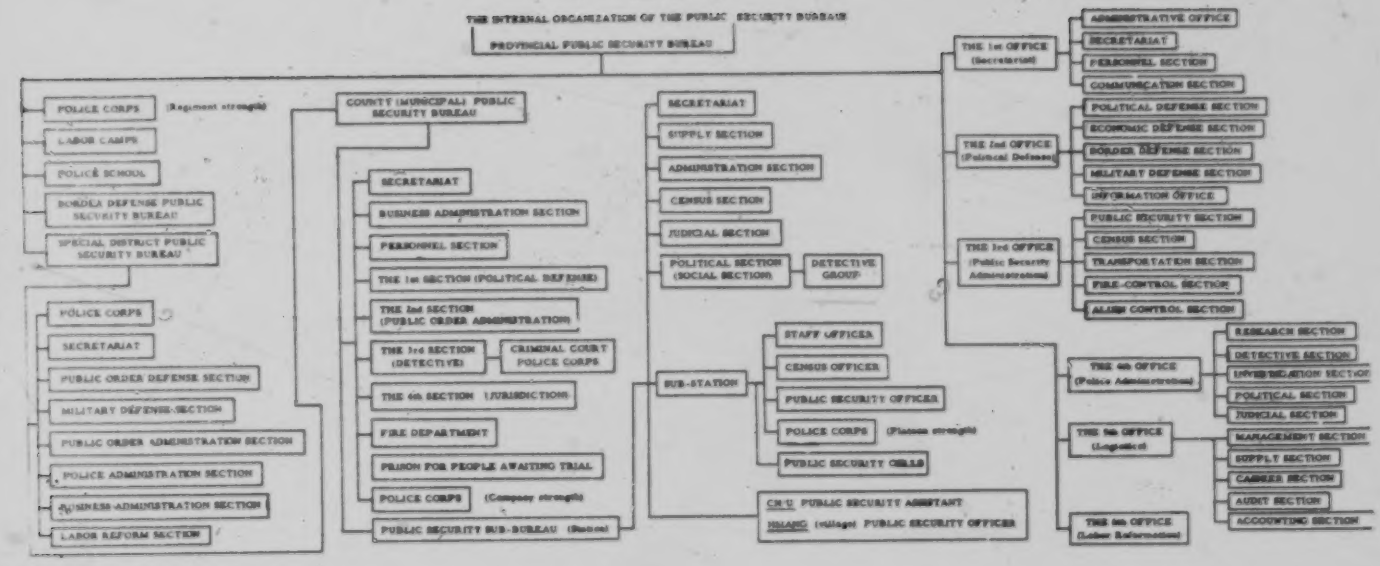
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU



following page 537

N
*195 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S
195 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N
*195 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*563 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*668 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
669 to April 3, 1953.... The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pal-k'e said: 'In the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S 195 rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
563 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N
*195 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*668 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
• 631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
195 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)

S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
195 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
694 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

S
159 Government and their readiness to receive orders from the new
668 regime in Peiping. On October 1, 1949, General T'ao Ch'ih-
669 yueh, the commander of the Nationalist garrison in Sinkiang,
631 went to Chiu-ch'uan to welcome the arrival of the Communist general, Wang, Chen, in Sinkiang. On October 2, General P'ang Te-huai flew to Urumchi (Tihua) with General Chang Chih-chung. Burkhan was thus appointed by the Communist regime as the new governor of the people's government of Sinkiang. In October
S 1955, he was elected chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autono-
[643] mous Region.
S
159 Burkhan was a member of the NW MAC, but unlike most of
668 the other officials, he held few concurrent posts. Those he held
631 were president of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, an institution for the training of native cadres, chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association, and a member of the Chinese People's Committee for the Protection of Children. His name was missing from the list of notables invited to attend the CPPCC held in Peking in September, 1949, and it was not until the third session of the CPPCC in 1951 that he became a delegate to that body. In 1955, he was deputy chairman of the Second National Committee of the CPPCC, the function of which had already been superceded by the National People's Congress. His name was also absent from the list of members of the presidium of the National People's Congress meeting, held in September 1954.

These facts as well as reports from escapees from Sinkiang indicate that Burkhan was probably only a figurehead in the political structure of Sinkiang under the Communists. In his speeches, however, he has denounced the separatist aspirations of his peoples as well as pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism, long unifying forces in the struggle of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and has repeatedly and vigorously supported the unity of Sinkiang with the rest of China. He was also one of the vice-presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. He relinquished the office as governor of Sinkiang in September 1955, but when, a month later, Saifuddin resigned, he became governor of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

N
Cha Hsi: Tibetan, Communist
159 Cha Hsi, a Tibetan, served as a member of the Committee
*668 of Nationalities during the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia
• 631 Border Government from 1937-1945; at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of the same committee in the Central People's Government, and also appointed a member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and concurrently a member of the Committee of Nationalities in that council. The council was re-organized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative

159 Council, and Cha Hsi served the same position as before.
*668
• 631 Chang Chia-fu
Chang's birth date and background are unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was formed in 1949, he was a member of that council and also a vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education. In 1953, when that council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, he still served as one of the vice-chairmen of its Commission on Culture and Education. Since 1951 he has been vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the SSFA. In the Communist Party, he was director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau until 1953. He is also a vice-president of the China Academy of Sciences.

Chang, Chih-chung
See China General Handbook.

Chang Chung-liang: Communist
A native of Shensi Province, birth date unknown. From 1949, he served as one of the vice-chairmen in the People's Government in Chinghai Province, and secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Chinghai. 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and member of its Financial and Economic Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai Province. In 1955, he was elected chairman of the Kansu PPCC committee, and transferred to become secretary of the Kansu committee of the CCP.

Chang Feng-hui: Local leader
[565] A native of Shensi, a member of the gentry class. Birth date and other background unknown. Since the "liberation" of the Northwest, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi. From 1953 he was a member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Shensi Province.

His position in the local government was chiefly due to the fact that Chang is an influential local leader and willing to cooperate with the new regime. The policy of the Communist regime of utilizing local talents for local government finds a proof in the case of Chang Feng-hui.

Chang Feng-po: Member of the Democratic League
Background unknown. He is a member of long standing of the

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Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Ping-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissaar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade (701) of the 115rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected an alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army and later P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia Border Region. In 1950 she became member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, 1953, member of the Northwest

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Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.

Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official

Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery.1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official

Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer

Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated from a surveying school; joined the army and became a commanding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng. Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A.; joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

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Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.

Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

N

Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official

Background unknown, dates unknown. Serving during the Sino-Japanese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

S

Ch'ü, Wu: Government official

Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi, member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

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Feng Chung-ju: Communist

A man of Shensi Province. Served as commanding officer of supplies of the People's Liberation Army; 1949-53, mayor of the People's Government of Sian, and member of the People's Government Committee of Shensi Province, 1953-54, member of Shensi Provincial Government Council and mayor of Sian. 1954, member of Shensi Provincial Government Council.

Han Chao-e: Third Party member, politician

Born in 1890's in Shensi Province; graduated from Peiping Normal University; a teacher for some years. 1936, served Yang Hu-cheng and was involved in the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian; magistrate of Ch'ang-an County in Shensi. 1937, personal representative of General Chu Wei-po to Chungking; member of the Political Consultative Conference; member of the Democratic League. Fled to Hongkong in 1948. 1949, chairman in charge of party reorganization for the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party in Peking; delegate of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party to the People's Political Consultative Council in Peking; appointed member of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Central People's Government. In the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, in which he was a member, he served on the Political and Legal Commission and was vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission. Since 1954, he was also vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi and director of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Shensi People's Government, positions he retained even after the reforms of 1954.

Although not a member of the CCP, Han has served the Communists well by his efforts in furthering Communist policies in the mass organizations. He is a reserve member in the executive committee of the Farmers and Workers Democratic Party.

Han belongs to one of the many small third parties which took part in the Communist regime in Peking. Hence his prominence in the new regime is chiefly because he is a member of a third party. Since the Communist Government is a coalition government in theory, Han's role in such a government is emphasized. Another reason for Han's success in acquiring a high position in the People's Government was that the Communist policy planners emphasize the use of natives in the local government. Thus it is only logical for Han, native of Shensi, to become a vice-chairman of his provincial government.

Hou, Wei-in

See China General Handbook

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Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist

Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Communist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged soldier rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shensi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of Armed Disturbance in that council, member of the Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissaar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarter of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to Korea and appointed chief of Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist Regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer

Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy commander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1946, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

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Ningbsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Government of Ningbsia. His name, however, disappeared from the line-up after the Ningbsia People's Government was abolished and Ningbsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ningbsia.

Hsi-jan-chia-ta'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnaparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubandu's work); since then he studied and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission. Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chairman of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-jan-chia-ta'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

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Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a tribute from Communist authorities.

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Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer

A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, political commissaar of Lahrang in Kansu; 1941, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Armed Disturbancy in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother, Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-te'ang. Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist regime is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

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Kan, Sau-ch'i: Army officer and government official

Native of Hunan, graduated Hunan Middle School, political commissaar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao K'e; 1934, deputy political commissaar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissaar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningbsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissaar in the Chinese Volunteer

Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sinkiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

Li Ching-lin

Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ningsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ningsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province; dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo Li: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)

In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the province of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing the irrigation system. During the three years of his administration, 1933-1936, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president. When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-fang, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchow. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchow, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China. Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and in 1953, Shen the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the Commission of Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party. 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia: 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists. He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the eldest son of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1917 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding-officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding-officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that province. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

Chi'lien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley, comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thousand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this region he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In 1954, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the government of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and regained the Outer Mongolian invasion, Osman was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer

A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied the Oriental languages. 1930-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yan Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian Police of Pei-ling-miao, Jehol Province. During the war period, 1937-1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1945, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

Pai Ju-ping: Communist

A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the period of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

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159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
[648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

S 159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

S [645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

N 159 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

631 Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N 159 Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

*668 A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia.

631 Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N 159 Sun, Tso-pin

631 In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government

[635] Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

S
159 Wang, En-mao: Communist Party official
668 First secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau of the Central
[631] Committee of the CCP and after September 1955, first secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP. In 1950-52, member of the Northwest MAC.

Wang is the top party boss in Sinkiang and thus the actual ruler of that province. Unlike his colleagues, he holds no concurrent positions in the administration except for a couple of years as a member of the NW MAC. A man of mystery, little is known about him except that he is a native of Kiangsi and does not speak any of the native languages of Sinkiang, and that in 1933 he served in the CCP committee in the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region under Jen Pi-shih.

N
159 Wang Feng: Communist Party official
Native of Shensi Province and presently director of the De-
*668 partment of United Front Work in the Northwest Bureau of the
[631] Central Committee of the CCP. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, of which he was a member, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission, the Land Reform Commission, and chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He is also president of the Lanchou College of Nationalities.

Wang's main job was what the Communists called united fron work, that is, the alignment of non-Communists to work with Communist cadres in the Northwest and to encourage non-Chinese to work with the Chinese. As director of the Department of United Front Work in the Party, he incorporated thousands of former Nationalist officials as well as students into the ranks of the cadres, to govern the vast territory of the Northwest that the Communists acquired in 1949. Later, he was responsible for the ideological reform and the purges of the cadres in 1952. As
N a Chinese heading the Commission of Nationality Affairs in the
159 NW MAC, his job was to rationalize the long-standing differ-
*668 ences between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples in the North-
*563 west. Much of the progress of socialist transformation in the Northwest depends upon the degrees to which Wang Feng at the regional level and Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee, on the national have succeeded in smoothing relations between Communist and non-Communist officials, and between the Chinese and non-Chinese peoples.

N
159 Wang, Shih-t'ai: Military and administrative official
Background unknown. 1934, member of the Central Execu-
*668 tive Committee in the Chinese Soviet Government in Kiangsi and
631 delegate to the Second All-China Representative Conference of
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159 Chinese Soviets, 19 0, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, r mber of the NW MAC, and a member of its
• 631 Financial and Econ nic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Governme t and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engine ing Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

[466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
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159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the
*668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai.
[648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated
[554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League
*668 A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-
• 631 chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming
*668 to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

N 159 631 **Yang Shen-chih: Local leader**

A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S 159 **Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang**

Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu S [493] Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Circuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912 [652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the [635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as S [554] the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist [635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S 159 635 In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he S [575] smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society), defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops [648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he S [563] adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the [641] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But, [648] because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

N 159 631 **Yang Tzu-lien: Democratic League member, government official**

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown; member of the Northwest Headquarters of the Democratic League; 1950-1953, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, and director of the Board of Justice in that council. Since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Committee; since 1951, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

S 159 701 631 **Yolbash (Yolbars) Khan: Anti-Communist army officer and government official**

Chinese name: Ching-fu

A Uighur, born in 1888 (or 1883) in Yingihissar in Kashgar. Orphaned as a child and reared by his elder sister. 1904, entered the service of the King of Qomul (Hami) as an inspector of the fifth rank; 1911, delegate to the Qomul City Assembly; 1922, promoted to a beg of the third rank; 1927, commissioner of communications in Qomul; 1930, general of the second rank (erh-p'in Tá Tu-t'ung); 1932, member of the Provincial Assembly; 1933, brigadier commander of mounted troops; 1935, magistrate of Qomul and garrison commander of Qomul; 1937, compelled to leave Sinkiang because of his anti-Soviet views; made lieutenant general and a member of the Military Council of the Nationalist Government; 1938, went to Chungking, became military councillor in the Administrative headquarters (hsing-ying); member of the board of directors of the Islamic National Salvation Association; 1945, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang; 1946, attended the People's Political Consultative Conference at Nanking; returned to Sinkiang as advisor to the Sinkiang Provincial Government; elected special commissioner for the Ninth District. Concurrently appointed advisor to the National Government; 1947, Administrative Supervisory Commissioner in the Qomul district; commander of peace preservation forces in the Qomul district; 1948, advisor on National policies in the office of the President in the National Government; 1949, deputy commander of the Peace Preservation Forces; 1950, commander in chief of the guerrilla forces in Sinkiang resisting the Communists; April 1950, Nationalist Government-appointed governor of Sinkiang; 1951, fled from Sinkiang to Formosa. Now advisor on national policies in the office of the President, National Government on Formosa.

487 the Wei River and the upper Yellow River. North of it the loess is still more compact, and on the way to the largest loess dune there was almost no better way of getting through. It is only when one again gets outside the Great Wall - as we have seen - that there is a larger trade route, from Tai yüan fu through Sui de tschou and to Ning tiao leang, but it permits wagon traffic only along certain stretches and leads across the Hwang Ho between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, but in not a very comfortable fashion. The next larger traffic artery which conveniently connects the west with the east is the Kweihwa - Bau tu - Ninghsia road which avoids the Yellow River but leads through nomad country and thus its safety is entirely dependent on the more or less peaceful behavior of these nomads, and thus also for political reasons it has for centuries not been regarded as a large traffic artery.

631 But Lanchow fu is not merely the Hwang Ho bridgehead of the "silk road"; it is also the juncture of the roads leading up from South Kansu and Szechwan, as well as for the Tibetan roads that come from Hsining fu and Ho tschou. For this reason the city has also been made the seat of the tsung tu or tschi t'ai of Schen kan, that is, the residence of a vice-regent. Under the Manchu dynasty, under Emperor Kien lung around the middle of the 18th century, when Chinese power headed by Manchu had completely overcome the Kalmuk and the large territories of the West had to be newly conquered, the old, large province of Shensi was divided up into a smaller Shensi and a Kansu. (1) At that time the position of tsung

[103] 1. The name Kansu (pronounced: Gan su) was formed from the characters of what were once the two most important cities in the western part of the province: Kanchow and Suchow. Shensi means "west of the pass"; it is the country that lay west of the strait of Tung kwan ting which we learned about in the second chapter. Shenkan, therefore, means the vice-kingdom of Shen (si) and Kan (su).
As a result of the last revolution the title of Tsung tu has now been abandoned and replaced by Tu tu.

tu, of the viceroy or governor-general was created, who first of all acted as civil governor of Kansu, but who, besides, /150/ had the general supervision of the civil- and military administration of Shansi and the vast Central Asiatic territories, which are called Sin kiang (pronounced: Hsin Tschiang) by the Chinese, i.e., "new

frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and Dsungari (Ili). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsün fu for Shensi. 631●

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, 721
if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso t'ung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China.

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese 712
ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an imposing obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1)

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Potanin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

shops there, but must leave the central part of the city before darkness sets in. 563

There had been a great deal of progress since my first visit to 631●
the city in the spring of 1904. In the summer of 1905 the old, very 185
reactionary viceroy was replaced by one who had been in Berlin and Petersburg. This man had sent Splingaert, the interpreter of Baron von Richthofen, known to every Sinologist, /153/ in order to find European engineers who should open up a new era for the province of Kansu. He wanted to re-open the cloth factory, and build sugar and champagne factories. The very good coal mines which lay a short [316]
day's journey south of the city were to be made more accessible by means of a small railway. But above all, a university and technical school were to be opened, and, for strategic purposes, an iron bridge built across the Hwang Ho.

That was the program which everyone was discussing in this city of no newspapers, but there were for the most part unbelievably exaggerated and distorted rumors about it. Because a Chinese province is an independent unit, the governor-general was obliged to raise a large part of the funds which were necessary before he could carry out his program. He therefore wanted to open up another mint in [436]
which special Kansu money was to be coined and the silver and gold for this he wanted to get from the provincial government. He therefore needed European foundry experts; prospects of mining concessions for Europeans no longer existed here. But everyone knew that there was gold as well as silver in Kansu; for Kansu, like Szechwan, borders on Tibet and since ancient times gold has been washed in the rivers on the border. [316]

It was in connection with this very program that I came into frequent contact with the higher officials during my three-weeks' stay 574 524
in Lanchow fu. I was often obliged to attend Chinese dinners at which the Chinese are so fond of testing the drinking capacity of a foreigner. Their drinking games are particularly dangerous, being a sort of morra in which the loser must empty cups the size of a thimble, filled with warmed whiskey. For linguistic reasons alone it is very difficult for foreigners to win. But I found that the cultivated Chinese and Manchu begins to warm up to a foreigner when the latter, through this sort of thing, comes closer to him as a human being. Thus I learned the game "dry" from one of my servants and in the course of time I had many a "Chinese queue" on my conscience. I 574
was amazed to see how brief the emotional flare-ups of these people were; or could they, perhaps, even if they had had too much of a

place for the wealthier class of Lanchow fu. During the season there 529
the Chinese ladies are entertained with theater and festivals. There are /159/ woods on the slopes between the cliffs and a little mountain brook gushes merrily out of a narrow ravine. The Kansu know, as well as we do, where it is pleasant to be.

Beyond Kin hsien I was obliged, on the following days, to cross 133
this rocky mountain range, the Hsin lu Shan, the continuation of the Kwan Shan which earlier travelers had pointed out and which is made up of granite and chalk and sandstone rich in coal seams. Loess masses cover the slopes far up; but here, too, the peaks are free of this yellow, ugly covering. But at a height of 2,800 meters I had not yet got beyond the haze and dust which had enveloped the mountains and valleys in a blue atmosphere for one and one-half months now since the end of October when last it rained, or rather snowed. Every day the sky was cloudless; but visibility was so limited that the horizon and all the outlines of the mountains were indistinct. Behind, that is, southwest of these mountains - they form only a narrow chain like theater wings - one comes to the basin of the subprefecture Di dao tschou and into the environs of the Tao Ho, one of the most important tributaries of the Hwang Ho. In this basin, too, there is loess everywhere, but it is not very thick (about 40 centimeters). Below it there are soon to be found red tertiary and mostly horizontal layers of clay of huge proportions. These have molded the hilly and mountainous landscape of today and formed the valley which is several kilometers wide at the city of Di dao.

Di dao tschou belongs to the good cities of Kansu. It has possibly 361
15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, tobacco manufacturing establishments, 487
many lumber companies connected with the spruce forests of the southern mountains, and is connected with Lanchow by a highway leading over the Kwan Shan. (1) Two important roads lead south

1. Part of the mountain range Hsin lu Shan, just described. As we mentioned earlier, the Chinese does not name mountain chains but only mountain peaks.

from here and to the province of Szechwan, one over Min tschou and the other over Kung tschang fu.

The city of Di dao is already on the border of China. The Tibet- 631●
ans appear as a new element among the Chinese and Mohammedans. 563
A Tibetan prince lives in the city itself, the so-called kia (pronounced dia) or tiao tu se (2) who has his own subjects. In the district of

2. T'u se or t'u sse (not to be confused with tu se or du se,

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captain) is the Chinese name for the hereditary and domiciled Tibetan princes.

Di dao there are families who pay the kia tu se a sort of head tax and families who belong to the neighboring prince, the Yang tu se of Dschoni near Tao tschou, and in between live ordinary and Mohammedan Chinese who are subject to the tschou, the sub-prefect of Di dao. (3) These Tu se belong to the old Tibetan or Mongolian

3. The district of Di dao is said to have had 71,432 families or 516,000 inhabitants in 1831.

aristocracy, they have their own jurisdiction, but are treated condescendingly as barbarians by the Chinese officials in the province far from Peking, who have no feeling for aristocracy. When they are invited to dinner, the tu se - even though they may be holders of important mandarin buttons - must sit at the end of the table among the youngest lieutenants. In hereditary succession they must buy their position in the form of large sums of money payable to the /160/ provincial officials. They, like the Mongol princes of the Ordos and of Ala Shan are subject to special officials of the nearest Chinese district.

563 From Di dao tschou I traveled west through a country of loess- and clay hills and after three days came to the city of Ho tschou. My way was a carriage way, at least the Chinese used it for carriages. It led quite close to the Tibetan border. I had scarcely crossed the Tao River at Di dao tschou on the narrow, swaying wooden bridge which is set up on high sawhorses each winter when the river is low, when I met wild-looking figures dressed in limp and, in many cases, torn fur coats and with pliant, but determined, bold and imperious movements. They were the first Tibetans. Most of them were mounted. With a sword in their belts they sat on bony, scrubby ponies and pulled their stirrups and thighs so high up that their calves lay almost horizontally against the sides of the small riding horses. When such a horseman appeared my servants became obsequious; however, I had only Chinese from the lowlands, who had never seen a Tibetan. But the bronze-colored figures were capable of making even a European uncomfortable.

The farmers living along the road also took on a different appearance. There was as yet no noticeable difference in the way they wore their pigtails, bound their feet or built their houses

[text continues on p. 263]

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in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Mohammedans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. 563 346 Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which 631

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

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into Ngolok country. Thus the ting of Hsün hoa is one of the largest districts in Kansu and in China, but Chinese influence in it is extremely slight.

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My way to Hsün at first led along a little stream on which the city of Ho tschou is situated, up an alluvial valley which is several kilometers wide. For many hours I traveled along it between the mountains of loess. At first the road was alive with many people and horsemen. There were also countless villages, just as China proper, hidden between extensive groups of trees. Out of the thick bluish-white haze of the loess country in which I at first still found myself, gradually rocky and high, snow-covered mountain peaks began to emerge. The mountains around me also became higher, more and more chains rose up out of the loess landscape. In front of me beyond the loess hills of about 2,200 meters altitude, the Tai tse Shan arose steep and bold, and many other chains, all of which again indicated a northwest-southeast strike, followed close behind. I stood at the edge of the Tibetan highlands. The way grew lonelier, villages became scarcer, copses began. The inhabitants looked stranger and were dressed more gaily in each new village, more and more red was worn. Around the dwellings white flags fluttered merrily on tall masts. By the roadside stood brightly-painted houses, monastery buildings and monumental tschorten (stupa); ethnographically-speaking we had also reached Tibet. On the second day beyond Ho tschou I crossed a high pass, the Dar di La (Sinicized: T 778 Da tse Shan), 3,490 meters. Countless stones, especially white quartz fragments had been gathered together on the highest point of this pass and formed something that resembled our Alpine "stone man." Out of this pile of stones loomed sticks with many scraps of cloth on which there were inscriptions and with tufts of wool. It was the first Tibetan lab tse or obo (3), a shrine dedicated to the mountain

3. Pronounced lab tse, written lap rtse (according to Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary). Obo is Mongolian but is used by the border Chinese along with the word schan schen ta (literally: tower of the mountain spirit).

T 291 spirits. We met many Tibetans on that mountain and especially many Tibetan women, on foot and dressed in rags. In spite of the

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have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361 has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487 and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133 these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631 661 springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

361 Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shaped plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and in its situation and general appearance much resembles a 243 smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wheat followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A con- 248 siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cotton. The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fertile region in the province and at the point of intersection of 487 four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, north 438 to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coast, has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reason it has always been one of the richest and most important 651 likin stations in the province, where the Chinese officials, as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade and kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excessive imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrative offices in the province than that of Superintendent of the Hanchung Likin.

631 Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper Han basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. The position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of the magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less important than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported to the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and the Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the acts of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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Military Governor, and the Taoyin, as a civil official, has little importance. This was the state of affairs at the time of our visit, when the upper Han basin was almost a separate province by itself, isolated from the rest of Shensi by the barrier of the Ch'inling Shan. When Yuan Shih-k'ai was busy with his monarchical scheme and was centralizing his rule by posting his own Generals and detachments of his Northern troops at various strategic points in the provinces, he sent a Northern Mixed Brigade into the upper Han valley to hold that region, and to keep open his overland communications with Szechuan. Owing to the geographical isolation of its position this Brigade and its Northern General were still in Hanchung at the time of our visit, a year after Yuan and his short-lived Empire had been swept away by the rebellion of 1916, and were continuing to control the basin of the upper Han though the rest of the province was enjoying a sort of independent home rule. It must be admitted that under the control of these comparatively well-disciplined Northerners the Han valley was much more peaceful and less preyed on by brigands than the rest of the province under home rule. Provincial independence and the loose federal system into which the Republic of China is now again drifting do not tend towards the maintenance of political stability and public security in the interior. So far the history of the past six years in China has proved the absolute necessity of a strong central administration[1], though, in the opinion of many competent Chinese and foreign observers, Peking, tucked away in a far distant corner of the country, with its apparently incurable atmosphere of reaction, is no longer the proper place for the seat of Government.

[1] It is now becoming questionable whether a strong central administration is any longer attainable in China, and whether it would not perhaps be better for the country to develop along the lines of a federation of more or less autonomous provinces.

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133 shore. (1)

1. I often measured the amount of mud present in one cubic meter of water from the Hwang Ho and found that it averaged close to six kilograms; after a day of rain in Bau de tschou I even obtained 6.9 kilograms per cubic meter.

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578 /146/ I reached Lanchow fu on November 4, after having had to travel on the last day only through the large loess-filled valley basin of this city. On the night before there was a final scene which I shall not withhold from my readers for it seems to me characteristic for the way of living, the thoughts and aspirations of the poor Kansu people. It had grown late by the time we reached the town of Hsiao ho kou. And it had cost me considerable effort to succeed in having a gate opened. When I had finally found shelter at a small inn, a fight broke out which looked serious to me. Women scolded and shouted and two old Chinese fathers pulled each other's pigtails and tried to knock one another down, trampling and kicking. Even though the yard where I had left my animals was only 8 meters by 8 meters large and on each of two sides there was only a low small house of three sections /kien/, yet the hotel was run by two parties. And I had nine animals! The two owners had disagreed as to who was to feed the ninth animal and pocket the small amount of money for straw (about 25 pfennig). When they finally separated, one of them pulled one of my nags over to his side by its halter while the other held on to the animal's tail. No amount of persuasion on my part had any effect and yet I did not care to play the part of Solomon and pronounce judgment!

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CHAPTER IV

/147/ In Kansu and on the Border of Tibet

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Lanchow fu is the capital of the province of Kansu. And whenever a man from Kansu told me about his Lanchow fu and all about the cost of flour and bread, tobacco and liquor in the city, he always told of the wonder of the world to be found there, namely, the pontoon bridge across the great Yellow River. "You foreigners surely have nothing like that," I was assured. "There is nothing like it under heaven."

[text continues on p.241]

it under heaven."

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i. e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good.

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i. e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

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Dankar is a most interesting place, compared to the eternal monotony of other Chinese cities and city dwellers. And no wonde It is the most important gate into Northeast Tibet! There is no other city until one gets to Tatsienlu in the south that has such convenient connecting roads into the interior of Tibet as well as into the rich trade sources of the lowlands toward the coast. Not only the nomads living around the Koko Nor, but also the Tsaidam Mongols, even those from Tätschinär, Lhasa merchants and inhabitants of the Tibetan province of K'am all come to Dankar. They all get edibles, primarily. For many tribes the market place of Dankar, or Dunkur gäsching, as they say, is almost the only /180/ place where they can trade in their wool, skins and salt for their annual supply of flour, tea, and luxury items. The Tibetans of the northeast have become economically completely dependent on the Chinese.

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The practical-mindedness of Chinese officials, which is alway bent on the cheapest possible management, has drawn its own advantages from this and prepared its administrative regulations accordingly. From olden times there has existed in Dankar the arrangement of the hsië dia (hsië kia) (1), that is, officially-recog-

1. hsie means "to rest"; kia means "house" or "family" (pronounced dia in the Hsining dialect).

nized lodgings for nomads. In former times each tribe even had i own particular hsië da where only the members of one tribe might live as long as they were in the city. Today this system has chang insofar as the nomads may freely choose their hsië dia, but everyo still adheres strictly to the rule that Tibetans and Mongols do not use the ordinary inns, but that these are open only to Chinese. There are about thirty hsië dia in Dankar. Their innkeepers, Chinese or Mohammedans, must buy the right to house Tibetans or Mongols from the Chinese municipal board. They are wealthy people who, besides a spacious house also have large stables and cattle yards with room enough to take in a Tibetan with 300 yaks who arrives one day and a Mongol who arrives the next with almost as many camels.

The hsië dia arrangement is ancient. We learn about it also from Huc and Gabet, the two French Lazarists who came to Dank in 1865 dressed as Mongolian lamas. Huc tells definitely that as

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hsiē dia the guests are charged nothing for lodging and food. According to the general custom of the country, the innkeeper makes his money only on those who have something to sell. He negotiates the wool sales of his guests, the sale or exchange of horses; he is agent and interpreter, as well as lawyer in the yamen and mediator in criminal cases between the tribe and the mandarin. However, this versatile role of an innkeeper is not a Chinese invention. Far in the interior of Tibet and far south, even in Taisienlu and in many other Tibetan border towns I found it customary to balance the hotel bill only by a certain percentage of the turnover. In Dankar the Chinese officials have also imposed upon the hsiē dia (2) a

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2. In Chinese hsiē dia is used both for the institution as well as for the owner and the employees.

certain responsibility and an obligation to give notice to the police, and in this way have made him at the same time a sort of representative of the Chinese yamen. For this reason one must always have a license in Dankar in order to take in Tibetans and Mongol from the interior; this costs 60-100 taels. Through the hsiē dia the officials learn who comes and goes. Tribes who have not subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese may not visit the market in Dankar. This is regarded as a great disadvantage for far and near the city is known for its cheap goods, especially food. For instance, the Ngolok dealers may never enter the city. They spend the night in some corner not far off. But with larger caravans, with goods, /181/ they cannot venture to appear in the city. They may not carry on trade. Their things would immediately be confiscated and they would be accused of some theft or robbery which some other Ngolok years ago may have committed against a Chinese or a wealthy Tibetan and which the Chinese mandarins had not had a chance to punish, as in the case of the Denang. The Chinese Kansu government does not have a single military post in all of Northeast Tibet and yet their officials control a very large part of the country, with the exception of Ngolokhkaksum which nominally belongs to Szechwan.

In the year 1894 when the well-known French traveler Dutreuil de Rhins was robbed and murdered in K'ian and the French government insisted on punishment for the criminals, the Chinese officials first had the hsiē dia in Dankar arrest all the people of that tribe who had come to trade in the city. By means of these hostages they

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000 sewed together the two lappets of my skin, right there on the shores of the lake, to my complete satisfaction. Fortunately, it was not a serious injury, only the skin of my head was slashed, the bone and periosteum had only been lightly bruised.

The rest of the day we traveled in a southeasterly direction, up the valley of the Ara Gol, which rises almost imperceptibly. This valley presumably represents the former drainage basin of the Koko Nor during a previous period of greater moisture when the lake was connected with the present-day Hwang Ho. Toward evening, shortly before twilight, we reached the walls of Tsaghan tscheng (1), i.e.,

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1. Tsaghan is Mongolian meaning "white"; tsch'eng, Chinese, means "city." Such malformations occur largely on the Chinese-Tibetan border. The place is also called "ying pan ga tang" and was formerly called "tsaghan tologha."

the "white city," in which Mongolian khans formerly resided, and where later for a long time the Chinese amban of Northeast Tibet had his official seat and his troops. It is supposed to be only 90 or 100 years ago that the yamen there was discontinued and transferred to Hsining. About 35 years ago the last Chinese military camp of Northeast Tibet, which was stationed here, was withdrawn. Since then Tsaghan tsch'eng is deteriorating more and more. Only once a year on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, when the Hsining fu amban is commissioned by the government to attend to the worship of the sea deities of the Koko Nor, new life returns to this town of the steppes. All Mongolian and Tibetan vassals of the region must appear for this festival. The nomad princes then come and live in hundreds of tents. In the middle of the ruins of the city a large felt yurt is set up for the amban. On the afternoon before the holiday the princes present themselves before the amban. Early the next morning the ceremony of worship takes place on a small hill outside the city, from which point one can just make out the surface of the lake on the distant horizon. The amban and the assembled princes fall on their knees, incense sticks are lighted, a piece of yellow silk which says that the emperor offers this sacrifice, is burned and everyone bows to the earth nine times. /204/ Thereupon the amban admonishes all the princes to maintain peace among each other and to remain faithful subjects. Then everyone rapidly disperses. By evening of that day the city of Tsaghan tsch'eng lies as lonely and dead on the steppes as ever before.

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The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631 ●
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day. 574 276

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

C Tibet, the last on the Hwang Ho inhabited by Chinese, in fact the
361 last town on this river, and has been fortified especially well by the government. Tibetans live all around it; some of them are farmers, others, especially in the south and west, are nomads. The city of Kue de is only 2,310 meters high. It is the warmest city of all the border towns of the entire fu, i.e., the prefecture of Hsining to which it belongs. But directly west of the city, just above a few islands the Hwang Ho flows through a narrow ravine which it has cut into a terrace 250 meters higher, with steep embankments. On this terrace there is nowhere a small field or a house. Thus, Kue de is an oasis in the midst of wild, bare mountains. When we /264/ left the Hsining Valley there was not a touch of green to be seen on the numerous willows and poplars, but in Kue de peach blossoms peeped coquettishly out from among the green shoots of pear orchards and budding wheat fields. (1)

C 563 ●631 T 101

1. This region at one time also belonged to the Hsi Kiang and later to the Tu ku hun, and beginning with the end of the seventh century, to the Tu fan (Tibetans). During the Yüan dynasty the city of Ho tschou formed the outermost Chinese government station on the border. There a department was set up for the Tu fan, and its sphere of influence reached as far as Kue de. Later the town of Kue de was, however, lost to the dynasty and was not regained until 1371 under Hung wu. In 1376 it came under the military district of Ho tschou wei and the Tibetans were given a horse- and tea-market as in Mo bai tschen. The city wall of Kue de was erected in 1380. At that time 48 soldier-families were settled here from Ho tschou who were assigned tax-free fields for themselves and their descendants, for which they were obliged to perform military service as militiamen. Thereupon Tibetans and other Chinese settled in the vicinity. In 1723 the city was hard pressed by the Mongols under Lobzang Dandsin whose headquarters were at Mo bai tschen, but it successfully resisted. In 1739 the town came under the rule of the Hsining Hsien. In 1762 Kue de became a separate hsien under Hsining fu, and later a ting.

T [651]

There are only a few Chinese farms belonging to the Kue de district, but, on the other hand, 54 tax-paying tribes of Tibetans (mostly farmers) and 19 partly-exempt Tibetan tribes (nomads). Nominally, more or less all Tibetans

5: Tafel--450 T-3 (1908-1908) 1914 AJI Tibet AJI
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C 563 631 T 101

belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilometers (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hoang ting and farther south that of the tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are: west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan; south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerta, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district.

C 361 631 [712]

An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slung

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361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies, often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners. This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the
674 order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400
432 families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner, a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tiberans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ör fu, the ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hung down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

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tiles of the roof beams and between the tiles the sun came in. For- 631
tunately the weather was fair when I visited the house.

I was ushered into the same room in which during the previous 721
year the "war of Kue de" had begun. I sat on the same wide bench, on the same cushion covered with shabby red cotton material on which His Buddhistic Holiness, the much-feared Tibetan lama, the incarnation of the black monastery had sat the year before and exchanged honeyed, false words with the then ting of Kue de. He had come at the request of the Chinaman in order to bid farewell as a friend before setting out on a long journey, and had just received a large yüan bau, a piece of silver weighing about two kilograms, from the hands of the ting for whom he was supposed to buy incense and Indian dates in Lhasa. His retinue, about 300 armed men, awaited him on the plain outside the city. The two talked for hours. The Chinaman even wanted the Tibetan to dine with him. But the errand, the honeyed words, the invitation, all that had been merely a snare and a delusion.

The holy lama was known to be the head of a robber tribe which made life miserable for the poor city dwellers. His men had their tribal headquarters below Kue de, to the right of the Hwang Ho, behind high, steep mountains, in ravines which were accessible only by means of /266/ narrow paths and only in single file. From here they kept the whole countryside in a state of terror. No one could travel peaceably across the country. The largest caravans were plundered. The inhabitants of the city were on the point of deserting it. The city's commerce, its entire significance were destroyed. Right in front of its gates the bullocks and donkeys of the Chinese were snatched away from the ploughs. Anyone who pretended to offer resistance was shot down. Finally in 1905 a young, newly-arrived ting had the courage to defend the interests of his subjects. After giving a report of the situation to the central government, he was given the power to call the incarnation to task. He invited the great lama to his house. And when the invitation was accepted and the lama's coming announced a few days in advance, one courier after another galloped to Hsining with the request for further authority. The ting asked permission to arrest the lama. He asked for troops. But for days no answer was forthcoming. The amban lacked the courage to take over the responsibility. In fact, he was inclined to side with the Tibetans. The ting sent to Lanchowfu, and from there he telegraphed to Peking for detailed instructions. But on the miserable path to Lanchow fu it takes a rider two days, even if he can change

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This war followed the pattern that had been established for 726
millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army.

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately 631
discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen.

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examinations, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at 538
my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages.

361 On the loess was tall, thick grass. But there was no running water anywhere. A few Tibetan tent communities lay scattered in between the loess deposits, taking advantage of the frequent spring snows. T They belonged to the Gomi Tibetans. On the day before our arrival 262 one of their yak had slipped on a steep slope in grazing and had fallen c into the abyss and broken its neck. The owners were poor people and 262 hard hit by the loss of the animal. But the Tibetans never use the meat of animals killed by an accident. They say that it pleased God to kill the animal, therefore it is not right for man to use the meat. My Mohammedans, too, would have nothing to do with the meat, for it was not kosher. The Chinese, on the other hand, laughed at the silly Tibetans, fetched half the ox from down in the hole and cooked and fried the meat all night long and the next day the donkeys of the soldiers had an added heavy burden to carry. In spite of their poverty, the Tibetans did not even take the skin off the animal, but let the soldiers have even that, although the yak skin was worth a seventh of the entire value of the animal.

T 233 On April 26 we first retraced our steps and then went south of the Bayan Nor to the west. The lake is very appropriately given the Mongolian epithet bayan, meaning the "rich one." There is an abundance of grass here and thousands of sheep and cattle grazed in the /292/ vicinity of it. These pastures once belonged to one of the squadrons of the Khoit Mongols and today to the Tschamri Tibet- ans who have their own chieftain and are quite independent of other T 792 tribes. They have 340-350 tents. Farther west in a valley of the South Koko Nor Mountains they own a monastery. Besides the Buddha images, the spirit of the Amne Sertschen, the mountain peak that rose before me on the morning after the attack, is worshipped here. C The monastery belongs to the Gelugba. Wherever the Mongols used ● 631 to be the rulers, the "yellow ones" are today the undisputed saviors. For it is the Koko Nor Mongols who are responsible for present-day significance of the Gelugba sect and the Dalai Lama. But there are only miserable remnants left of the once powerful patrons; only a great many place names and names of mountains were left over from the Mongolian period and adopted into Tibetan. The Mongols once lorded it here as did the Germans knights in Courland and Esthonia; for several hundreds of years the Tibetans were bondsmen to them. The Mongols were the civilizers here. Under their rule there was more order; they lived in the land and had an interest in it. Now conditions are intolerable. Chinese politics in Tibet are based on the

theory of divide et impera, and it suits them perfectly if the natives 631 ● massacre each other. The Chinese have no real interest in the country. If they had, how could they have tolerated the governor of the huge province of Koko Nor, my amban from Hsining fu, who lived outside his district and was a frail, childish old man who left administrative matters completely in the hands of uncultivated secretaries and interpreters, and who never ventured farther into his kingdom than to Tsaghan tsch'eng (to the place of sacrifice, 50 lis west of Schara khoto) where he never stayed more than one day a year!

On this day, when the soldiers realized that I turned south from the 800 Bayan Nor, their leader said that they would not be able to accompany me any farther, that they had already gone beyond the territory controlled by their superior officer. I saw no reason to keep the worthless gang any longer. I gave them their salary, they kowtowed to me and soon disappeared in the opposite direction, singing merrily. With them went a final letter to my parents which duly arrived at its destination three months later.

South of the Bayan Nor and the South Koko Nor Mountains which 133 I have frequently mentioned, there stretches out a huge steppe known as the tala. I now planned to cross this because almost nothing was known about the size and nature of it. The name tala originally came from the Mongolian and, like the Tibetan yung, means simply a wide valley in the steppes. But today the Tibetans of the region use the word as a place name. The flat surface of the tala is shaped like an acute-angled triangle. The acute angle lies at the extreme west, somewhat farther west than the Dábassu Nor, the great salt lake which is famous for its easily-obtainable and pure cooking salt. The north side of the triangle is the South Koko Nor range, the south side is a chain which has been entered on our maps as the Semenow Mountains, after the famous Russian explorer, His Excellency Semenow-Tian-schansky. /293/ It is 200 kilometers from the top of this triangle to its base. The base is 80 kilometers wide and is formed by the Hwang Ho which comes roaring through a narrow, steep crevice, 150 meters deep. The Hwang Ho enters this region from the south and after it has flowed across the plain diagonally, it follows the eastern extension of the South Koko Nor Mountains to the city of Kue de.

The great plain was a determining factor for the course of the Hwang Ho. It, at last, conquered the river which leaves Tibet after a wandering course. One can see the steppes continue on the right

was accepted! Two Tibetans ride up to us and lead us to an attractive T meadow not far from the tent of the humbo. There we pitch camp. 609 Our animals are led to pasture by the Tibetan shepherds. But the warriors disperse as quickly as they have come. Most of them disappeared without having honored us with a glance. After all, a much greater danger for the tent village might arise the next minute from some other source! Poor Tibetans, they can never enjoy their property!

I now learned that we had come to the Sidia tribe. It is 130 fami- T lies strong and at that time owned an extensive territory on the left 619 side of the Hwang Ho, between the Tschürnong River and the Hwang 101 Ho (Plate LXV). The humbo of the tribe was called Tschubttscha and did not have a mandarin button from the Chinese government, which means that his emperor did not recognize him. Nevertheless, the tribe is not as independent and wild as the Ngolok tribes. The Sidia Tibetans are still permitted to travel to the Dankar market and buy flour and other supplies.

The suzerainty of the Chinese over North Tibet is - as I have said T 439 before - entirely a food question; it is maintained only because of 262 certain needs of the nomads. The latter have an abundance of 631 nourishment as such, but apart from a few vegetables, onions and the c potentilla roots, their diet consists purely of animal produce. They 631 ● have meat and milk and milk products, such as butter, sour milk and dried pot cheese. But from ancient times the Tibetan nomads have been so used to cereals that they find it very unpleasant and unwholesome if they are obliged to get along without these. Most of them are modest and behave themselves and do not rob government caravans because if they did they would not be permitted to buy grain in the Chinese market. The Sung pan dealers come every year to the Sidia and the Ngolok, as well as to the Schüch'tsong, etc., but they do not bring much flour because selling flour does not pay. The great risks which the merchants assume on the way do not by any means balance the profits, and besides, too many pack animals are required. Furthermore, the home of these merchants, Sung pan ting, is in the Szechwan province and thus they do not come from a region abounding in grain. In Szechwan there is more rice, corn and tea cultivated. The Sung pan merchants bring mostly tea. The tsamba and the wheat which the nomads prize is more cheaply and consistently furnished by the Kansu markets, especially the city of Dankar with the extraordi- T narily fertile Hsining Valley beyond it. That is also why the resident 439 minister of Northeast Tibet can have his seat in Hsining, that is, 631

T outside the territory ruled by him. The government in Hsining
439 never encourages its compatriots, the Chinese merchants, to extend
631 their trade to Tibet. On the /317/ contrary, the Chinese who wish to do business in Tibet must pay the yamen large sums annually for their license and on top of it, the Chinese officials rigorously tax all goods that are brought across the border by Chinese. But the Tibetan nomads are permitted to cross the border free and without paying likin, if they belong to an irreproachable tribe. The Tibetans are treated as extraterritorial persons. But if a member of a tribe has committed an offense, the chieftain and the whole tribe are held
T responsible. If the fine imposed on the tribe is not paid, the market
[579] is not open to the tribe as a whole. It is, of course, not always easy to find out which tribes belong to a robber band, for the robbers of that region operate largely the way the highwaymen of former times in Europe did: they blacken their faces or wear a mask. All the populous Ngolok tribes on the Upper Hwang Ho have been forbidden for reasons of state to visit the market in Dankar because they have scored far too many misdeeds. For their flour supplies they travel into the valleys on the Upper Yangtze Kiang or to the Labrang gomba not far from Hsün hoa ting. The roads thither are very poor. And besides, the barley they buy there is more expensive and there is less of it than in Dankar because it goes through the hands of middlemen
C before it gets there. For these reasons alone the Ngolok tribe of
631 Horkurma (1) whose pastures are situated along the uppermost part of

1. I have visited this tribe repeatedly, the last time in the winter of 1907. In 1904 I was there with W. Filchner. Filchner mistakenly refers to it as "Rischowarma"; he mistook the name of a town for the name of a tribe. At that time the tribe was encamped at Retschüwarma, meaning Re Tschü estuary, that is, into the Hwang Ho. The tribe, of course, consists only of nomads who change their camp site every few weeks and can therefore never call themselves after one particular camp site.

the Hwang Ho has been trying for decades to come under the jurisdiction of the Hsining government. But the Hsining government does not want to accept them because the Horkurma group is justly considered one of the most notorious of the robber bands. It was Horkurma men who once assaulted General Prschewalski's caravan and whose attack the great explorer describes in a letter to the Tsarevich, dated August 8,

1884, (2) in the following words: "They threw themselves into the

2. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 1885, p. 171.

attack with piercing shrieks. The hooves of their steeds rumbled hollowly on the damp field. Their long spears glittered and gleamed; their long cloth garments and their black wavy hair flew in the wind. The wild, bloodthirsty horde descended on us like a cloud" etc., etc. In 1907 I saw an old man in the tents of the Horkurma, who has been limping around since that time. A Russian bullet smashed one of his legs and I had to present him with an extra khádar for this.

The Sidia Tibetans had been at the spot where we encountered them for only a few days. Shortly before, the old mother of the chief had died. The tribe had quickly pushed on to the new encampment, after having left the old woman's body in a ravine, so that it could be devoured by vultures. Since then, there were many hundreds of butter lamps burning in the tent of the chief and priests were constantly praying there. The /318/ fear of the spirit of death is what drives the relatives forth into a new camp so quickly. For the same reason, the clothes of the dead person are no longer worn by any of the relatives, and the smallest object must be released from the spirit's ban before the heirs accept it. The Tibetans believe that otherwise the deceased will inflict all kinds of discomfort and misfortune on the new owner of these things. The dead and the living hate each other.

We did not travel on until May 22. Meanwhile it had rained much and heavily. The summer monsoon had set in in full force. The temperature stayed above freezing. Heavy cloud masses came up from the southeast.

During the two days, the humbo had visited us only once in our tents. Most of the time no one paid any attention to us. All my men were vexed and anxious because the humbo had not reciprocated in giving us presents. They concluded that he was hostile to us. But instead of being on the alert they became ill-humored. At night I found the sentries sleeping in their tents and during the day I discovered three of the men openly smoking opium. In the contracts I specified that I would not tolerate opium smokers, and each one I hired had assured me that he did not smoke. Now I discovered that there were some who did. But when, by reason of my contract, I took away their opium and also wanted to confiscate their apparatus for smoking, they applied their knives to their throats and threatened to

loaders) and heard that some of us - as Da Tschang lied to them - were soldiers of the amban. I wanted to buy sheep from them but they had only small flocks. They are very poor, live far away from the markets, and cannot, like the Koko Nor Tibetans, pay for their flour needs in part by salt transports, but can only barter their skins and sheep wool. One afternoon, accompanied by Da Tschang, I went from tent to tent peddling thread and canvas, needles, razor blades and wool belts, combs, knives and rosaries. In one of the tents I was a witness to the native method of shaving and hairdressing. The local Fan tse dressed like the Chinese. But they shaved a larger area of their heads, and allowed less top hair to grow long. Their method of shaving cried to heaven. They used their every-day knives that hung on their belts and shaved completely dry, or moistened their hair with a little cold water. Like all Tibetans, they plucked the hair of their beards with pincers.

Close to the black Rengan tents, separated only by a small brook, were the whitish felt yurts of the Schang rdi Mongols. I set up my camp, number 51, in their midst. The Mongols were also not very hospitable, in fact almost hostile, but I would not let myself be frightened off and stayed several days among them. In the end I succeeded in getting them to sell me sheep and milk, but I was not permitted to enter their yurts. I appeared in European dress among them and had to fight their notion that I could cast a spell on all the silver I spent so that it would come back to me after a time.

Schang rdi has a peculiar political position in Northeast Tibet; it /336/ is not under the jurisdiction of Hsining fu and its Mongolian banner general, but under the sdeba gschung, the Lhasa government. (1)

1. In the Meng gu yu mu dyi (the Chinese chronicle of the Mongol nomads) it is mentioned as the Schang tsa country of a kampo of Pan tschen Erdeni (of Tashelhunpo).

Like all of the Tsaidam territory, it is largely inhabited by Mongols. (2) [563]

2. Tsaidam literally means "salt swamp." It is a word used by Mongolians and Tibetans (ts'a meaning "salt," dam, "swamp)" One always speaks of five Tsaidam dominions: Taidschinär, Dsun, Barun in the south, and in the north: Kurluk and Kukut.

Here, too, Mongolian rule was weakened by the rebellion mentioned

[The Rengan Tibetans. — Analyst] [text continues on p. 563]

on page 313 of the Mongol Lobdzang Dandsin in 1723, against Chinese suzerainty. Since that time the small Mongol barons or earls - or whatever one chooses to call them - are banner leaders directly subject to the Chinese government. When the small canton of Schang rdi was left without a leader more than 200 years ago, the Mongol aristocrats presented the manor estate to the Dalai Lama and the Lhasa government, because they were unable to agree as to who among them was to inherit it. At that time they were not even obliged to ask permission of the Chinese government to do this. Now Lhasa sends a kampo, a high Tibetan priest from Tashelhunpo (corresponding to a bishop in the hierarchy), thither, who levies taxes for his government and is replaced every three years. The Schang territory, because it belongs to Lhasa, has become a place of refuge for all those who have reason to fear Chinese justice. Since the autumn of 1904 the Pamba group of the Gân ts'a tribe is also living here, the same who, the summer before, murdered a good acquaintance of mine, the amban interpreter Ts'ai on the north shore of the Koko Nor. It was Ts'ai's official duty to visit thirty families. A dispute arose and when Ts'ai was about to depart and step out of a tent, the people collapsed it over his head and stabbed him through the tent wall. The group then packed up their belongings immediately and set out for Tsaidam, the dominion of Schang rdi. The custom of the inviolable right of hospitality is unknown to the Tibetans. They can murder and plunder a guest in their tent without scruple. This fact was confirmed by all the Chinese merchants whom I questioned. They can be kept within bounds only by good weapons and a resolute bearing. Chinese never trust the Fan tse; on the contrary, they believe them capable of any kind of betrayal and baseness. They say: "The Fan tse is like a dog; if you show fear, it gives him courage and he gets more and more impudent. But if you deal harshly with him, he draws in his claws and never stirs."

However, this knowledge does not help the Kansu government very much. In the last thirty years it has pulled itself together sufficiently to deal only one good blow at the Tibetans. This was the result of pressure brought to bear by the French, when the murder of Dutreuil de Rhins had to be avenged. But the Kansu officials miscalculated this corrective expedition so dearly, that the central government in Peking is loathe to consider such undertakings. It is true, the money for this expedition largely flowed into the pockets of the officers. No one speaks more of "face saving" /337/ than the Kansu people, but that is not affected by the fact that since 1800

[text continues on p. 565]

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they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as
did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the
Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the
Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol
banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit
themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward
the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains
descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to
see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south
there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks
there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly,
northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with
small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled
trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat
herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle,
and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are in-
satiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quick-
ly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting,
grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on
the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have
the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of
using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as
ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently
among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent
in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored
cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak.
In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild
ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate
braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of
red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

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C 782 see it?

That is where Hoang schang (emperor) burns incense and makes offerings to the mighty spirit. Five or six years ago I was there with Be tschal sche (3). At that place he lighted a few small Chinese

3. The equivalent of Bi tieh sche, commissar, a Chinese form of the Manchurian title bitheschi for the official who was sent from Hsining to Dscherkundo in Yü schu every three years, and who at the same time made an offering at the Sea of Stars in the name of the emperor.

incense candles and burned some yellow sacrificial paper. This must be done every three years at the command of the great emperor in Tsching tsch'eng. (4) Six white sheep are also dedicated to the great

4. Literally, "capital," the most common name for Peking among the Kansu people.

spirit each time, so that he will protect the great lowland in the south of China from floods. Each of us brought along a stone and added it to the obo; then we threw ourselves on the ground facing the Kuenlun Mountain and touched the earth three times with our foreheads, just like our Schu be (5) and like Be tschai sche. But the Mongol leaders

5. Probably corresponding to the officer's rank of captain of the green banner in the Manchu empire.

burned cedar twigs and rode around the obo.

Then we released the six sacrificial sheep. And on we went toward the south. After ten days we came to the first tents of "Those with the Red Hats." (6)

6. Hung mao tse- "those with the red hats" (namely, lama) is what the Hsining-Chinese call the K'am Tibetans who are under the administration of Hsining. (In the Hsining dialect tse equals te.)

T 631 C /15/ "South of the obo is an old battlefield," Tschang went on to
report, "and to this day the Hung mao tse (the red-hatted ones) sing
631 of it:

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rdya nagbo sdyenba dar
sog serbo sdyenba niam. T 631 C 631

The offering of the black-clad Chinese rose up,
The offering of the yellow-clad Mongols was forced down."

The last remark referred to the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu dynasty. In 1724 under Emperor Yung tsch'eng, the Manchu general and prince "Ta" (Ta ai) created the minister-residency of Hsining fu. To this day he is known to every K'am Tibetan and honored in songs (1)

1. In the year 1731, i.e. eight years after the defeat of Lobzang Dandsin (See pages 312 and 313, Vol. I), Norbo Taidschi, the Dsassak of the western Torghut banner, as well as Duke Latsab, the Dsassak of the southern, left Khoschot banner, and Araptan Taidschi of the southern, front Torghut banner rose up against the Manchu. All three banners were near Rardscha gomba on the Hwang Ho. The Norbo people drove out all Chinese that had settled down on the Koko Nor. It was the last flare-up of the love of liberty and the old lust for power of the Mongols of Koko Nor. The Khoit of the Bayan Nor immediately came to the assistance of the Chinese, and in 1732 under the amban Ta ai these last heroes of freedom were defeated on a battlefield south of the Soloma and not far from Muru (muren) ussu. Norbo was captured and beheaded in Hsining. In this way a larger part of K'am was brought under the administration of Hsining.

as the Selanf dorge amban, the Hsining amban with the yellow, golden girdle.

Suddenly, without any organic relationship, the wide plain of C 133
the Sea of Stars, which is many kilometers broad, stretches out from
the midst of numerous hills and mountains. It looks like a filled-in
lake through which the Soloma (the Mongolian name for the upper
Hwang Ho) follows its winding course. Somewhat farther to the east
of the place where the obo of the Odontala (Mongolian name for
"Sea of Stars") looms up, the blue mirror of Ts'aring Nor begins. It
is surrounded with many green hills and sends out countless inlets
far into the hilly country, between low slopes filled with hollows

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German castle, while the ordinary priests' houses are spread out on the main mountain behind like a neat little village. (Plate XXVI). In the dschong on the cliff lives the ruler of the Dscherku tribe (Tibetan: sde schok), the Tsawu be hu. At present this is an incarnate lama of the Saskya sect, but it has only been in Manchu times that he has taken the place of the former secular and hereditary princely house. There is now fixed spiritual ownership instead of the hereditary succession of the old aristocratic families. The same soul which from time to time merely enters another body, so to speak, is now permanent master. But, strangely enough, this soul always keeps choosing aristocratic families. He still delivers his taxes to the Chinese every three years. For the rest, he as well as his neighbors are subordinate to the Nan tsien king. In addition to him a second living Buddha has set up his labrang on the mountain.

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Since it is the most important place in a wide area, Dscherku ndo is also the center of the Chinese (i. e., Hsining) government in the entire "Hung mao ör de ti fang" or "Yü fu" (Peking dialect: Yü schu). At the time of my visit there was, however, only a single man, a Fan tse to boot, from Dunkur who was the representative and political agent of the Chinese in this country. This "Lo ts'a" was given board at Tibetan expense, but was not entitled to anything else, and his only duty was to be able to give information, if necessary, about important events in the country. Real Chinese officials could be found here only once every three years and these consisted of a commission to collect taxes. The latter were taken over from Mongolian times and the amount has been fixed since the year 1732. The commission was made up of a civilian and a military mandarin /Bi tieh sche (2)

2. Bi tieh sche is written pi t'ieh shih in Mayers, The Chinese Government. The name derives from the Manchurian word bitheschi meaning "writer" and one who knows how to write. These officials finally always had Chinese secretaries under them.

and Schu be who in Tibet wore red buttons/ with three interpreters and three secretaries, for whose protection close to twenty Chinese soldiers with four flags and several Mongolians from Tsaidam were taken along. On the journey thither the people always went from Dankar north of the Koko Nor across Tsaidam and the Odontala (Sing /143/ su h'ai) to the northernmost Yü fu tribe, Niamtso, then by way of the tribes of Guts'a and Antschun as far as Dscherku ndo which they finally reached

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after three or four months. The nomads living along the route were obliged to furnish free means of transportation (ula) and plenty of free food (seven sheep a day). En route disputes between tribes were ironed out as much as possible, and secretaries and interpreters received earnings from this as well as from the ula. The commission stayed in Dscherku 10 to 13 months, that is, strictly speaking, long enough until the K'amba tribes had paid their taxes, whereupon the Chinese traveled back to Hsining fu with ula out of K'am by way of Deda, Lab (e) and Tendo, approximately along the route that I had taken to K'am. The result of these strenuous journeys, besides the moral reminder of Chinese supremacy was a sum of 2,000 taels. However, in the last few years it had never been collected, but had shrunk to 600 taels because the tribes always sought to avoid payment and maintained that they were unable to collect the proper amount. They said this was caused by progressive poverty which was supposed to have been caused by over-population and increasing summer droughts. I was told by various people that there had been very poor harvests the preceding years. However, my six Schen si merchants thought that the chief reason for the refusal to pay taxes lay in the small amount of authoritative power which China develops in K'am. (1)

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1. The expenses involved in the sojourn and the return journey of the Chinese, which the K'amba had to pay in kind amounted to another 3,000 taels or so.

The ula, that is, free transportation back to Hsining, was arranged so that the K'amba gave the Chinese two oxen and one horse for each man and 15 oxen and 5 horses to transport the silver and the goods that had been got in trade, giving them a total of 75 to 80 oxen and 35 horses as their property and only a few guides besides.

The tax which each individual family was required to pay in money every three years was 0.075 tael (about 22 pfennig). Originally each 100 families were required to furnish one horse. As long as the value of a horse was still 7.5 tael (1780) the horse tax was figured in silver and this figure has been retained. On the basis of 0.075 tael per family and five members to each family, one can estimate the population of the Yü schu at 133,300 laymen and 22,000 tax-exempt lamas (that is, approximately one-sixth of the population) or a total of 155,300 souls. I regard this as a fairly accurate figure (i.e., 1.9

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emigrated from the Koko Nor only 100-150 years ago (?). Potanin speaks of an Arigi- and a Yundscha-tribe who were driven out in 1843 by the amban of the Koko Nor and wandered to K'am.

4. Kozlow, Mongolia i Kam, Vol. II, p. 262ff., ascertained the following tribal names: Namtso, Gutse, Amchek, Ayun, Haschi, Tschintson, Detta, Tschawut, Rada, Butschun, Surman, Yunscha, Kanar, Tsatschüka, Dobtschu, Tendo, Lab, Mongoltschin, Tsantschu, Gertschi, Raschi, Yuischu. Most of them are not in accordance with the ones I heard of. Of those who are said to live farthest toward Central Tibet he discovered the names Riu chi, Bak scho and Sogo deme (the latter is probably identical with the Bönbo on the Sog Tschü, the tributary of the Salwen near the Ba chen capital and the Truksun monastery. Farther on he writes that the Bak scho live northwest of Tsiamdo in Ts'ien tsang.

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I had touched the northeast corner of the Nan tsien kingdom near Lab gomba and Deda. From there the boundary approximately follows the 97° eastern longitude south in the direction toward Tsiamdo and two days' journey from this important place it touches the Wei- or Ts'ien tsang- (Chinese) or foremost Lhasa-territory whose chief town is actually Tsiamdo (Tschiamdo). From here, at about 31 1/2 degrees northern latitude, the boundary turns to the northwest and follows the course of the Tsche Chu upward, but in such a way that the right bank of this river is already under the jurisdiction of the sde ba gschung of Lhasa. Toward the west the sphere of influence of the Nañ tsien King seems to extend in some places as far as 93° 30' eastern longitude. There in the north a territory joins it which is also called Dya sde by its neighbors, but which belongs to Bonbo and has its own overlord, the King of Hortsi. It extends 92° and (with 39 tribes originally) is nominally under the jurisdiction of the amban in Lhasa. (5) Just in that region the boundary is most uncertain because

5. According to Bower, Across Tibet, page 133, isolated parts of Dya sde extend far to the west of 92°.

the power of the priests and officers of the Central Tibetan ecclesiastical state seems to be mounting and friction is the order of the day.

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The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

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The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

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We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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they always had to march in single file. Half of the troops were armed with modern repeater guns, the rest with old Mausers; 300 of each 1,000 men were equipped with long lances on which large three-cornered flags of all different colors fluttered, as they entered Tao tschou. Behind each division rode the officer in charge of it and saw to it that no man escaped. If someone for any reason had to stay behind he was first obliged to hand over his gun. The supply train was amazingly small and consisted of yak oxen, an ula from Merema and Tawa. In the endless procession the large copper cooking pots and the opium and tobacco pipes of the men, as well as the badly-packed small personal belongings of the officers were very carefully carried by soldiers. Beside their guns the troops carried only their few cotton garments and wore hemp sandals which were undoubtedly the best foot-gear what with the poor roads, the many brooks without bridges the slippery stones and the endless climbs up and down.

C T 631

Native families of rulers have maintained themselves to this day, remnants of the old Mongolian- and Tu ku hun times, in the districts of Tao tschou, Min tschou and Di dao tschou. The mightiest is the Yang tu se, the king of Dschoni. Today he rules only over Tibetans, 48 tribes of them, who annually bring him small gifts. His feudal lands reach as far as Szechwan in the south. However, among the majority of his subjects his word does not carry much weight. They rob merchants and carry on wars whenever they /Plate LXIX faces p. 305 in the original text. / /306 choose. The Dschoni tu se himself, however, in his low and easily-accessible native country, is today with all his clan subject to the general supervision of the tschou of Tao. Even weaker and smaller is the Chan tu se who lives 15 li below Dschoni in the Tao Ho Valley. The Ma tu se also has little more authority; he is already in the Min tschou district near the town of Tang tschen, 150 li south of the chief city of the district, and rules over 2,000 families. Of the fourth, the Kia tu se, I have already spoken briefly in connection with my journey through Di dao tschou. Dschoni, Tschan, Ma, Kia on the one hand and the tschou of Tao, Di dao, and Min on the other, are often referred to as the Wu hu and the country as the Land of the Five Rulers. For the "democratically"minded Chinese used to complete personal freedom and privilege, conditions in the wu hu are very foreign; they are completely baffled that here, not as elsewhere in the Kingdom of the Middle, the ruler should have a claim and levy taxes, but that the individual families and the heads of families belong to the various rulers, so that, as often happens here, subjects of all five live together

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in one small village and must pay their hereditary ruler an annual head tax from that one place and, in disputes, must take refuge from his tribunal.

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One striking peculiarity of the Tao tschou Chinese women is the way their feet are bound. The great toe is bent up vertically whereas the rest of the toes are as usual bent under the sole of the foot (Plate LXX). Thus the foot is not shortened as much as in the usual form of crippling; but inasmuch as the foot must be crippled throughout North and West China, and the country people, especially, cling obstinately to the old custom, this less severe fashion developed when women evidently sought to make walking easier for themselves. In the ever-changing struggles between Mohammedans and Chinese the defeated side originally always had to sacrifice all their women to the rage of the victors. They lost their mothers and daughters. With the 3-inch feet developed by the ordinary method of binding, the women never escaped; after a few lis their little feet were completely chafed and the poor things could only crawl on their knees. With the new way of foot-binding, which must have been prevalent for at least four generation, the Tao tschou women can march as well as their Hsining sisters who merely curl their smaller toes under but even so achieve a tolerably trim little foot! This Tao tschou makeshift is also worn day and night beginning with the eighth year. The strips of cloth which bend the toes are never taken off, but only changed and, as always, even husbands are not permitted to see the naked foot of their wives. A woman would be mortified to death. Even I was not permitted to see the feet shown on the photographs in nature. The owners of the feet made the pictures themselves with my camera. Only in front of this dead object and for a bribe did two little women who were poor as beggars dare to expose themselves.

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My portrayal of East Tibet would not have been complete if I had not concluded my journey by visiting the political center of the north, Labrang /307/ or Lawrang, the Gomba of the Mongol king Hwang Ho nan chün wang, head of Amdo, the most successful rival of Gum bum. The distance thither is figured at four ts'an lu (days' journey) from Batser (Tao tschou); the road goes northwest and again through Tibetan country, through Amdo, that is, the "low country" of Tibet which consists of moderately high mountains with broad valleys which permit extensive barley cultivation and present valley

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632 TOWNS--political organization of municipalities (e.g., towns, townships, boroughs, parishes) embracing a number of communities; governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Physical characteristics and facilities of settlements. 38

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village [622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable [623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit, • [632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to [792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary [622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically. [423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 62 241 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo- [787] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual [292] fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases. From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been [787] selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi- [776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, [782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals. [625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that [486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through [651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

*563 62 631 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village units would not have been so important in the local administrative system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, *563 361 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market • 632 443 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 621 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu- [443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a [632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 621 771 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for [794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 545 621 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very *563 621 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. 769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the [764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
*668 laws, and financial arrangements of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some
635 new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
• 632 "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
634 county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the
*668 same congress passed the organic law for local governments.
671 Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

666 Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory
631 character of the Communist system of local government. The
182 Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provin-
647 cial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices,
635 or commissions according to local needs:
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

563 In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may estab-
647 lish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:
• 632
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

*668
647
• 632
631

(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

The county people's councils may establish, according to need,
*668 647 the following divisions or bureaus:
634
631

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

*668 D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization
635 If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

N
*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
660 is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

N
*175 V. Political Structure and Political Progress
*668

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that
N followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were
635 also established in the five provinces then comprising the North-
• 632 west: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.
N
*175 While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*668 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
635 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
637 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
666 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their
S time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference
175 of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities
668 in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily
631 devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

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633) CITIES--political organization of urban aggregates larger than towns (e.g., cities, metropolitan districts); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc. See also:

Settlements and urban and rural contrasts . . 36 Political machines. 667

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

S 635 [131] [261] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

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All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

S 175 487

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Urianghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

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Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

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*175 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces, not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

[633] [178]

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000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygean people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

133 formations. The unconformity and faults are due to the mountain making movement in the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic stages. All these constructional mountains extend from northwest to southeast, paralleling each other.

Although the Ch'i-lien Mountains provide a natural screen between Kansu on the north and Chinghai on the south, there are many passes in the mountainous areas. Generally speaking, all the passes are around 9,000 feet high. For instance, Pien-tu-k'ou, on the upper stream of the Hung-shui is at the elevation of 8,100 feet; Peh-yai-k'ou on the upper stram of Shan-tan-ho is at the height of 9,800 feet; Wu-lung-k'ou on the upper stream of Kou-shui is at the height of 8,400 feet. All of these are well-known passes. However, Pien-tu-k'ou is the short-cut from the central portion of Kansu to the main section of Chinghai Province, and it covers the shortest distance from Chiang-ye to Sining, the capital city of Chinghai.

The topographical features of Kansu are rather open and simple on the west and northwest in contrast to the southeast, where the land has suffered local deflections and dislocations from earthquakes. The Shu-le River runs through the northwest corner of Kansu, and projects westward to the eastern border of Sinkiang Province. The altitude is about 3,000 feet. There are fewer mountains in the northwestern section of Kansu, simply a few hilly lands merging into the desert. Although the Shu-le River is the major water system in western Kansu, water constantly sins and disappears into the sandy gravels after it runs down from the hilly lands.

South from the Ch'i-lien-shan is the Chinghai Plateau. Linking with the Tibetan Plateau to the south, it forms the huge plateau region of west China. The Kun-lun mountain ranges run through the core of the area, projecting eastward to form a few paralleling ranges. The southwestern section of the area is much higher and its topography is rugged in comparison with the northern section. Two notable basins, the Tsaidam and the Sining, are situated between the Ch'i-lien Mountains to the north and the Kun-lun Mountains to the south. In the western sections of the area there are numerous lakes and streams which are the sources of the most important river systems of China, namely the Yellow River and the Yangtse River. The Tsaidam Basin is swampy. Its elevation is estimated at some 8,100 feet with the western edge of the basin much sharper than the eastern margin. The Chinghai Basin, in the eastern section of the area, is the most essential one. It is named after the salt lake, Koko Nor. Sining is the major city in this basin. It is not only the pivot station between the Mongolian Gobi and the Tibetan Plateau but also the economic and political center of Chinghai.

[633]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AI1

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center.
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

N
*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

N
[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

N
*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region,
S as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
668 Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
635 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

N
*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
• 633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

N
*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
• [633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

N
[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

N
[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

S
[668] (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.
[635]

Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N
*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 1955, are shown in Table 9.
631

N
After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

N
*175 A. Earlier Systems
631

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N
B. The Communist System
*668

The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

634

634 DISTRICTS--political organization of moderately extensive territories embracing a number of settlements or municipalities (e.g., a subtribe, an English or American county, a French department); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position; etc.

161 Beyond the Alashan, Nan-shan, and Ta-chi-shih mountains in
133 most parts of Chinghai, western Kansu including most parts of former Ninghsia covering the Alashan and Khara Gobi deserts and all Sinkiang, where the annual rainfall is generally below five inches except in the higher elevations, the small population is intensely concentrated in a number of small isolated oases scattered along the base of the snow-capped high ranges. Numerous snow-fed mountain streams come down the Nan-shan, the Kunlun, the Tien-shan and the Altai.
[312] Before they disappear in the nearby deserts, they provide a reliable source of water for irrigation. Hence a string of
487 oases are scattered between deserts and mountains. The so-
312 called Kansu corridor along the Nan-shan, the Silk Road
361 along the Kunlun, the Tien-shan nan-lu (Southern Road)
161 and the Tien-shan pei-lu (Northern Road) along the south and north foothills of the Tien-shan (Celestial Mountain) Range are all developed along these oases which provide the only available natural stations along all the trade routes through Northwest China and Central Asia. These oases are the sole centers of human settlement for agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, and pastoralism. Since they are so intensively
487 cultivated and populated, in most cases they form administrative
361 hsien or county seats, i.e. from southeast to northwest along
634 the Kansu corridor, Ku-lang, Wu-wei, Yung-chang, Shan-
161 tan, Chang-yeh, Lin-tse, Kao-tai, Chiu-chuan, Yü-men, An-hsi, Tun-huang, etc. Along the Silk Road at the foot of the Kunlun Mountains east-westward are No-chiang, Chieh-mo, Keriya (Yu-tien), Tse-leh, Lo-pu, Ho-tien, Mo-yü, Pi-shan, Yeh-chang, Sha-che, Ko-ko, Yingihissar (Ying-chi-sha), Shu-le, etc. Along the Tien-shan nan-lu, east-westward are Qumol (Hami), Shan-shan, Turfan, Ho-sho, Yen-chi, Korla, Lun-tai, Ku-che, Pai-chang, Wen-su, Aksu, Ke-ping, Pa-chu, Ka-shih, Shu-fu, etc. Along the Tien-shan pei-lu, east-westward are Barkul (Chenhsi), Chitai, Urumchi, Chang-chi, Ching-hua, Sui-lai, Wu-su, and Ching-ho to Sui-ting in the Ili valley. Thus the distribution of population occurs in clusters or isolated pockets of densely peopled areas, dotted along the foot of the high mountains, but separated by desert wastes.

361 In the enclosed upland Tsaidam and Koko Nor Basins of
233 Chinghai province, a small number of nomads exist mainly in
311 the part which is oriented toward and exposed to the limited moist wind, where the grassland is suitable for limited grazing. The location varies from basin to basin. In the Tsaidam, the pasture is found in the southeastern part, while in the northwestern part lies the Koko Beile Desert. In the case of the Koko Nor Basin, the climatic orientation is reversed. Similar conditions prevail

N 829 *563 S 829 563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

[178] [596] [614] [619] [701] [622] [554] Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

N 829 *563 *668 177 • [634] [242] In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

S 829 563 668 177 [634] [242] S N [361]

N 829 *563 S 829 563 III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the
[671] same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

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(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

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The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

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D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

TABLE 10 (continued)

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
CHINGHAI PROVINCE	
Tibetan Autonomous chou of Hai-pei	Including the three counties of Ch'i-lien, Hai-yen, and Kang-ch'a, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Hai-nan	Including the five counties of Kung-ho, Hsing-hai, Kuei-te, Kuei-nan, and T'ung-te
Mongol, Tibetan, and Kajakh autonomous chou of Hai-hsi	Including the Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan
Tibetan autonomous chou of Huang-nan	Including the three counties of T'ung-jen, Tse-k'u, and Chien-cha
Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shu	Including the 6 counties of Yü-shu, Lang-ch'ien, Ch'eng-to, Chih-to, Tsa-to, and Ch'ü-ma-lai
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kuo-lo (Kolo)	The southeastern part of Chinghai bordering Sikang and Szechuan; situated east of the Tibetan autonomous chou of Yü-shou and south of the Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ung-te. It covers 240,000 sq. kilometers, and has a population of more than 110,000 Tibetans. It is to be divided into 4 counties, the names of which have not yet been determined
T'u autonomous hsien of	Formerly Hu-chu county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Hua-lung	Formerly Hua-lung county
Salar autonomous hsien of Hsün-hua	Formerly Hsün-hua county
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-nan	Formerly Ho-nan district

TABLE 10 (continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
*668 CHINGHAI (continued)	
631 • 634 *563 Moslem autonomous hsien of Wei-yüan	Formerly Wei-yüan district
Mongol autonomous hsien of Tu-lan	Formerly Tu-lan district
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chü	An area west of Kokonor
KANSU PROVINCE	
Mongol autonomous chou	Including the county of Tun-k'ou and the Alashan Banner
Tibetan autonomous chou of Kan-nan	Including the two counties of Hsia-ho and Lin-t'an and the Cho-ni autonomous hsien, plus an area cut from Hsi-ku, Min, Wu-tu, and Ho-ch'uan
Moslem autonomous chou of Hsi-Hai-Ku	Including the three counties of Ku-yüan, Hsi-chi, and Hai-yüan
Moslem autonomous chou of Ho-tung	Including the four counties of Lin-wu, Chin-chi, T'ung-hsin, and Yen-ch'ih
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chin-yüan	Formerly Hua-p'ing county
Moslem autonomous hsien of Chang-chia-ch'uan	Chang-chia-ch'uan
Tung-hsiang autonomous hsien	Su-nan-pa, the eastern district of Ho-chou
Moslem autonomous hsien of Kuang-t'ung	Probably the former Ling-ting county
Tibetan autonomous hsien of T'ien-chu	Wu-shao-ling

TABLE 10 (Continued)

NAME	DESCRIPTION
*668 KANSU PROVINCE (continued)	
631 • 634 *563 Mongol autonomous hsien of Su-pei	Formerly Su-pei administrative chü
Kazakh autonomous hsien of A-k'e-sai	Southwest of Tun-huang
Mongol autonomous hsien of O-chi-na (Edsin) Banner	Formerly Edsin Banner
Cho-ni autonomous hsien	Formerly Cho-ni administrative chü

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Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)	
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

487 be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage.
579 Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

487 A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of
133 the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

634 Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of
487 four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

871 We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

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574 that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation
651 free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the
651 lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

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CHAPTER III

FROM HSINGAN UP THE HAN VALLEY TO HANCHUNG

Hsingan and the resources of the Han valley—Hanyin—Shihch'uan—Hsihsiang—Kulupa—Catholics and Protestants—Hanchung—Northern troops in the Han valley.

HSINGAN FU is now a first class district city known as 361
Ank'ang Hsien. It lies on the southern bank of the Han [634]
River at the head of a small but very fertile plain, where the river emerging from gorges flows for a few miles through more open country before disappearing into the mountains again. It consists of two cities, called the old and the new. The old city which is the commercial centre and contains most of the shops and general population is built right on the river from which it is protected by an embankment. A mile to the south lies the new city, a much smaller enclosure, containing residences of gentry and retired officials, Government schools, etc. The new city lies on higher ground and is said to have been built as a refuge in time of flood. The alluvial plain between the two cities is enclosed by stoutly built dykes running from the river up to the rising ground to the south. We were well housed in a Government building in the new city which forms a pleasant residential quarter as compared with the crowded streets of the old.

Hsingan is an important commercial centre and serves 438
as a gateway into the whole basin of the upper Han, the 241
Yangtzu's longest tributary. This upper Han basin may be 135
likened to a miniature edition of the province of Szechuan, an extremely rich mountain region intersected by innumerable little fertile valleys and plains, with Hanchung, the administrative capital, comparable to Chengtu, Hsingan, the commercial gateway, to Chungking, and the Han with its gorges and rapids to the Yangtzu. To complete the likeness many parts of the Han basin are just as red as the famous "red basin" of Szechuan. A great variety of products are collected at Hsingan from this rich region and shipped down river to Laoho K'ou and Hankow, such as cereals, vegetable oils, fruits, nuts, varnish, wood oil, silk, tea,

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Hanyin T'ing, now called Hanyin Hsien, a third class district, is a prosperous little place lying at the head of the fertile Yo River valley, and, like most of the Han basin towns, is more like a Szechuan than a Shensi city. 634

From Hanyin to Shihch'uan Hsien is a day's march, called 90 li. The path continues westwards up the narrowing valley leaving the main stream which comes down from the north on the right hand. After about 15 li the valley ends in low hills skilfully terraced into rice fields, up which the trail runs to reach a low divide, some 600 feet above and two hours' march from Hanyin. This is the first obstacle to a Hsingan-Hanchung railway, but from here on till it reaches the eastern end of the Hanchung plain near Yang Hsien there will be many difficulties to surmount. From the pass the track, entering the district of Shihch'uan, descends through a defile and then through terraced rice fields amongst the red clay hills to the valley of the Ch'ih Ho, a stream flowing down from the north, and reaches the township of Ch'ihho P'u, 45 li from Hanyin and at about the same elevation. The same mountain range, which is further on pierced by the Ch'ih Ho in a gorge, continues on the left hand and the same red clay hills on the right. The path continues down the valley for an hour's march, and then leaves it to climb over a spur to the north, and so into the valley of the Han, here no wider than the river bed, and flowing from north to south. For the rest of the way to Shihch'uan the trail runs up the Han along the mountain side on the left bank. 487 133 [243]

Shihch'uan, a third class Hsien, lies right on the river. It is an important strategic point in these parts as the trail from Hsian across the Ch'inling Shan *via* Ningshan T'ing here debouches on to the Han and the Hsingan-Hanchung road. [36]

The next stage to Ch'a Chen, called 80 li, is a rather dangerous one for pack animals. Crossing the Han by a ferry the trail runs up the gorges of the Han, a smaller edition of those of the upper Yangtzu, being ledged in the cliff side some distance above the water. In places it is narrow and there are some corners which are difficult to negotiate; but we met with no accidents, partly because the assistance so constantly rendered to us by the local officials included repairs to bad and dangerous portions of the trail. [49]

of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them,[1] partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the 825
heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre of a sort of military district located in mountainous country 563
for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine 133
view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - ANALYST]

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descent, the path following along a winding ridge, and then dropping into the valley of a streamlet, which leads after an hour's march to the hamlet of Liangshê, 80 li from Fenghsiang, where we stopped the night. On the following day an easy march of 40 li down the valley, through cornfields full of pheasants, brought us to Linyu Hsien. The latter is a tiny city, the centre of a miserably poor third class district, lost in the brigand-infested loess mountains not far from the Kansu border. It is an isolated little place, lying on an unfrequented mule trail into Kansu *via* Lingt'ai. The magistrate, an intelligent young man of the student class, led a lonely and somewhat miserable existence, apart from the danger from brigands, and admitted that he only looked upon this, his first appointment, as a stepping-stone to something better. Most of the many magistrates we met took but little interest in their work, regarding their posts either as a necessary evil to be endured for a short time as a stepping-stone to something better, or as a means of getting rich quick. And yet their work of administration is really most interesting and affords many opportunities of improving the lot of the people. But they can hardly be blamed for taking so little interest in their districts in view of the present system under which they may at any moment have to make way for another place-hunter. Thus it often happened that we came across magistrates who, never leaving their dilapidated little yamens, had only the vaguest knowledge of the geography and inhabitants of their districts.

Life in Linyu city, as in countless other little Hsiens buried in the interior of China, is that of the middle ages, and the appearance of its streets and walls, with ancient cannon and gingals and heaps of stones all ready to hurl on the heads of an attacking force of brigands, has probably changed but little for hundreds of years. Revolutions, rebellions, and battles in the plains below, in which the contending forces pump lead at one another with modern rifles and machine guns, have little effect in these isolated hills, except that the brigands become more and more formidable from year to year.

Linyu lies on a loess bluff overlooking the junction of two streams from the west and north, flowing in beds of shale and sandstone at the bottom of deep narrow valleys

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579 suitable and satisfactory state of affairs. Unfortunately my
enquiries showed that these decapitated bodies were not
628 those of the real brigands of these regions at all, but of
some strangers who arrived at the city gates and could not
give a satisfactory account of themselves, and who had
accordingly been executed so as to be on the safe side.

634 Most of the magistrates in Shensi are now natives of the province, young students and military officers of the new school, but in one of the districts on this road we met an official of the old type of magistrate *de carrière*, a Hunanese who had just come down from Chinese Turkestan where he had been serving for years. Though the virtues of the new type of local official in China may be great, it was a pleasure to meet a gentleman of the old school with his many and varied experiences, and we had a long talk about mutual acquaintances serving in the deserts of the far North West.

487 From Yichün the path follows down the ridge descending
gradually for 35 li to the village of P'iench'iao, where the
133 mountains give way once more to loess hills and the ridge
flattens out into a plateau. The track continues across this tableland, winding to and fro to avoid the usual rifts in the loess falling away into the valleys on either side, and then descends steeply for the last five li to reach the district city of Chungpu lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east.

132 We were now once more in the loess with its glaring dry
heat and choking dust. The season of the year was early June, when all over North China there is a spell of very hot dry weather, corresponding, presumably, to the heat of Northern India before the monsoon. In July and August the rains break, and though the steamy heat is then trying enough, and the loess is turned into slimy mud, the change is a great relief.

634 At Chungpu we were met by the Taoyin of Northern
Shensi, whose seat is at Yülin Fu on the edge of the Ordos. His post is at present a most difficult one owing to the northern districts being so overrun with brigands. He told us that the extreme north of the province was much less desolate and more prosperous than the districts we were
487 now traversing. We had heard much of the terrible "bitter-

this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here containing a considerably less volume of water than where crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between. Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings one to Fu Chou.

Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city, is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact that it had been sacked four times by brigands during the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The official of one of these cities informed me that it was inadvisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang.

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past numerous hamlets, descending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere.

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to P'uch'eng.

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, which therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax revenues.

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 li, the trail continues west across the same undulating prairies past many villages including the township of

hands of Peking and the Northern Generals, when it was over; and the power of the North to retain in its hands the nominal government of the country, though it has so far proved itself incapable of subduing the South and the South West in a military sense, remains the only decisive and stable factor in the situation.

From Paoch'eng to Mien Hsien is a distance of 90 li by a good road up the Han valley plain, dotted with many prosperous hamlets and villages; at the time of our passage it was largely under cotton where the land did not permit of irrigation for rice. Fifty li out a tributary river from the north is crossed by an iron chain suspension bridge and the large village of Huangsha P'u on the banks of the Han is reached. Further on another river from the mountains to the north has to be crossed by a ford, and though it was now the rainy season, the magistrate of Mien Hsien, who was travelling with us, assured us that its passage would present no difficulties, as he had crossed it coming to meet us on the previous day. But it had been raining all day, and rivers in China are wont to increase and decrease in size with extraordinary rapidity. When we reached this particular stream we found, instead of the ford a foot deep, which we had been led to expect, a roaring torrent deeper than a man's height. A dilapidated little temple was discovered near by in which we made shift to camp for the night while waiting for the rain to stop and the waters to subside; but before darkness fell the magistrate's efforts resulted in a boat being secured, and we packed up again and started off to try and reach Mien Hsien that night. The passage of the river was a long business, but everything was got over in the end, and we continued our journey in the dark. The path seemed to run more or less along the banks of the Han, into which I nearly rode on more than one occasion, past the township of Ts'aiyuan Chen, which is a larger place than the district city and evidently a trading centre connected with the junk traffic on the river; and ten li further on the East Gate of Mien Hsien is reached, where we arrived about nine in the evening, wet through and tired out.

Mien Hsien, a second class district city, lies at the extreme western end of the cigar-shaped Hanchung plain, which extends eastwards to below Yang Hsien. The out-

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the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the road during recent years, and continue again on the further side, while the track now in [illegible] winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the same story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

634 favourably with many of the young magistrates in Shensi, promoted to their posts straight from the schools or the army through revolutionary influence, and without administrative experience of any kind.

[443] P'ingliang, lying near the head of the Ching Ho valley at an altitude of over 4000 feet, is an important place, an agricultural market town in a wheat-growing region, and the administrative centre of Eastern Kansu. Being the seat of a Taoyin and a General, we had as usual a festive time during our short stay. The town, like most Kansu cities, is 361 half empty, but the east suburb, the Mahomedan quarter, is 563 busy and full of well-stocked shops. It was there that we first noticed the white caps of the Kansu Mahomedans, of whom we were to see so much during the next few months. The prosperity of the suburb compared to the city and their presence there were connected by the fact that until recently no Mahomedan was permitted to reside inside the walls of an official city in Kansu (one of the suppressive measures taken against them after the great rebellion); with the arrival of the republic, however, and its watchword of equality for the five races (Chinese, Mahomedans, Manchus, Tibetans, and Mongols), this disability was allowed to lapse. Frequent reference to the Mahomedans of the North West will be made in the following chapters, but the subject of Islam in China is an obscure and contentious one, and it should be noted that the statements here made are not the product of scientific enquiries, but merely the results of conversations with Chinese, mostly of the official classes, who, though sometimes Moslems themselves, were only acquainted with the superficial facts and popular traditions relating to the Mahomedans and their religion.

I estimate the Mahomedans of Kansu to constitute from 162 a quarter to a third of the total population. They are freely scattered throughout the districts of the province as mer- 563 chants, especially dealers in horses, but they are settled on the land more especially in two regions, in the South and the North respectively, roughly separated by the Great West Road. In the South they form a kind of Mahomedan wedge between the Chinese and the Tibetans of the Kokonor, centring round Hochou and Hsunhua on the Yellow River; in the North they extend from P'ingliang through Kuyuan, and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia.

magisterial business. She held her office by inherited right, and was reported to us as a person of remarkable ability. This chance meeting subsequently led to some correspondence with this very interesting lady, to whom we sent a present of a well-bound copy of the New Testament, and from whom we received a cordial invitation to visit her at Lotus City, and to instruct her people, an invitation which so far we have not been able to accept. Père Huc, in writing of Pingfan over a hundred years ago, spoke of the ruddy complexion and brown or even red hair not infrequently seen, as well as of the religious habits of its people. We were immediately struck by the same characteristics. One afternoon we were visited by a group of fortune-tellers. An old woman, aged seventy, was escorted by two younger ones, whose hazel eyes, red cheeks and brown hair differentiated them entirely from the Chinese around. The object of their quest was quite definite: 'We have heard,' said the old woman, 'that you are able to show us how to obtain remission of sins, and we have come to ask you to instruct us.' Two days later she was back again: 'All my sins have told me is true,' she began; 'my son has been reading to me the book you sent, and I want some more of the same kind.'

All too quickly the month of our stay passed by, and the missionaries, whose house we were occupying, returned; we then moved on to Liangchow. On the day of our departure, we were deeply touched by the love and courtesy shown us by these townsfolk. Presents of food for the road were brought to us by several of our newly-made friends, and after dark a little boy arrived with a bag of extraordinarily good anthracite supplied by the mines of Chenfan, and suitable for burning in our foot-warmer braziers.

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter

The days spent there were very hot and tiring, but eminently worth while.

CHAPTER XXXI

JADE GATE TO ANSI

To get away from Hwahaitz proved a more arduous business than reaching it had been, and fifty miles of the dreary Gobi still stretched between us and the town of Yümen—Jade Gate—which was our next objective. In the whole of these fifty miles there was only one spot where water was obtainable, and this was merely a brackish spring near to a hut in which lived an old couple. We left Hwahaitz at 4 p.m. on a very hot day, but after sunset it turned bitterly cold. At 2 a.m. we reached the hut, where, having rolled ourselves in a coverlet, we lay down on the sand, but by 4 a.m. the wearisome spectacle of the sun staring at us over the rim of the world, fetched us reluctantly back to our wanderings. By 3 p.m. we joyfully sighted the distinctive tower of Jade Gate, and a more exhausted, travel-worn party seldom entered its portals, but as this was our third visit to Yümen there were plenty of friends to greet us. The gay little town was now looking its best, the opium fields were in bud, the wheat was green, while the freshness of early summer was still upon the foliage. We spent some days in the city, and discovered that a few changes had taken place since our last visit. The Mandarin, with whose wife we had been friendly, had left, and his successor had modernised the entrance of the Yamen. A decoration of crossed flags ornamented the main entrance, over which a clock face was painted, the hands pointing as usual to

the hour at which the midday meal is served. In place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China.

The business men, with whom we were friendly, seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang.

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tungusides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-han-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghis (chin. Chi-erh-chi-sai) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Öröt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Ta-jen), Mongols (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-pu) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety: we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghis, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (karia system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonists (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

1. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

In the north is the now-abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kukonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constrict the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

Most of the magistrates' yamens throughout Northern and North-Eastern Kansu were dreadfully dilapidated, but the one here was about the worst we saw, being scarcely habitable, and in keeping with the rest of this ruined little city. The magistrate complained that the inhabitants of his district were poor to the verge of starvation.

I was told that the road across the Liupan Shan was made by General Tso to facilitate communications during the campaigns against the Mahomedans, the former route, which is still used to a limited extent, passing from Wat'ing to Kuyuan, and thence *via* Haich'eng and Chingyuan to Lanchou.

From Lungtê to Chingning Chou is a march of 90 li down the valley, which is cultivated but very arid-looking, and dotted with wretched farms and hamlets. There are no trees except those which line the road. The arid climate of North China is often ascribed to the destruction of the forests by the Chinese in ancient days, but it is doubtful whether the loess was ever covered by trees owing to its peculiar consistency; it is certainly quite unsuited for the growth of trees nowadays. Further on the valley becomes quite barren, the ground being covered with a white alkaline efflorescence, and 15 li from Chingning it narrows to a gorge with the path ledged in the hillside, eventually debouching on to a more fertile valley where irrigation is practised. Chingning, a considerable market town, lies in this valley.

On the following march the road turns up a side ravine, climbs a long steep hill to a pass in the loess, and descends through a maze of loess hills to a valley which leads down to the village of Kaochia P'u (45 li); it continues to follow this valley for another hour's march and then turns north-west up a long narrow defile in the loess, a weary trek with repeated little steep descents and ascents in and out of side nullahs, for the rest of the way to Ch'ingchia Yi, 90 li from Chingning, a walled village and former posting stage and fort. These posting stages, with which we became so familiar on the main roads of Kansu, are mostly provided with official rest-houses called *hsingt'ai*, in which we were usually quartered; though very dilapidated they provided quite good accommodation in the summer, being usually uninhabited and therefore free from smells. The

with the goods of the Mahomedan merchants of Ho Chou.

We passed the night at Ch'ingshui, where we met a military officer sent up to escort us down into China Proper who calmly informed us with little apparent interest that China and Japan were at war. This news afterwards turned out to be a local echo of the crisis existing between the two countries two months previously, and the incident shows that even today momentous events on the coast have comparatively little interest for the inhabitants of the far interior. Below Ch'ingshui the path continues through winding gorges with the foaming torrent hemmed in by forest-clad mountains for 20 li to the likin barrier of T'ung-men Kuan, where the gorges debouch on to an open cultivated valley. This is one of the numerous "Gates" leading into and out of China Proper on her western and northern frontiers. There is a bit of an old wall to be seen, perhaps a portion of the Kokonor loop of the Great Wall. From here to Ho Chou, a distance of 60 li, a good highway runs down the fertile valley past numerous Mahomedan villages. We did not see the valley at its best, because it poured with rain during the whole march, and the clay soil was turned into a slippery morass; at one place, crossing a nullah by a narrow causeway, one of our mule litters containing a cook was overturned into the ditch, and remained literally upside down with the eight legs of the two mules pointing skywards for some time, till they were hauled out in that position, no damage being done.

Ho Chou (new name T'aoho Hsien) is a pleasant little city lying in a most delightful valley plain, from five to six thousand feet above the sea, sheltered by high mountains, and as fertile as a garden. The mountains to the west and south-west (T'aitzu Shan) are very bold and rocky, and carried a good deal of snow at the time of our visit (middle of July). Ho Chou itself consists of a small Chinese town with large and busy Mahomedan suburbs, containing many fine mosques and seminaries. It is the centre of Mahomedan power and influence in the province, and General Ma An-liang, who actually lives a day's journey or so away near the Yellow River, has a fine residence in the suburb. The Chinese magistrate in the city seems to have little to do

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Mahomedans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the original Mahomedan population of the province, which also came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin of the former name is still occupying the attention of scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

133 li out cultivation and houses are reached at Kaochia Ta Men,
487 the beginning of the large Chenfan oasis, and for the rest of the stage the road runs through rich irrigated lands with occasional excursions into sand dunes.

361 Chenfan Hsien is a prosperous little district city in a
312 highly fertile oasis. Immediately round the town is a belt of rich cultivation, and patches of irrigated land occur in the
243 desert for 200 li to the north. There are no villages in these oases, the people living entirely in walled farms. Wheat is the main crop raised, and the abundant water supply from the snow-fed streams for irrigation purposes, combined with
[132] an almost rainless climate, appears to assure good crops with machine-like regularity. Chenfan compares favourably
361 with most towns in Kansu, the streets are clean and well
634 kept, there is a noticeable absence of ruins, and the shops display a surprising variety of goods. At the time of our visit the district enjoyed the services of one of the best territorial officials we met throughout the North West, a young man who really appeared to have the interests of the people at heart, and to devote himself as far as lay in his power to improve their lot. He remarked that the post, though so isolated, was pleasant enough in the summer, but that in the winter the north winds from the Alashan desert were terrible, much worse than the severest winter sand-storms ever experienced at Peking. The inhabitants of the surrounding oases seem entirely cut off from the rest of
487 China, and form little self-supporting communities. Chenfan itself, however, is, strange to say, in direct communication
133 with Tientsin and the coast by means of a much frequented camel route from Kueihua Ch'eng to Liangchou across the Mongolian grass country and the Alashan desert. This road, which debouches from the desert at Chenfan, enables the Mahomedans of the Ho Chou and Hsining neighbourhood to communicate with the coast without passing through Chinese Kansu at all.

From Chenfan we had to proceed to Hsining, the frontier town on the high road to the Kokonor and Tibet. Enquiries showed that we had the choice of two roads, to the north or south of the snow mountains behind Liangchou respectively. As the latter would have meant retracing our steps to Kulang, we decided to follow the former, which entailed going due

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west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, 487
and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor
border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, 133
passing apparently more or less directly over the snow-range, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arranged to
bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich 634
oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, 651
lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way.
133 We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist. The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for
[134] antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another desert march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[361] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

accompanied us that in crossing it we passed again from the Kokonor territory into Kansu.

From the pass the track drops steeply into a rough stony ravine, the stream in which is followed in a south-easterly direction for the remaining 70 li to Yungan Ch'eng. For the first half of the way the track is very bad, lying down the bed of a stream which is apt to rise in wet weather and render the road impassable; further on the going improves, the gorge opening out on to a flat grassy valley, and the last hour's march is over prairie, spoilt for riding, however, by the countless holes of a small rat-like rodent; in places the ground is alive with these little animals, dodging in and out of their holes like miniature marmots. The bed of the stream flowing down from the pass is apparently rich in gold, and Mahomedan gold washers were at work at various points when we passed. They live in tiny tents and appear to pass a very hard life for small returns. The industry is under the patronage of the leading Mahomedan Generals. We followed the washing in several spots and always saw a few grains of gold dust produced; nuggets are, we were told, occasionally found. We had descended this stream almost from its source, so that in this case the gold-bearing rocks from which the gold has been washed cannot be far off. Very large profits can be made in ordinary times by buying this gold on the Kokonor and selling it in Shanghai.

Just before reaching Yungan we passed some Mongol tents, identical in appearance with the felt yurts to be seen in the grass country north of Kalgan, and it seemed strange to come across these people here, whom one associates with summer trips to the north of Peking. The Kokonor territory is the meeting-point of the Tibetan and Mongol races, and here, as elsewhere, the black rectangular tents of the former may be seen almost side by side with the round grey tents of the latter. It appears that the Mongols, who originally occupied the country far to the south, are gradually retreating northwards before the encroachments of the more virile Tibetans. Unlike the Tibetans, who are in these parts all robbers by nature, the Mongols are peaceful and inoffensive herdsmen, who give the Chinese authorities no trouble. They are organized into Banners under their own Princes,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

nominally responsible to the Chinese officials at Hsining. Mongol tribes are found living in the bend of the Yellow River, near the Golok country, and even as far south as the country between Jyekundo and Nagchuka towards Lassa, but appear to have become completely Tibetanised, and to retain only the tradition of their origin.

Yungan is a replica of Êpo, only poorer, an old walled post with the interior almost entirely in ruins. It lies not far from the Tatung River, surrounded by grassy downs and overlooked by rocky snow-capped ranges. One is here on the reverse side of the outer barrier range of the Nan Shan, the snows of which provide the water for the streams which fertilize the Liangchou oases. This portion of the Kokonor border is the meeting-point of the four widely-spread races of High Asia, Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols.

From Yungan to Pei Tatung is another long march of over 100 li. The trail runs east and then south-east across undulating grass prairies dotted with herds of yak for 45 li to a solitary inn or ranch known as Paishui Ho, whence it continues across a plain, gradually approaching the Tatung River, to reach Pei Tatung. The going is excellent across grass all the way. Pei Tatung, lying on the left bank of the Tatung River, is another walled village mostly in ruins. Barley is grown in the neighbourhood, the first cultivation met with since entering the Pien Tu K'ou from Maying Tung. The valley of the Tatung River in this neighbourhood consists of a rich grass prairie bounded on either side by rocky snow-capped ranges; to the south the mountains approach close to the river; to the north they rise on the other side of the plain. Between Kueitê on the Yellow River and Kanchou in Western Kansu the Nan Shan consist of three huge parallel ranges, dividing off the valleys of the Tatung, Hsining, and Yellow rivers. We were now between the two highest and most northern of these ranges.

The following day's march occupied us from dawn till eight o'clock at night, the distance being called 100 li but entailing the passage of the Tatung River and of a high pass known as the Tapan Shan. The river, some eighty yards wide (in August), deep, and very rapid, has to be crossed immediately on leaving Pei Tatung. Men and loads

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491
quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634
chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493
Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797
Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502
supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [50]
bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses 788
lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled 361
cities,[1] the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The 366
Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine 563
temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and 782
parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met 634
a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[1] [Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

000 N *175 *635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 186 [563] The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

N 161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, N S judged by some current information, the large increase of [167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups, • 635 Occupation, and Urban Centers 121

(See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was S [161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly 635 Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho 162 Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tung-kuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yögur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

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Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion they are Sunni Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

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TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, 11, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S.Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 • Sinkiang AII

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TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*
(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 ●
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TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hsün-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
NorthChina	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang AI1

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TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & In-dustrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

Table 6

Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953. P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assignment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

A. Relationship to Regional Government

The provincial governments traditionally have been important links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

S N 121 197 563

I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

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The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

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A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000	people
2) Kazakhs	300,000	"
3) Kirghiz	70,000	"
4) Taranchi	43,000	"
5) Uzbeks	8,000	"
6) Tatars	5,000	"
	3,426,000	

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

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Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level governments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel, laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

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a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

[632] [634]

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

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The day after the First National People's Congress passed the new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

000 almost every phase of their lives.

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The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory character of the Communist system of local government. The Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

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The Organic Law for local governments states that the provincial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions according to local needs:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

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Under the new law, the municipal people's council may establish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

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(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

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The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

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D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

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TABLE II

SHENSI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Ma Ming-fang
Vice-chairman: Chang Pang-ying
Chang Feng-hui
Han Chao-o
Members: 35 (1 Moslem, 34 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Shih I-chih
Deputy secretary-generals: Li Tzu-chien
Ch'i Kuo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Ma Ming-fang
Deputy director: Yang Yu-t'ing
Members: 13

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Han Chao-o
Deputy director: Li Ho-pang
Te'ui T'ien-fu
Liu Ming-tsai
Members: 12

BUREAU OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Commissioner: Yang Po-lun
Vice-commissioner: Lü Hsiang-ch'en

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Chang Pang-ying
Vice-commissioners: Liu Tzu-i
Chia Huai-kuang

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Yang Yu-t'ing
Vice-commissioners: Feng Shao-hsü
Kuo Ai-cheng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Chang I-ch'eng
Vice-commissioner: Wang Fu-ch'u

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Li Wei-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Ch'en K'ai

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Huang Tzu-ch'iang

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTY
Commissioner: Hsieh Huai-te
Vice-commissioner: Su Tzü-sheng

BUREAU OF LABOR
Commissioner: Chang Yü-ming

BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ching Yen-cheng
Vice-commissioners: Lu Ch'ieng-liang
Feng I-hang

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Ch'en Ch'un-ping
Vice-commissioners: Wang Chi-t'ao
Wei Ming-chung

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TABLE IV

CHINGHAI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Chao Shou-shan
Vice-chairmen: Chang Chung-liang
Liao Han-sheng
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan)
Ma P'u (Moslem)
Members: 17 (3 Tibetans, 1 Mongol, 2 Moslems, 11 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Chang Kuo-sheng
Vice-secretary-general: Ma Lo-t'ien, Tsa-hsi

- **COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS**
  Director: Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o
  Deputy director: Sun Chün-i
- **COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL**
  Director: Liao Han-sheng
  Deputy director: Wang En-hui
- **BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS**
  Commissioner: Ch'en Sêü-kung
- **BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY**
  Commissioner: Hsieh K'e-ming
  Vice-commissioner: Li Kuang
- **COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS**
  Chairman: Ma P'u
  Vice-chairmen: Tsa-hsi, Chou Jen-shan
- **BUREAU OF FINANCE**
  Commissioner: Chao Ch'üan-pi
  Vice-commissioner: Hsia Lung-yao
- **BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE**
  Commissioner: Fu Tzu-ho
  Vice-commissioner: Hsieh Hung-hu
- **BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY**
  Commissioner: Chao Ching-feng
- **BUREAU OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION**
  Commissioner: Wang Chih-yün
  Vice-commissioner: Wei Fu-tzu
- **OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH**
  Director: Huang Chia-lung
  Deputy-directors: Liang Ch'ang-han, Ch'u T'ien-jen

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TABLE III

KANSU PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Teng Pao-shan
Vice-chairmen: Wang Shih-t'ai
Chang Te-sheng
Ma Hung-ping (Moslem)
Members: 25 (5 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 18 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Ch'en Ch'eng-i
Vice-secretary-generals: Hsüeh Ch'eng
Sheng Ch'iu-wo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Shih-t'ai
Members: 9

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Sun Cho-ping
Members: 13 (12 men and 1 woman)

BUREAU ON CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: Li P'ei-fu
Vice-commissioners: Wei Tsü-yu
Hsien Wei-ch'un

BUREAU ON PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Li P'u-shan
Vice-commissioner: Liu Lan-t'ing

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Ma Hung-ping
Vice-chairmen: Fan Ming,
Ma Ch'ing-nien
Members: 18

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Huang Ching-po
Vice-commissioner: Ma Nan-feng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Yang I-mu
Vice-commissioner: T'ien P'ei-ming

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Yü Chen-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Shih Ting-hsin

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Yang Tzü-heng
Vice-commissioner: Li Cheng-h'ua

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: Hsieh Lan-ping
Vice-commissioners: Huang Cheng-ch'ing
Lu Wei-kung
Ma P'ei-lieh

BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
Commissioner: Hsin An-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Ma Chi-ch'uan
Liu Hai-sheng

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Liu Yün-chung

(Following page 474 (1))

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TABLE 7

Administration Units in Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai

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NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Shensi province	Sian	4 municipalities 4 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 8 special districts having a total of 91 counties and 2 districts
Kansu province	Lanchow	6 municipalities 1 county under direct supervision of the provincial government 1 mining district under direct supervision of the provincial government 9 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the special districts there are altogether 80 counties, 9 autonomous hsien (counties), and 1 banner
Chinghai province	Sining	1 municipality 5 counties under direct supervision of the provincial government 4 autonomous hsien (counties) 6 autonomous chou (special districts) having a total of 21 counties and 3 autonomous districts at the county level.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

N 631 Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

N * [175] * [563] [578]

N 635 [167] East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

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S 635 648 Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
• 635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

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[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

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*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region,
S as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
668 Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
635 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

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*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

N
*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority
N to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
• (635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
S (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
(668) region on October 1, 1955.
(635) Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N
*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 1955, are shown in Table 9.
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After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal-
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

S
175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

N
A. Top Echelon Officials

*175 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
*668 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
554 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There
• 635 were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
• 635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

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#175 Land Reform Commission. In the Shensi Provincial People's
635 Government, he was vice chairman and director of the People's
554 Supervisory Commission.

N
#175 In the case of Yang Ming-hsüan, one can see the tie-in between
554 the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists. Before the
635 rise to power of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, he was
#668 a vice chairman of the Communist-controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Regional Government which had its headquarters at Yenan. Later, he became chairman of the Northwest branch of the China Democratic League, with headquarters at Sian and thus helped to prepare the way for the take-over by the Communists in 1949. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was a member, he was director of the Cultural and Educational Commission and a member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

It would be tedious to list the concurrent posts held by other key figures in the Northwest. Table 1. shows the number of responsible positions (director, chairman, secretary, member of councils and committees, military command and head of mass organization and minority party branches) held by a few of the members of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in Peking and in the Northwest provinces in 1952.

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B. Parties

Having integrated the leaders of non-Communist political bodies into the government, the next step was to reorganize them and to utilize them as arms of the Communist Party. The Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy, headed by Saifuddin, was reorganized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League (not to be confused with the China Democratic League). It brought over 17,000 trained cadres, veterans of the Ili revolt, to the Communist cause. The official announcement of the reorganization, in 1950, stated that the Sinkiang League was to be guided by the CCP and would base its work on the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It was to be established in parts of Sinkiang as part of the democratic United Front.

N
#175 In December, 1953, the Northwest branch committee of the
#668 China Democratic League held a conference at Sian, to hear Yang Ming-hsüan, chairman of the branch committee, and other League leaders report on the work of organization, propaganda, and education. Yang exhorted the members of the league to unite and educate the intellectual masses to take part in building the economy, national defense, and culture of the Northwest. Responding to the resolution of its parent body in the spring of 1953, the Northwest branch committee called upon its membership to concentrate its efforts in mobilizing and organizing the students and teachers in

TABLE I

CONCURRENT POSTS HELD BY OFFICIALS IN THE NORTHWEST IN 1952

(All Communists, unless specified otherwise)	GOVERNMENT					MILITARY		PARTY		MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MINORITY PARTIES	
	CENTRAL		NORTHWEST			CENTRAL	NORTHWEST	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP	NW AND SHENSI BUREAUS	CENTRAL	NORTHWEST
	ADMINISTRATIVE	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	MAC	LEGAL AND JUDICIAL	PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL						
Chang Chia-fu		1	1	1							
Chang Chih-chung (KMT-RC)	1		1			2				1	1
Chang Chung-hsin		1	1			1	1	1			
Chang Pang-ying			1		2				2		
Chang Tzu-fang (woman)			4							1	
Chia T'o-fu			4		1				1		
Han Chao-o (DL)	1		1		1					2	
Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (Tibetan-NC)			2		2						
Hsi Chung-hsün	2		1						1	1	
Ma Hsi-wu		1	2	1							
Ma Ming-fang			2		1				1	1	1
Ma Hung-pin (CM-NC)			4		2						
Ma Wen-jui			1						1		
P'eng Te-huai	2		1			2	1	1	1	1	
Saifuddin (Uighur)	1		1		1				1	1	1
Wang Feng			4						1		
Wang Shih-t'ai			4				1			1	
Wang Tzu-i	1		1						2		
Wu Hung-pin (CCM-DL)			1		2					1	1
Yang Ming-hsüan (DL)			1							1	1

ABBREVIATIONS CM Chinese Moslem DL Democratic League NC Non-Communist
KMT-RC Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

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of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralisation of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)

Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

*175 The line-up of the Northwest Military and Administrative Coun-
*668 cil and the provincial people's governments in 1951 shows that the
• 635 responsible officials were either Communists or hold-overs from the previous governments who were approved by the Communists. In cases where the former governors were retained, as in Kansu and Sinkiang, one or two of the vice-governors were Communists.

*175 To cater to the desire of the minority peoples for a voice in
*668 government, many of the native representatives were elected to be
*563 members of the people's councils. But they were mainly permitted
631 to serve in the lower levels of the administrations, the Chinese practically monopolized the upper levels of government. Table 3 shows the number of chairmen, vice-chairmen, and the members of the councils.

It should be noted that the term "Chinese" refers to those of the Han race and that the term "national minority" includes also the Chinese Moslems, a people once known as Dungan and now as the Hui, or Moslems. In the Linhsia Administrative District in Kansu, for example, although the number of Chinese and Hui county magistrates were the same, the Chinese still predominate. Numbering 52 per cent of the population, they had 56 per cent of the seats in the district people's council, while the Hui, who numbered 48 per cent of the population had only 55 per cent of the seats.

These local people's governments or people's councils had
*175 little authority. Their principal responsibility was the transmis-
*668 sion of the decisions and orders of the Government Administration
631 Council in Peking. Military and financial matters were subject to the decisions of the Central Government (cf. Organic Law of Regional Governments, December 16, 1949).

*175 B. Regional Autonomous Areas
*668 The training of an army of national minority cadres had as its
631 basic purpose, not only the staffing of the lower levels of the ad-
*563 ministration, but also the preparation of the ground for the establishment of regional autonomy for the minority peoples in the outlying regions of the Northwest. "The nucleus of work in the promotion of nationality regional autonomy and nationalities democratic coalition governments," stated the Jen-min jih-pao in an editorial (March 22, 1951), "lies in the universal and large-scale training of the nationalities' own cadres. It is only after the nationalities are provided with their own revolutionary cadres that their political, economic and cultural development can be further assured."

The nationality autonomous governments which were first set up in the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, were prepared by "the construction work of political and military cadres," (NCNA, May 17, 1953), who did the work of propaganda and organization of the people. (NCNA December 19, 1953). For example, the estab-

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*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
N China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
*175 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
666 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
*668 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
641 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came
*563 to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
N in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*175 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
*668 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
666 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
• 635 Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
S Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[175] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[666] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice-
[668]
[635]

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
• 635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N A word must be said about the representation of national
*175 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
*563 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
666 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of
646 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
N follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
*175 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality
*563 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
646 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
S to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
175 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to
563 one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number
646 of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

N Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
642 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
631 mean that the people have been given the right to govern them-
646 selves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

N *175 • 635 625 184 During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs. In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts. As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

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2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces. The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpose of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

S 175 625 [648] [563] In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

159 701 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the [648] government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 • 635 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking, Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.

159 [579] From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concurrently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

[701] [648]

159 669 *668 When the Communists started their campaign in the Northwest, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the People's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

159 munists. In recognition of his help the Communist regime in
*668 Peking appointed him a member of the Military and Admini-
631 trative Council of the Northwest in 1950, and in 1953, when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council, he was one of the vice-chairmen. He was a member of the Land Reform Commission and the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. Concurrently, he was vice-chairman of the People's Government of Kansu, a post he continued to hold after the election of 1954, and in the People's Government he was director of the commission on Nationality Affairs. He also became a member of the National Defense Council. Of the Four Ma of China's Northwest, Ma Hung-pin is the only one who shifted his loyalty to the Communist regime.

Ma Ming-fang (1904-): Communist, government official

A native of Shensi Province, born in 1904. Joined the Communist Party in 1925, took part in the 1925-27 Northern Expedition; 1931, director of the Department of Propaganda for northern Shensi; later, chairman of the Workers and Farmers Democratic Government of northern Shensi region; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Party, 1941, jailed in Sinkiang by the Nationalists when he came back from Soviet Russia; 1946, returned to Yenan; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1949-51, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC.

From 1950 to 1952, he was a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he was also a member of the Financial and Economic Commission. He was governor of Shensi and concurrently director of the Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs in the Shensi People's Government. In the Party, he was a reserve member of the Central Committee and second secretary of the Northwest Bureau. In Peking, too, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and in 1955, a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Ma's influence in the Northwest as well as his position in the
*668 local administration in the Northwest have been very great. He is a life-long member of the Communist Party and has played a rather important role for the Communist cause. He is one of the few from the Northwest who had ever visited the Soviet Union, which enhanced his prestige in the Communist hierarchy.

Ma Pu-fang (1903-)

159 Before the Communists took over Northwest China, this
614 area had been ruled by the famous Ma clan. As Ma Hung-k'uei
635 and Ma Hung-pin ruled Ninghsia and Kansu, so did Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing rule Chinghai (Kokonor). The administration

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[701] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he be-
[635] came a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
185 during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[276] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai,Ining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
159 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of
701 the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways
631 in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
• 635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

159 Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley,
631 comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thou-
• 635 sand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this re-
[185] gion he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

159 His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally
669 ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

159 Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the North-
631 west Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's
635 Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

159 A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to
*668 the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

159 The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United
*668 Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

S
159 tseng, the deputy-director of the Central Bureau of Investigations and Statistics (the FBI of the Chinese government), flew to Chungking, and thus ended his dictatorship of Sinkiang.

S
[645] His position as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry lasted only a year. In July 1945 his political life came to an end. When the Nationalist Government was forced to move to Taiwan, he followed, but, although he still holds some office in the Nationalist Government, his name has not appeared in the China Who's Who since 1951.

N
159 Shih Tze-ching: Member of the Democratic League

631 Of Shensi Province. Dates unknown. When the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was formed at the end of 1949, he was appointed a member of that council and also chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; in 1953 the council was reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council, and Shih was retained as a member. He also served as its vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

N Sun Tien-ts'ai: Communist Party member

159 A native of Ninghsia Province, for a long time secretary to
*668 the Operational Committee of the Communist Party in Ninghsia.
631 Since 1949, a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province. Since 1953, holds the same position except that the council has been reorganized into the Northwest Administrative Council.

With the abolition of Ninghsia in 1954, Sun was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu.

The fact that the Communists use their party members to control local administration is shown clearly in the case of Sun Tien-ts'ai and others in the Northwest.

N Sun, Tso-pin

159 In 1950, Sun was deputy secretary of the Kansu Committee of
631 the CCP, and a member of the Kansu People's Government
• [635] Council. In 1954 he was elected governor of Chinghai.

Ta-li-cha-ya: Mongol leader

A Mongol of Ninghsia Province. Dates and background unknown. Since 1949 he served as a member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, vice-chairman of the Political and Legal Commission, and member of the Commission on Nationalities Affairs. From 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, member of its Committee on Nationalities Affairs, and concurrently a vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954. In 1955 he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

than that of Kansu. The details are shown in the following table:

Table IV: The Exports and Imports of Ninghsia, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		4,040,000
opium	2,400,000	
sheep's pelts	900,000	
medical herbs	450,000	
wool	240,000	
hair-like weeds	50,000	
B. Imports:		2,270,000
cotton piece goods	1,400,000	
silk, woolen cloth, cosmetics	300,000	
sundries	120,000	
cotton	150,000	
grain	300,000	
Grand Total		6,310,000

Source: Shina Shôbetsû Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 638-39.

D. Chinghai

Trade in Chinghai is centered around Hsi-ning, the provincial capital. Aside from the two routes which connect Hsi-ning and Lanchou, there is another route leading to Tibet and still another to Sinkiang. The main exports were fur, hide, grain, salt, lumber and medical herbs, among which fur and hide, the staples, are mostly shipped to Tientsin for re-export. The main imports are cotton piece goods and silk. Trade statistics are not available. It is also known that there was considerable trade between Chinghai and India, but details are lacking.

E. Sinkiang

Trade in Sinkiang is a little more complicated, because Sinkiang trades not only with agricultural China, but also with Soviet Russia, India and Afghanistan. So far as the trade with agricultural China is concerned, there are three main trade routes. One runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Kobdo, Urga and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Outer Mongolia Great Grass Route. Another runs from Urumchi to Tientsin via Qomul (Hami), Darkhan League, Kuei-sui and Pao-t'ou, generally known as the Inner Mongolia Lesser Grass Route. And still another is the historical Great Northwest Highway which leads to Sian via Qomul (Hami) and Lanchou. The Outer Mongolian route had been out of use since the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Inner Mongolia route was priginally a caravan route. But since 1933, the section between Urumchi and Kuei-sui has been open to motor traffic under the name of Sinkiang-Suiyuan highway.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

content at the present day to put up with the prehistoric means of communication which are still the only ones in existence throughout Shensi and Kansu. This absence of proper means of communication is an absolute hindrance to any real progress, and the speedy construction of more railways in China would seem to be of more importance than all the other contemplated reforms thrown together. Road building seems to be past praying for in these days of railways, but it is not at all certain that a portion of the enormous sums spent in railway construction would not be more profitably expended in the construction of a few trunk roads; the latter could at any rate be built by the Chinese themselves without incurring loans.

From Weinan to Lint'ung is a distance of 80 li, the latter being another important wheat and cotton-growing centre. It is not necessary to make these district cities the stages, as villages with inns are numerous all the way from T'ungkuan, and travellers can regulate the length of their marches according to their choice. The following is a list of the usual stopping places, which lie at intervals of 20 to 30 li one from another; T'ungkuan, Huayin Miao, Fushui Chen, Liutzu, Hua Chou, Ch'ihshui Chen, Weinan, Linkou, Lint'ung.

Lint'ung lies close under an outlying spur of the Ch'inling Shan, whence issues a hot medicinal spring. Over these springs is built an elaborate rest-house to accommodate the guests who come to take the baths, and it is thus a popular resort for the rank and fashion of Hsian. The establishment, or rather previous constructions, date from the time when Hsian was the capital of China, Lint'ung having been a pleasure resort for the Emperors of those days. The Emperor who designed the Great Wall and destroyed the scholars and their books (about B.C. 200), and whose name is therefore supposed to be execrated by literary men, is buried in the neighbourhood. We revelled in the baths, after having been smothered in dust for ten days.

On the following day a long half stage of 50 li brings one to Hsian Fu, now officially known by its old name of Ch'angan Hsien, the capital of the province. It is an immense city, of the Tartar type, comparable only to Peking before the introduction of modern improvements. In size

and importance, political, commercial, and military, it entirely overshadows all the other towns in Shensi and Kansu, and is altogether the metropolis of the great agricultural North West, the land of loess and wheat.

Hsian is a backward place as regards the improvements of modern civilization, no macadamized roads, no electric light, no foreign carriages. Amongst other conveniences waterworks are required, as the water from most of the wells in the city is very brackish; good water could easily be brought from one of the many clear streams which emerge from the Ch'inling Shan a few miles to the south. There should be a boom in big contracts in Hsian when the railway gets there, or before.

We were too busy during our short stay to do much sight-seeing, but felt constrained to visit the Pei Lin ("forest of stone tablets") where the Nestorian Tablet now is. A large rubbing industry has sprung up (or perhaps it has existed for centuries or thousands of years) and almost every other stone has its attendant Chinese busy taking an impression. One would imagine that the more important inscriptions would get seriously damaged by this incessant rubbing, and indeed such appears to be the case. Outside is a shop where these myriad rubbings are busily sold, and their export from Shensi is quite a trade. The Chinese are, of course, great amateurs of ancient curios, inscriptions, and other historical records, and Hsian and Central Shensi is for them a happy hunting ground in this respect. It seems curious that this region has not received more attention from European scholars interested in these matters, since it contains the beginnings of everything as far as Chinese history is concerned, and the latter is hard to beat for an early start; sand-buried cities in the heart of the deserts of Central Asia are ransacked at great difficulty and expense by scholars of various nations, but it does not appear that much if any excavating has been done on the Hsian plain, which contained the capital of ancient dynasties which flourished three to four thousand years ago. The Nestorian Tablet, which dates back eleven to twelve hundred years, records the propagation of Christianity in China by Nestorian missionaries from Western Asia in those days. It is curious that this faith should have so completely disappeared, while Maho-

medanism, an equally alien religion, has become so firmly rooted in many parts of the country. The Chinese show more interest in the inscriptions relating to their classic works in the Pei Lin than in the famous Nestorian Tablet, and indeed the latter was only moved into that select enclosure recently because of an alleged attempt by a foreigner to remove the original stone under the pretext of having a copy made for a foreign museum.

We stayed in Hsian twice in the course of our journeys, an interval of two years elapsing between the two visits. On the first occasion, which was during Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime as President-Dictator, the city and province were in the hands of one of the Northern Generals supported by a Northern army; two years later the situation had completely changed, the province was enjoying a kind of home rule under native officials of its own choice, and was practically independent of Peking. In the interval Yuan Shih-k'ai had been dragged under in the collapse of his monarchical scheme, and with him had vanished, it would seem, all hope of a stable government in China. Many provincial capitals have had a rough time during the years which have elapsed since the Revolution of 1911, but few or none have suffered more than Hsian Fu. The history of events in Shensi during these years is interesting and not uninstructive for those concerned with the future of the Republic, and is here briefly related.

The Revolution of 1911 took a particularly violent form in Shensi, largely owing to the fact that it was engineered by the local members of the notorious secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui, and was ushered in by an outbreak at Hsian, in which the Manchu inhabitants of the Manchu city were massacred, and some missionaries murdered by the uncontrollable mob. For some months afterwards a state of chaos reigned everywhere, and to make matters worse the province was for a considerable time threatened by an invasion of Mahomedan troops from Kansu, under Sheng Yün, the ex-Viceroy of the North West, and Ma An-liang, the leader of the Kansu moslems, both of whom refused to acknowledge the Republic even after the abdication of the Emperor. These Mahomedan troops did in fact cross the border and sacked a few cities in Shensi, but were

province soon became critical. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the action of a young military officer of high rank, a native of the province, who revolted with the troops under his command, and having collected a large force from amongst the brigands and secret society men in hiding in the north of the province, marched on Hsian Fu as a supporter of the Republic. The Governor, who was not as staunch an individual as many of Yuan Shih-k'ai's other Northern Generals, promptly threw up the sponge and surrendered the city to save his own life. Shortly afterwards Yuan Shih-k'ai died, and Shensi thus reverted to the state of independent home rule existing after the Revolution of 1911, under the leadership of the young General who had successfully headed the rebellion.

Shensi is in rather a peculiar position. Though geographically it is one of the Northern provinces like Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Anhui, from which the Northern Military Party draw their power and their troops, it has yet of recent years always exhibited a strong revolutionary and republican spirit. The proximity of Szechuan, a Southern province, may have something to do with this. But the main reason is probably not so much a feeling of sympathy with the Southern republicans, as the independent and somewhat turbulent nature of the population, strongly infected with Ko Lao Hui influence, which renders them impatient of Central Government control and desirous of managing their own affairs[1]. This desire for provincial independence is natural and laudable, being perhaps a preliminary step towards a spirit of true patriotism in which the Chinese are as a people, with a few exceptions, so extraordinarily lacking. But the actual results of provincial home rule are altogether bad, and consist in increased brigandage, a corrupt and inefficient administration, an uncontrolled soldiery preying on the people, and other evils too numerous to mention. The problem now facing the country is how to unite a truly republican form of government with a strong central administration.

[1] Shensi has since nominally joined the North, remaining, however, to all intents and purposes independent.

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

TRADE

I. The Pre-Communist Period

Trade in the Northwest before the Communist conquest may be discussed by provinces.

A. Shensi

438 491 Trade between Shensi and the rest of the country was carried out mainly through the historical Great Northwest Highway, which links this province with Hankow and Tientsin on the one hand, and Kansu and Sinkiang on the other. Since 1937, the Na- [496] tional government has undertaken to extend the Lunghai Railway to the Northwest, and before the Communists took over it had reached T'ien-shui, Kansu. In addition, the northern part of [487] this province was closely connected with Shansi through three regional highways, and the southern part was linked with Hankow through the Han River, and with Szechwan through the Szechwan-Shensi bridle pass.

366 The commercial centers of this province are as follows: (1) Sian, the provincial capital, which not only commands the 635 trade of the whole province, but also carries considerable transit trade; (2) T'ung-kuan, which is a transportation center between the three provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Honan; (3) An-k'ang, also known as Hsin-an, a commercial center of the Han River drainage area; (4) San-yuan, the commercial center of the so-called North Shensi Plain; and (5) Han-chung, also known as Nan-cheng, a trade center between Shensi and Szechwan.

439 According to statistics of 1934, a normal year in pre-war 435 times, the total value of imports and exports of this province, *175 including foreign trade, amounted to 57,168,455 yüan, most of which were carried out through Tientsin and Hankow. The details are shown in the following table:

Table I: The Exports and Imports of Shensi, 1934

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		19,087,221
raw cotton	16,250,000	
hemp	200,000	
raw silk	300,000	
wool	160,000	
fur and hide	757,221	
tung oil	900,000	
raw paints and paint oil	250,000	
fungs-in-trees	270,000	

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

B. Imports		38,081,234
textiles	22,209,861	
sundries	6,968,868	
medical herbs and drugs	2,232,542	
apparels	1,704,563	
machinery and iron goods	1,295,837	
chinaware	1,087,299	
edibles	781,044	
kerosene and oil	701,134	
cosmetics	572,751	
paper	527,235	
vehicles and transportation equipment	76,235	
Grand Total		57,168,455

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 6, pp. 805-15.

B. Kansu

Aside from the historical Great Northwest Highway, trade between Kansu and the rest of the country was carried out through the following routes: (1) the Yellow River, including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-Ho, which is navigable between Hsi-ning and Pao-t'ou, the latter being the terminal of the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway; (2) the caravan route between Hsi-ning and Ninghsia via Lanchou; and (3) the highway between Kansu and Szechwan.

The commercial cities of this province are as follows: (1) Lanchou (also known as Kao-lan), the provincial capital of Kansu and the commercial center of not only Kansu, but also Chinghai and Ninghsia; (2) Ping-liang, the commercial center of east Kansu; (3) T'ien-shui, the commercial center of south Kansu; (4) Lin-hsia, the commercial center of the area to the west of the T'ao River; and (5) Chang-yeh, the commercial center of the Ho-hsi Corridor.

According to 1933 statistics, the total value of imports and exports of Kansu amounted to 7,933,554 yüan, about one eighth of that of Shensi. The details are shown on the following table:

Table II: The Exports and Imports of Kansu, 1933

Description	Value (yüan)	
A. Exports:		1,536,832
fur and hide	714,105	
medical herbs	605,319	
tobacco	217,408	

575 the more respectable inhabitants. At the time of writing nearly all the soldiers and brigands in Shensi, as well as 635 many civil and military officials, and in certain districts a high proportion of the entire adult male population, are 579 members, and the administration of the province is largely in their hands. There may be some good in the Ko Lao Hui, but the writer, who has seen their pernicious influence at work throughout Szechuan, Shensi, and parts of Kansu, has never heard of it. To the ordinary observer the society appears to exist for the purpose of practising blackmail and terrorism, and securing mutual protection in the commission of every variety of crime. Amongst its members are special bands expert in gambling, kidnapping, piracy, highway robbery, and similar pursuits. Others join merely in order to secure immunity from the depredations of more active members. Offences against the rules of the [627] society[1] are drastically dealt with by punishments such as death, mutilation, gouging out of eyes, etc., carried into effect by members specially told off for that purpose; while should these avenging angels fall by some mischance into the grips of the law, the society will see to it that they do not come to any harm and are well supplied with wine and opium while in prison. The Ko Lao Hui has many aliases, Chiang Hu Hui, Hu Kuo Chun, etc., and they are brigands one day, patriot rebels the next, regular soldiers the next, and so on. One of the first reforms to be carried into effect by a strong administration in Western China is to extirpate them root and branch, as the Manchus were always endeavouring to do.

487 The next stage in our journey southwards to the Han valley was the district city of Shanyang, distant 140 li, two 133 days' march. The trail leaves the valley of the Tan Chiang and strikes into the mountains to the south. For half a day we marched up a winding gorge, and then crossing three sandstone ridges one after the other, the highest about 4000 feet, descended to the market village of Heishan Chieh, 70 li from Shang Chou, where we halted for the night. The mountains in this neighbourhood are most intricate, with streams flowing in all directions, but the general feature seems to be a series of ridges trending from N.W. to S.E. The scenery is very agreeable, red sandy

1 [Ko Lao Hui secret society --Analyst]

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381 Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277 industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and 438 that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635 period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the [669] province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit 665 wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

797 missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

175 Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of
669 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated
563 a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

635 The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the
563 Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

affairs of the province during those critical times appears to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty regime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

636 DEPENDENCIES--political organization of dependent regions not organized as provinces (e.g., a colony, a protectorate, a dependent territory); governmental personnel (e.g., executive, advisory, administrative, legislative); mode of selection (e.g., appointment, election, hereditary succession); jurisdiction, authority, prerogatives, functions, and activities associated with each position. Information on relations of dependency with colonial powers will be filed in category 645. See alsoi

Culture contact	179	Administration of dependent ethnic groups	497
Missions of colonial ethnic	648	Military government	795

Wall: if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Taqu Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and, together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has reached a very considerable volume. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kuerh, Hochow, Hsinhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Épo on the

The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but also they are treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivisation, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivisation is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

641 CITIZENSHIP--conception of the relationship of the individual to the state; territorial versus gentile affiliation; distinctions between citizens and residents, and between different categories of citizens; rights, duties, privileges, powers, and liabilities of the citizen or subject (e.g. civil liberties, franchise, liability to military service); acquisition of citizenship (e.g., naturalization); loss of citizenship (e.g., through serious crime); notions of civic virtues, etc. See alsoi

Social stratification	52	Public service	689
Justice	67	Voting	696
Immigration	147	Treason	697
Symbolic representations of nationalism and patriotism	186	Military service	755
Forced or indentured labor	466	Social insurance	768
Taxation	655	Ideas about political behavior	839
		Legal majority	884

at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 16, 1951, the *Jen-min jih-pao* carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the *Jen-min jih-pao*, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chin, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to defect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the reference to religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

635 than the Mahomedan leaders of Kansu. But, unlike some of the Manchu irreconcilables, General Ma Fu-hsiang moves with the times, and was later on one of the staunchest supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Peking Government. He is looked upon in some quarters as a likely successor to General Ma An-liang as leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, a position which it is generally agreed he is well qualified to fill.

669 Ninghsia was one of the few places in Kansu which had a rough time during the Revolution of 1911 owing to the city being seized by the Ko Lao Hui, and matters seem to have been very bad until the arrival of Mahomedan troops under one of Ma An-liang's Generals, when many Ko Lao Hui heads rolled in the dust and order was speedily restored. It is only in the extreme north and south of Kansu, for instance at Ninghsia and Chieh Chou (Kai Chou), where there is a considerable extra-provincial element in the population, that the Ko Lao Hui are formidable, owing apparently to the counter-influence of the Mahomedans, who will never have any dealings with secret societies.

Immediately west of the Ninghsia plains rises the barrier range usually known to foreigners as the Alashan, and three days' distant in these mountains lies Tingyuan Ying, or Wangyeh Fu, the residence of the Mongol Prince of the State of Alashan. It was to this place that Prince Tuan, the Boxer leader and father of the then Heir Apparent, retired after the events of 1900, though he was supposed to have been exiled to Turkestan. After the Mahomedans had occupied Ninghsia during the Revolution of 1911, he came down and lived there for some time awaiting the issue, but on the abdication of the Manchus he appears to have retired west into Turkestan, together with the famous old Manchu die-hard, Sheng Yün.

At Ninghsia we received what then seemed the incredible news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's intention to make himself Emperor. Kansu and its Mahomedans probably welcomed the event, since they were never particularly enthusiastic about the Republic, but it was a terrible blow to the young men of the student class who believed in the *Min Kuo*[1]. I have heard Yuan Shih-k'ai's opponents allege that his ambition was always fixed on the Throne, and that in the days when

[1] "People's Country," i.e. Republic.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, 798 although the whole populace declared them to be 624 innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow 798 Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of 635 the North-West Frontier were placed under the juris- 701 diction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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635 flung himself on the victim so as to receive the blows on 701 his own body. This so startled the assailants that they desisted; he then took possession of a young soldier's cap, for purposes of identification, saying, 'This is a matter for judicial investigation. If this boy has done anything wrong, take him to the Mandarin.' This the soldiers refused to consider, and followed the Doctor to the Mission House, finally begging him to drop the matter, and not to report them to their officers. To this he consented. A few days later our own carter was sent out to a village near by to bring in grain for the mules. A band of soldiers, acting in accordance with their irregular custom, commandeered the cart and animals for their own use. The carter questioned their right, whereupon he was beaten, and filth of the worst description was rubbed into the wound. The soldiers then moved away, leaving him semi-conscious by the roadside, to which place our small scouts soon fetched some of the students, as well as Dr. Kao, who indignantly called attention to General Feng's placard above his head. This happened close to the residence of the Minister of Defence, who, hearing what had occurred, came out himself and saw the man still lying wounded near his own gate. He ordered the offender to be brought before him, whereupon one of his own soldiers was produced, and by his order was stripped of his uniform and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The Commanding Officer was likewise degraded, and the Minister himself called at the Mission Compound to apologise for the insult offered, expressing himself as exceedingly angry that we, who were his friends, should have been exposed to a public insult. Meanwhile, the carter developed a severe form of blood-poisoning, and his life was despaired of; and in the civil prison lay the soldier, whose life was to be taken

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while 635 the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion 701 that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that 798 we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement:

'The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me!'

'To arrest you!' we exclaimed. 'Impossible! On what plea?'

'I am accused,' he quietly said, 'of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added: 'This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

798 people. I expect you agree with me; I had better go; 635 and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and 701 death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

798 Dr. Kao's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, 697 and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until 692
this system of bribery and corruption should be over- 697
turned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent 798
men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some 701
months previously General Feng's troops had assumed 635
authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

tion comes to an end, and the fertile plain gives way to a 133
sandy waste. Eventually, after some twenty-seven to thirty 487
hours of actual drifting down stream from Chungwei,
exclusive of halts, we reached the walled fort of Hung
Ch'eng, which is, so to speak, the port of Ninghsia, lying [504]
on the right bank at the point where the Great Wall and the
main trail from T'aiyuan *via* Suitê to Ninghsia strike the
Yellow River. Behind it the land rises in sandy uninhabited
downs, the beginning of the Ordos desert. The river is here
about three-quarters of a mile wide and is crossed by a ferry. [491]
Ninghsia lies 40 li inland on the opposite side.

As our ponies had not yet turned up on their overland 487
journey from Chungwei we found ourselves stranded on
the river bank opposite Hung Ch'eng, until the Ninghsia
authorities, learning of our arrival, sent some animals down
to meet us. The trail to Ninghsia leads across a strip of
waste land five li in extent stretching along the river, and
then runs for the rest of the way through irrigated fields,
mostly under rice, traversing several large irrigation channels.
There is probably more rice (though of an inferior kind) [243]
grown on the Yellow River plains between Ninghsia and
Chungwei than anywhere else in China north of the Ch'inling
Shan; but also this was the only region in Kansu where we [136]
were troubled by mosquitoes, the elevation being under
4000 feet. We spent a few days in Ninghsia, being hospitably
entertained by the Mahomedan General and other officials.
It is a large town, and a political and commercial centre of
some importance, but the interior is very dilapidated and
poor-looking. It is the centre of trade with the Mongols 439
of the Ordos and the Alashan (the latter really the name of
a Mongol state rather than a mountain range), chiefly in
wool and sheep and goat skins; a particularly fine lamb- [281]
skin, called *t'anyang p'i* is a noted local product, as well as
felts and carpets. An old Ninghsia rug is of considerable [286]
value anywhere. The local Mahomedan General, Ma Fu- 635
hsiang, who is also a sort of Military Governor of North-
Eastern Kansu, is one of the leading Mahomedans of the
Province, and represents a fine soldierly type of Chinese
Moslem. He served under T'ung Fu-hsiang in Peking in
1900 and commanded the Dowager Empress' escort on the
retreat to Hsian. The Manchus had no more loyal servants

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
• 641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
798 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
*668 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
177 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
795 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial
182 groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
[669] tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

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641 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are
668 many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the
771 spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized,
829 however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological founcation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

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641 The Communists believe that by turning the young people
668 against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when
771 the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Mos-
N
• 641 lems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army
* 668 marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First
771 Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole
795 field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

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641 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist
642 Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his
* 668 "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this
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641 point.
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E. Practices

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Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as
* 668 examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First
423 Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the
578 "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls
873 of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

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Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

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In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Table 5. COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

515

tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

N
*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N
Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
• 641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N
In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S
[175] Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[666] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[668] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[635] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159
Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[70] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he be-
[635] came a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159
For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[206] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159
Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
• 641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment
635 toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159
When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

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642 CONSTITUTION--prevailing system governing the distribution of political power and authority; extent of agreement or disagreement between formal constitutional provisions and actual practice; rights, privileges, and powers assigned or delegated to each organ of government, including the power to alter their distribution; centralization and diffusion of power; constitutional principles (e.g., separation of powers); temporary relaxations or extensions of political authority (e.g., interregnums, war powers); form of the state (e.g., empire, union, federal republic, U.N. trusteeships, colony protectorate); form of rule (e.g., autocratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, theocratic, democratic); type of constitution (e.g., written, unwritten); framing and amending of constitutions; constitutional law; etc. See also:

Family authority	59	Hierarchy of political officials	631
Authority within kin groups	61	Political parties	665
Authority in the community	62	Judicial authority	692
Law	67	Political theory	829

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, S N 563 salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or S N governors and their bureaucracy.

175 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu- • 642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner- 197 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," 631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend- 647 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 659 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese 175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, 631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. 647 Relay stations provided communication between the government [202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

000 state as they may prefer." (point 14, Ibid. p. 22.)

642 Coming to the second state, the Yenan period, the Communists 668 retreated to an almost amiable position. The differences were summarized by a friendly observer as follows: "The basic struc- 666 tural change which distinguishes the Border Region from its pre- 197 decessor lies in the broadening of the electorate. As contrasted with the Soviet election system which was restricted, indirect and unequal, the present system is characterized as universal, direct and equal, and to insure this change the secret ballot is substituted for the hitherto open ballot hand-raising. This means that whereas under the Soviets franchise was limited to workers, farmers and a section of the 'petty bourgeoisie', the new system extends the right to vote to all men or women over eighteen years of age, including landlords and capitalists, except when a person is insane or his political rights have been specifically suspended by court action. The Soviet election was also pyramidal. This means that a voter under the Soviets voted only for delegates to a local soviet, while delegates to an upper Soviet were chosen by the lower Soviets but not by the voter. The new system allows the voter to vote as many times as there are local, county or regional elections for members to the representative body of each grade of geographical division. The segregation of farmer and worker voters and their disproportionate representation under the Soviets are abolished under the new regime and secret or unsigned ballots of citizens of all walks of life in the same territorial unit are counted together without discrimination." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hsü Yung-ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 43.)

Judging by western standards, this was progress toward democracy. But from the Communists' point of view, it was a temporary necessity.

C 642 When the Communists conquered the Northwest in 1949, they 668 found themselves in a much more favorable position than during the war. Hence their "common program" of this stage brought back a 648 lot of the characteristics of the old Soviet Constitution. The Communists made the following points very clear:

N • 642 *668 648

1) The People's Republic of China is a country led by the Communists. Those who refuse to follow this leadership will be crushed and denied all rights (Articles 1 and 7).
2) The Communists are ready to continue the war to the last, at least until Formosa is occupied (Article 2).
3) The Communists will protect the private property only of qualified people, and at any time they can disqualify anybody (Article 3).
4) China must be tied to the U.S.S.R. now and in the future (Article 11).

C 642 With these basic premises, one may understand the real mean- 668 ing of the "struggle for the independence, democracy, peace, uni- N fication and prosperity of China" (Article 1). They also help one to • 642 understand the following analysis.

*668 In the constitution of 1954, the same premise presented in the Common Program is restated. Under this general premise, the study of the constitutional system in northwest China can be carried out under four sub-headings, namely, the general civil rights, the economic rights, the political rights, and the rights of the minority groups.

The Communists always make a great effort to promote their programs. Before and after the establishment of their Constitution, they mobilized all people available to study the Constitution. To do this, study groups were organized everywhere. Discussions were insisted upon. Millions of copies of the draft constitution were distributed.

N 642 In Northwest China, the Communists' effort to publicize the 214 constitution can be seen in their publications. To reach the minority groups, the Constitution was translated into various languages. It is available in Kazakh, Tibetan, Mongolian and Uighur. So are the organic laws of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Local People's Congresses and Councils.

III. Practices Regarding General Civil Rights

C 641 A. Pledges and Exclusions

According to the Common Program of 1949, "the people of the 668 People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, 642 publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations." (Article 5). This, however, does not mean that all will have these rights. The Communist Party may disqualify anyone. Moreover, since the standard of selection changes according to the ebb and flow of political tides inside the Communist Party, it is hard to guarantee that anybody, including Mao Tse-tung himself, always will enjoy these rights.

In the Constitution of 1954, this fact is even more clear. In Article 19 it is stated: "The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's democratic system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

"The state deprives feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of political rights for a specific period of time according to law; at the same time it provides them with a way to earn a living, in order to enable them to perform thorough work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."

In this article the first part refers to traitors and counter-

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*669 The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in
*563 these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate
with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang
Ch'en, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Com-
munists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted
his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed
him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his
family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobil-
ized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally
brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it
had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indi-
cates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists
might like.

N
*669 D. Minority Languages
*562 Besides these general practices of the Communist minority
19 policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of
the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom
*642 to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages."
In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written lan-
guages for those nationalities who had not had a written language
of their own. (A resolution at the 21th meeting of the Government
Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao,
1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a com-
promise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two
new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation,
Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China
Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minori-
ty groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own
written language is created, but even after they have a written
language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo
Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Admin-
istration Council to help the nationalities without a writing language
to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-
26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand,
the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other
hand, they are encouraged, if not required, to learn the Chinese
language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the
drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local
dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority
groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese
language, regardless of the fate of their own.

S
*668 A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was
*563 organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of
19 the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over
fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

N governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
*175 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*563 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
*635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in
Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N A word must be said about the representation of national
*175 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
*562 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
*669 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of
*150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470
persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of muni-
cipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to
800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177
national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing
six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

N The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*175 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
*563 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality
*646 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
*563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
*646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to
one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number
of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The dele-
gates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor
heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational
and technical workers, who, having been elevated to prominence
in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would
maintain nonconformist thought.

N Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
*175 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
*563 mean that the people have been given the right to govern them-
*646 selves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's
Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National
People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers
of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and
execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's
congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and
powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was
"to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of
higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
*563 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*646 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

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Our new encampment stood in a brook bed filled with mighty 563
granite boulders, bordered by high poplars and willow shrubs (Plate 235
LXXVII). Here we were overtaken by the emissary of the dzasak
(banner-leader) of Baran who presented me with a khadag and requested
me to visit the dzasak in the plain, in Baran Kurä, where he was
staying for a month to recite prayers. I promised to go. But since I
had been warned on all sides not to go near the hot, mosquito-
filled plain with my yak bullocks, I first marched south for a whole
day, up the Wulasetä Valley, (1) at the outset of which stood our

1. Ulläsutä, meaning "region of poplars." The "poplar and willow oasis" just before the river emerges into the plain has given it its name. Rockhill, Diary, p. 166; however, is of a different opinion.

precious camp. The region offers little that was attractive or in-
viting. Barren, desolate rubble terraces were to be seen everywhere,
and only after we were a dozen kilometers from the Tsaidam Plain in
the mountain was there finally a scant growth of grass. The cattle
herds of the Mongols were able to find somewhat adequate amounts
of grass only above 4,700 metres, just below the valley we came
upon about twenty yurts of the Jagan nomads. I decided to stay here
and give my caravan animals a somewhat longer rest. The hillocks
were at the end of their strength, in fact, on the last few marches I
had lost four more. Two of them had to be left behind in our last
camp at the mouth of the Wulasetä Valley. /346/ When we were
ready to finish them, we found only their footprints together with
those of a horse's hoofs, leading out into the Tsaidam Plain. They
had been stolen and I never saw them again. (2)

1. Dyoba Dyentsen told me that the dasak himself had had them removed.

On the day after our arrival in this camp, the dasak of Baran 643
visited me in person, to my great astonishment. First a mounted 291
courier came dashing up, behind him came the dasak in the midst
of ten horsemen. A clumsy figure, somewhat over 1.65 meters tall,
an uncouth Caliban as one could see from a distance, stopped 100
centimeters in front of my tent, was assisted to dismount from his
horse, and came toward me. He had just reached the age of 45. He,
as well as his escort, wore the Tibetan gally-colored cadian, except

643 CHIEF EXECUTIVE--type of executive (e.g., paramount chief, king, president); plural executives (e.g., peace chief and war leader, king and chief priest, constitutional monarch and prime minister, triumvirate, executive council); authority (e.g., supreme, nominal, dependent upon personal qualities); prestige (e.g., sanctity of person, divine descent); functions (e.g., administrative, judicial, military, religious); prerogatives; symbols of office, mode of selection (e.g., by election, seniority, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); qualifications (e.g., age, sex, rank, wealth, prowess, piety), installation; termination of tenure (e.g., deposition, expiration of term, killing of divine king); etc. See also:

Executives and succession in the family .	50	Executives and succession in the community	625
Executives and succession in his group . . .	51	Statutory rites	644, 700
Dynastic lists and genealogies	173		

*643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in China in their belts and almost all of them wore red
and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Mancha hats.
I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
73 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dasak pretended he
understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came
out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through
infected areas and he was afraid his yak heads would become infected
if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also im-
plored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken
a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in
this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised
to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and
to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his
call, the dasak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the
plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dasak's visit. He
362 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hunter's distance from me
and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbor. I turned
my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached,
the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white bee-
hive. We greeted each other before the door key deliberately with
low bows, until finally I, as the first person, touched thong, the
wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mon-
gol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. There the
wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba
decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on
gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given flat-glass
tschäos, the dish which had been carefully gathered, and
the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly
tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
(576) When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed
out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last
to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was
able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
(772) priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family
who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I
rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[illegible] of Baran - Analysis

563 entire body of the yak cattle is covered with a thick mat
236 of hair which, on the belly, becomes a foot long and
changes to rather stiff hairs. The wool as well as the
bristles are always pitch-black in wild yaks and usually
so in domestic ones. But after the hairs have been
plucked out and exposed to the weather and to moisture,
they quickly turn a reddish-brown and then resemble old
mammoth-hairs such as one finds in the ice of Siberia;
the mammoths were undoubtedly all raven-black at one
time like the wild yaks.

After a few days of rest three of us, Han, Tsch'eng and I rode
563 toward Baran kurä with only mules and horses. We again traveled
133 down the stony and pathless Wulasetä Valley and then, as a result
of a misunderstanding, set out from the mouth of the valley in a
north-northwest direction into the plain. Thus it happened that
when we again met human beings we were in Dun, that is, in the
territory of the banner-commandery of Dun which was west of Baran. Be-
hind a 10 kilometer-wide, barren belt of rubble known as the schala,
which embraces the foot of the mountain, there is a zone of dunes
scarcely one kilometer wide following the southern border of
Tsaidam; then there is a more or less wooded zone consisting of
tamarisk, and finally, beyond this, the pasture land, the zone
where /348/ the water that has come down from the mountains and is
absorbed by the schala, gushes out again, irrigating and making
the ground fertile once more before it loses itself in sterile salt
swamps toward the middle of the Tsaidam basin.

Here in Dun I again tried to add to my herd of sheep, but no
643 one had the courage to do business with me. It is the custom in all
441 five dominions of the Tibetan Mongols that the rulers have a sort of
business monopoly in their territory. Their subjects may carry on
business with a stranger only when the ruler has covered his needs
or if he expressly permits it. Dyoba Dyentsen, too, first had to get
permission from the dasak to sell me his animals.

101 Because the dasak of Dun lived too far off my route, I myself
221 did not visit him. It is said to live in a fortified estate in the mid-
dle of his country. His domain is about 40 kilometers long and 5
kilometers wide and consists of fertile pasture land. Belonging to
it is also an area of wasteland extending over many days' marches.
The Dun (140 families with one squadron) graze their herds only
in the plains, in the narrow zone between the dunes on the edge of
the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this.

586 they are considered man and wife, and the woman then gets a
dowry from her family. If she is no longer satisfied with the union,
she may choose a new spouse at any time. The children who im-
mediately after birth are given some animals from the herd, remain
with the wife. Often the women change husbands so frequently or
837 have so many lovers at once that one is tempted to speak of polyandry
or pungmy.

The town of Baran kurä lies between swamps and in the middle
361 of a scrubby wood. It consists of a few miserable huts, and crumbled
gazer of which there is just enough left so that one can see they are
Chinese in style, and chiefly of the dasak's houses enclosed by an
extensive courtyard. (1) The buildings of the town serve the Baran

1. Rockhill, Diary, p. 165, discovered that the town was built as late as 1846 and was largely destroyed around 1896 at the command of the one-time major domo of the dasak, Dowe, because the house owners refused to pay taxes to the dasak.

chiefly as storage places for everything which they cannot take along
on their frequent journeys. Among the permanent residents, there
are only a lot of old women as well as old men who no longer care
to live with their families, besides Chinese merchants who are in
Sibi, and orphans who have been forgotten by their parents.

We had arrived in time to be present at the dasak's court. After we had set up
643 our tent and got settled, we were invited to have tea in the dasak's
942 reception room. This was a low room measuring three by four
574 meters. The dasak sat down on a thick cushion on the rear wall,
while at his right sat an elderly lama from the Gum bum lamastery,
a Mongol from East Mongolia, who was the priest of the house. The
rest of us sat on cushions arranged in a circle around the coal brazier which stood in the
middle of the room. I was seated alongside the lama. To the left
of the dasak sat his brother who was also a lamaistic priest, beside
him sat the wife of the dasak, and farther down, near the door, my
companions and the prince's retinue. The room was more than
simple. The walls, like those of all the houses of the village, con-
sisted of stamped loess-loam and dried bricks, and the furnishings
consisted of a few cupboards of the most slovenly kind of Chinese
workmanship and dirty, pulo-canvas-covered pillows that served
as seats. The room was lighted by the door opening and a small
latticed opening without a paper window, high up on the wall.

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my
weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes,
the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulaserä
Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was
obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-
mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung
and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and
my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols
were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetans show very little
respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict
etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince,
he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half
kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains stand-
ing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand
and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the
princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en-
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable [423]
land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form
of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may
pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re-
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and [792]
gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only
source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his
warehouse in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-
skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from
India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-
antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials,
boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the
Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

643

792 lamas gathered in it, in order to read the Kandyur. (Plate LXXIX).
346 Beside the yurt there were deep holes dug, in which buckeetful of
tea and thick, glutinous barley soup were cooked for the lamas and
the many visitors who came for these prayer recitations.

000 Among the visitors was Dowe who had accompanied Rockhill to
K'am in 1889. His eye disease which had set in shortly after his
journey with Rockhill had in the meantime become so bad that he
was almost blind. Two men who accompanied Kozlov on his jour-
ney to K'am also visited me and offered me their services. But they
demanded such a high salary that I was unable to take them along.
They boastfully told of the attack on Kozlov's caravan not far from
Tsiamdo, in which 32 Tibetans were supposed to have fallen, and
they spoke as though they had been the deliverers. (1) In the year

1. See in this connection, Kozlov, Mongolia i Tsam, St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. II.

1909 this same courtyard of the Barun dsassak /351/ formed the base of Colonel Kozlov's expedition. Two Cossacks guarded the camel caravan while Kozlov journeyed to K'ang. The traces of this expedition were still clearly visible. In the room next to the reception-room the dsassak showed me, with a shake of his head, the place where the large Russian stove which the Cossacks built, had stood. Even the wooden tower for meteorological observations was still intact. The people were unable to rest for a minute, the dsassak observed, and in their feverish activity they opened the large well shaft in the courtyard. (1) However, today this well yields only

1. I was told apropos of the attack on the two Cossacks, that they had been ghosts one night and shot blindly into the darkness. But there was no enemy. Perhaps the Mongols themselves wanted to steal?

brackish, polluted water. One finds good, salt-free drinking water only a good quarter-hour from Kurä. A solitary rooster had meanwhile made his home in the wooden meteorological tower. The dsassak had brought him along only as an alarm-clock in the morning. He and his fellow-tribesmen, like the Tibetans, never ate eggs. So the hens had been left behind in China. (2)

2. The banner of the Barun dsassak has only one squadron

643

and consists mainly of Khoshot. The family of the 643
dsassak stems from Tseren Khatan Batur, the younger
brother of Gushi Khan. The incumbents of the office of
dsassak became taidshi of the first class for the first
time in 1725 and the office is hereditary since 1782.
Nineteen of the twenty-one Khoshot banners of the Koko
Nor belong to descendants of Gushi Khan, one (Taidschinär)
to the descendants of the older brother of Gushi, one
(Barun) to the descendants of the younger brother.

Very near to the dsassak's houses lived a brother and a cousin of 167
my servant Han. They were two Dungan who had fled here in 1896
from the Hsining territory when the rebellion was quelled and the
Dungan emigrated en masse. They had lost their fortunes during the 000
war and became subjects of the Barun dsassak. Both of them had now
taken Mongolian wives and established a household. We stayed a
night with one of them, and I was touched to see how Han, at the re-
quest of his clan and all the Bambu Mohammedans, tried to persuade
the brother and cousin to return home. In our honor a sheep had been
picked out of the herd and my Han was entrusted with killing it ac-
cording to Mohammedan rites. Everything Buddhistic had been re-
moved from the yurt in our honor. The two pseudo-Mongols had at
the first unsuspected meeting, shamefully removed the amulets which
they wore around their throats according to lamaistic custom, and
put them in their pockets. The Mongolian wife made no effort to
hide her displeasure at her husband's conduct and at his sudden shame
before his Mohammedan brother, as though their Buddhistic gods
were not as good as the god of Islam. She sat idly in her tent beside
me and made a sullen face, letting her husband take care of all the
hospitality alone. She was naked to the waist because of the heat.
A half dozen small leather pouches and a small bronze Buddha shrine
hung down to her ample breasts. Her small, four-year-old son was
her only comfort in her anger. He kept running up to slake his thirst
at his mother's breast.

My servant Han spoke Chinese which the Mongol woman did not
understand and /352/ tried all his powers of persuasion. "You are
living in wedlock here with a dirty Fan po, we Mohammedans shall
get you a clean woman from among our people in the lowlands." -
"The Mongolian woman presented me with a lovely little boy whom
I do not like to leave." - "When you die they will expose your body

644

644 EXECUTIVE HOUSEHOLD--executive residence and domestic establishment; guards, servants, and retainers; court personnel (e.g., number, characteristics, mode of selection, activities, prerogatives); court etiquette and ceremonial; special status and functions of executive's relatives; etc. See also:
Public buildings . . . . . 344 Royalty or a social class 568
Manipulative nobility . . . . . 587 Palace intrigue 602

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European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
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645 CABINET--ministers and informal advisers to the chief executive; constitutionally elaborated cabinets; specialized cabinet functions (e.g., foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, internal and colonial administration, postal affairs, agriculture, industry, transportation, commerce, education); selection of ministers; authority, activities, and prerogatives of each; relation to parliament and political parties; cabinet meetings; etc. See also:
Government economy . . . . . 68 Political behavior 68

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
697 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available
to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies
in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with
the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
635 the National Government established a Ministry of Social
697 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
697 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, or-
phans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
445 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
697 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly ex-
perimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety
of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained,
in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest;
57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ningsia,
which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (17)
and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several
dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the
Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
659 some religious and humanitarian bodies and formed the Chi-
697 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission
was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations
were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and
1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of
Kansu and Ningsia were largely used for the resettlement of
and the actual work of reclamation projects by disaster victims of
Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included
659 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
697 were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[illegible] Hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[illegible] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War
Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H.
Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien,
Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded
Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association;
one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and con-
valescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing
services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
747 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

407

C 641 668 771 829 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is , "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological founcation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C 641 668 771 The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. N 641 *668 771 795 In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

N 641 •642 *668 C 641 642 668 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

N *668 423 578 873 Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsueh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec- *668 625 647 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central [645] headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern- [647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also [645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for- [648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 625 708 726 The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

646

646 PARLIAMENT--presence of deliberative or legislative bodies; type (e.g., council of headmen, popular assembly, oligarchical junta, elective legislature); number of houses (e.g., unicameral legislature, bicameral congress, three estates); membership qualifications; selection (e.g., appointment, election, succession); principle of representation; tenure (e.g., life, term, until deposed or recalled); powers and prerogatives; functions (e.g., advisory, legislative); organization; procedure (e.g., introduction, debating, passage of bills); special legislative provisions (e.g., executive veto, judicial review, popular referendum); etc. See also:

Comparable bodies in subordinate political divisions 63
Comparable bodies in the community 623
Electoral process 666
Statute law 671

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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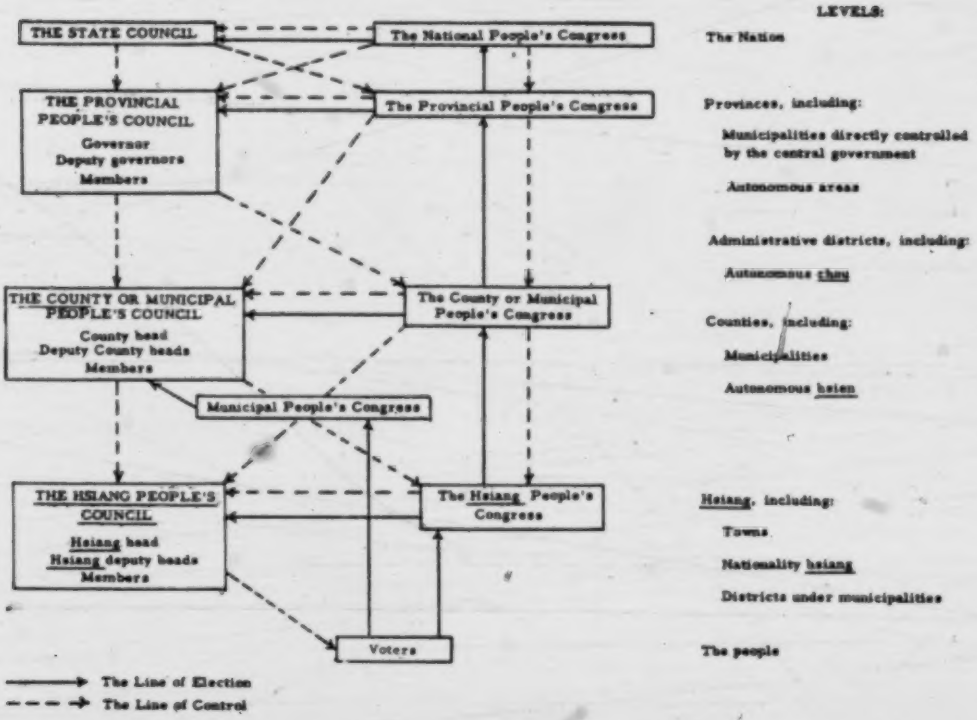
TABLE VI

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



following page 474 (e)

N *175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N *175 A word must be said about the representation of national
*563 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
666 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
646 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

N *175 The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*563 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
646 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
S 175 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
563 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
646 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

N Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
642 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
631 mean that the people have been given the right to govern them-
646 selves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

647

647 ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES--special bureaus, institutions, boards, and commissions charged with conducting the activities of the state; responsibility (e.g., to chief executive, to cabinet officers, to parliament); organization, personnel, and authority of each agency; civil service; bureaucracy and its characteristics; public administration; etc. See also:

Comparable agencies in subordinate political divisions 63
Activities of these agencies 65
Government officials as an occupational class. . 463
Comparable agencies in the community 624
Administrative law 671

S N The newest
311 development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only
563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking
175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu-
642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-
177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang,"
631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The
S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks
[668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist
[565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various
175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk,
631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue";
795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend-
649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi,
657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the
S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese
175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi,
631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc.
649 Relay stations provided communication between the government
[202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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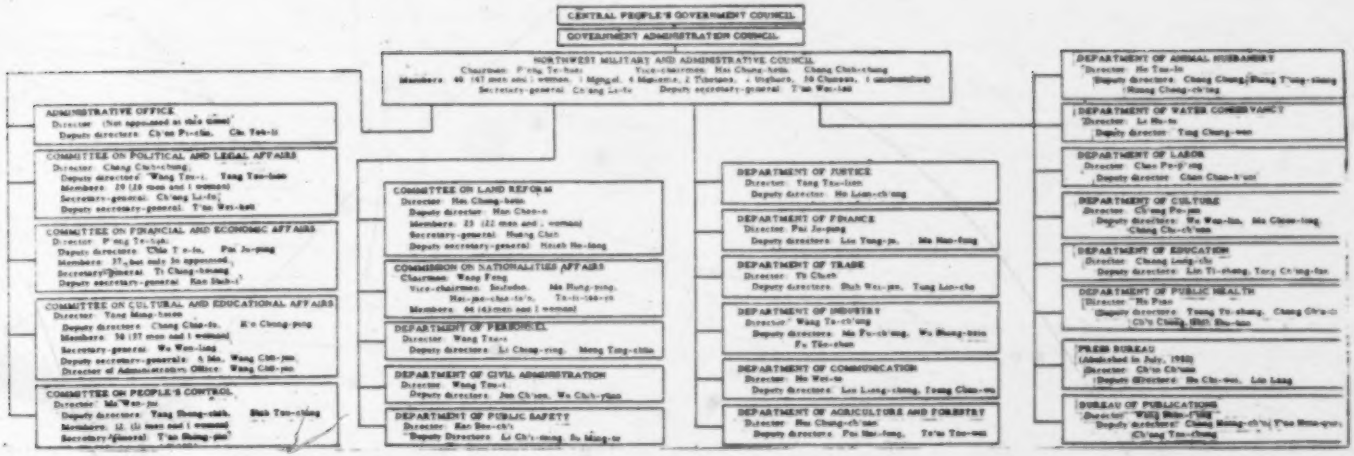
TABLE I

THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL OF NW MAC IN 1952



*175 Department of Finance;
*668 Department of Trade;
631 Department of Industry;
• 647 Department of Communications;
Department of Agriculture and Forestry;
Department of Animal Husbandry;
Department of Water Conservancy;
Department of Labor;
Department of Cultural Affairs;
Department of Education;
Department of Public Health;
Press Bureau (abolished in July, 1952);
Bureau of Publications

d. drawbacks

With the gradual consolidation of the central government, the all-powerful Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions became less and less desirable, and the traditional conflict between the central and the regional forces became more and more significant. This situation reached a climax on November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution to change the structure and the function of the Military and Administrative Councils. It was stated that the change was necessary for strengthening the leadership of the Central People's Government in its new responsibilities of nation-wide economic and cultural reconstruction. The power of the provincial and municipal governments was to be strengthened, while that of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions was to be curtailed. At that time these decisions were made:

C. Reorganization

(1) to organize all the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions into Administrative Councils. Each council was to function as an agent representing the central People's Government to guide and check the local governments.

(2) to preserve the Administrative Office and the four committees on Political and Legal Affairs, Financial and Economic Affairs, Cultural and Educational Affairs, and People's Control under the People's Government Councils (or the Military and Administrative Councils) of the administrative regions.

(3) to reduce the original departments to bureaus and offices. Some of these new bureaus and offices were to be put under the direct control of the related ministries of the central People's Government.

This reorganization was to be accomplished before the end of 1952, but the actual reorganization of the Northwest Military and

*175 Administrative Council was not completed until January 27, 1953.
*668 P'eng Te-huai was released from his post as chairman of the
631 Northwest Military and Administrative Council with a new assign-
• 647 ment to command the Chinese Volunteer Corps in Korea, with the title of vice-premier of the Government Administration Council.

After this, the final step in abolishing the whole system of the administrative regions and their administrative bodies became almost insignificant. By a resolution in the thirty-second meeting of the central People's Government Council, formal abolition was achieved on June 19, 1954.

II. The Provincial and Other Lower Level Governments

*175 A. Relationship to Regional Government
*668 The provincial governments traditionally have been important
635 links in the Chinese governmental system. During the decades prior to the Communist victory, when the regional power groups had become extremely influential, this fact was even more true. After the Communists took over, however, the power of the provincial government was temporarily weakened by the establishment of the administrative regions. When the Government Administration Council passed the Organizational Regulations of the Provincial People's Governments on January 6, 1950, the provincial governments were reduced almost to instruments of the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions. The first article of these regulations mentioned that the people of a province would execute their political power through the provincial people's congress. The second article promised that the provincial government, including the governor, would be elected by the provincial people's congress. However, the second section of Article 2, had most significance. It stated:

"In the first stage of liberation, for the sake of a speedy establishment of a revolutionary order, the provincial People's Government Council should be nominated by the government Administration Council, subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council; or by the People's Government Council of the administrative region... subject to the approval and appointment of the Central People's Government Council."

The appointed term of the provincial People's Government Council was two years. But through reappointments, the same provincial People's Government Council could be continued indefinitely.

1. authority

In the same regulations, the provincial People's Government Councils were given authority similar to that of the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions. For instance,

000 almost every phase of their lives.

*668 The functions of the people's councils, reveal the contradictory
631 character of the Communist system of local government. The
182 Councils are responsible for carrying out decisions of the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, but they also have to carry out all decisions and orders from higher level government organs. The people's councils are the servants of the people, but they also are entrusted with stopping the execution of inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lowest level. This power is especially significant since the higher people's councils must decide what decisions are inappropriate.

c. bureaus, offices and commissions

*668 The Organic Law for local governments states that the provin-
• 647 cial people's councils may establish the following bureaus, offices,
635 or commissions according to local needs:
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(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;
(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Industry;
(9) Commerce;
(10) Transportation and Communications;
(11) Agriculture and Forestry;
(12) Water Conservancy;
(13) Labor;
(14) Culture;
(15) Education;
(16) Public Health;
(17) Physical Culture;
(18) Administrative Office.

[563] In areas where there are minority groups, the councils may also add a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

So far, no material is available concerning the actual structure of the northwestern provinces under the new law. However, it is known that the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs and the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs have been abolished.

*668 Under the new law, the municipal people's council may estab-
647 lish the following bureaus, offices, or commissions:
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(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Safety;
(3) Justice;
(4) Supervision;
(5) Planning;

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(6) Finance;
(7) Food;
(8) Taxation;
(9) Industry;
(10) Commerce;
(11) Labor;
(12) Culture;
(13) Education;
(14) Public Health;
(15) Physical Culture;
(16) Municipal Construction;
(17) Public Utilities;
(18) Administrative Office.

In areas where there are minority groups they may also establish a Commission on Nationalities Affairs.

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The county people's councils may establish, according to need, the following divisions or bureaus:

(1) Civil Affairs;
(2) Public Security;
(3) Finance;
(4) Food;
(5) Taxation;
(6) Industry and Commerce;
(7) Agriculture and Forestry;
(8) Transportation and Communications;
(9) Culture and Education;
(10) Public Health;
(11) Administrative Office.

The people's councils of the hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns may establish, according to need, the following working committees:

(1) Civil Affairs
(2) Public Security;
(3) Armed Forces;
(4) Production and Cooperation;
(5) Finance and Taxation;
(6) Culture and Education;
(7) Mediation.

Members of the local people's congresses and other suitable individuals are encouraged to serve on these working committees.

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D. Comparison with Nationalist Organization

If this system is compared with the system of local governments under the Nationalists, the following differences can be noted:

(1) The Nationalists adopted the council system only at the provincial level.

(2) Under the Nationalists, the heads of the provincial bureaus and

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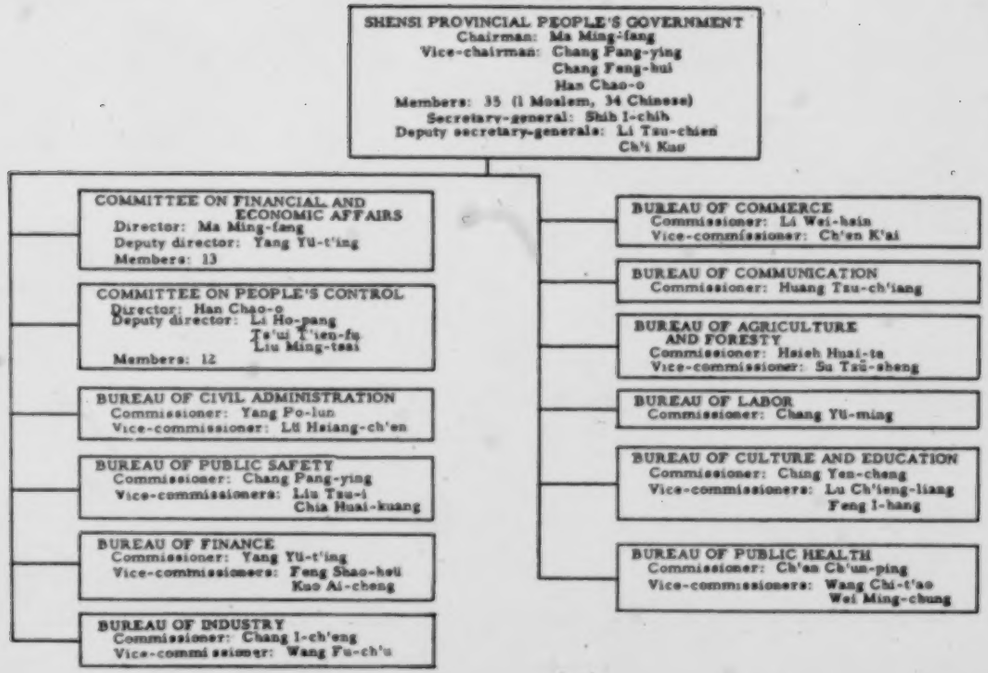
TABLE II



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S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 47 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

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a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

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b. functions

Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

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After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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TABLE III

KANSU PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Teng Pao-shan
Vice-chairmen: Wang Shih-t'ai
Chang Te-sheng
Ma Hung-ping (Moslem)
Members: 25 (5 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 18 Chinese)
Secretary-general: Ch'en Ch'eng-i
Vice-secretary-generals: Hsüeh Ch'eng
Sheng Ch'iu-wo

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Shih-t'ai
Members: 9

COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Sun Cho-ping
Members: 13 (12 men and 1 woman)

BUREAU ON CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: Li P'ei-fu
Vice-commissioners: Wei Tsü-yu
Hsien Wei-ch'ün

BUREAU ON PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: Li P'u-shan
Vice-commissioner: Liu Lan-t'ing

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Ma Hung-ping
Vice-chairmen: Fan Ming,
Ma Ch'ing-nien
Members: 18

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Huang Ching-po
Vice-commissioner: Ma Nan-feng

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY
Commissioner: Yang I-mu
Vice-commissioner: T'ien P'ei-ming

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Yü Chien-hsin
Vice-commissioner: Shih Ting-hsin

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Yang Tzü-heng
Vice-commissioner: Li Cheng-h'ua

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: Hsieh Lan-ping
Vice-commissioners: Huang Cheng-ch'ing
Lu Wei-kung
Ma P'ei-lieh

BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
Commissioner: Hsin An-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Ma Chi-ch'uan
Liu Hai-sheng

BUREAU OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Commissioner: Liu Yün-chung

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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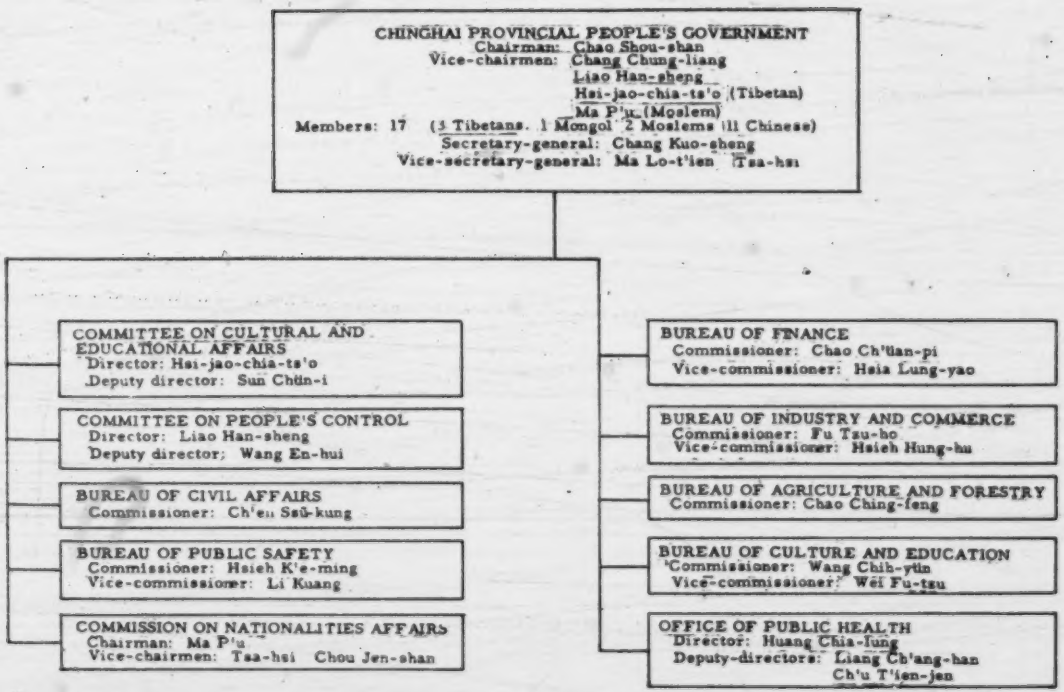
TABLE IV



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*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
625 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of
• 647 organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also
[645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to
625 weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
708 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies.
726 Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

000 areas.

*668 625 Although there are so many different branches in the whole police system, final control still rests in the hands of the "Party Central."

*668 625 649 Before the abolition of the Northwest Region there was a Northwest Regional Public Security Department in charge of the regular police in the area. From June 19, 1954, when the Department, together with the Northwest Administrative Committee was abolished, the provincial Public Security Bureaus, in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang gained increased prominence. Start-
[631] ing with the provincial level, there is an office of Public Security at every level. The Sub-Bureau (or Station) is the Public Security Office at the ch'ü (district) level; the sub-station is at the hsiang level, while the public security group is the lowest open office.

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648 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries with other states; relations between sovereign and dependent powers; determination of foreign policy (e.g., influence of domestic affairs); establishing, maintaining, and breaking diplomatic relations; foreign services (e.g., consular, diplomatic); specialized personnel (e.g., ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, military attachés, consuls); prerogatives (e.g., diplomatic immunity); activities of consuls and diplomats; transmission of intelligence and diplomatic messages; negotiation of treaties, military alliances, foreign aid programs and trade agreements; economic sanctions (e.g., embargoes); adherence to international conventions; international law; peaceful settlement of disputes between states (e.g., arbitration, special peace tribunals); relations with international political organizations (e.g., United Nations); international power politics; peacetime espionage; etc. See also:

War 72
Codes and ciphers 302
Foreign trade 439
Travel 484
International sports 542
Behavior toward strangers and aliens 609
Informal intergroup justice 628
Dependencies 636
Punishment of espionage 687

S N 489 Only since 1930 have some automobile high-
S N 496 ways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation
S 648 with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway,
S 668 linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without
S 175 doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and
[491] above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols
S 563 (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders
S 657 of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia
S 175 and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until
S N the Communists came into power.

S 563 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the
S 657 course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed:
S 175 the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to simply them.

S 631 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province
S 635 of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after
S 175 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia,
S 657 Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as de-
S 175 pendencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of
S 647 the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
S 657 cases of the frontier area.

S 175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
S 647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
S 657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
S 563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N 175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
S 657 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
S 563 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
S 669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

S 631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
S 619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N 175 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
S 631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
S 668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
S 178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
S 619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
S 648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

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*175 to the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo.
487 During the centuries when China faced the land frontier of the
Northwest and the Silk Road was the main channel of China's inter-
S course with the outside world, the target of China's imperialistic
175 expansion, when strong, was the domination of the petty states of
481 Central Asia. The principal strategic pass that must be held to
prevent invading armies from pouring in and ravaging China, in
periods of weakness and division, was Yü-men, the Jade Gate,
in northwestern China.

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17 B. Recurring Cycles of Nomadic Eruptions

As the advance and recession of Chinese power in Turkestan reflected the vigor and the decline of Chinese dynasties,(a feature of Chinese history discussed in the historical section of the General Handbook), so were the outbursts and withdrawals of the nomads the manifestations of their activity and passivity. The juxtaposition and interaction of the Chinese scheme of advance and withdrawal with the nomadic scheme shaped the dynamics and course
S of history of Northwest China. Together with Inner Mongolia,
(131) Sinkiang forms a broad semicircular belt, which marks the marginal zone between China and the steppes and is the amphitheater for the vast age-long struggle between the sedentary and nomadic peoples.

N 1. Earliest invasions
*175 The alternate thrust of the nomads into this marginal zone,
648 at times even penetrating into the heartland of China, and their
retraction into the steppes, have been a recurring phenomenon
S in the history of Central Asia. With tidal regularity, the nomads
175 have surged forth when China was weak and divided, only to ebb
648 when China was strong and united. As far back as the eighth century B.C., when China was beginning to disintegrate into warring states, there were invasions of China by the north and northwestern peoples called Ti and Jung. In Central Asia there was the expansion of the Scythians. From the third to the first century B.C., the confederacy of nomads led by the Hsiung-nu or Huns were active in China's Northwest. During this same period Central Asia was overrun first by the Greeks of Alexander's army, then by the Yüeh-chih and, further east, by the Sakas and Wu-sun. The defense measures of the Ch'in dynasty and the military advance of the Chinese during the Han dynasty in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., held the Huns in check and finally succeeded in splitting up the Hun confederation.

2. Turkic incursions

From the fourth to the seventh centuries, with China weak and divided, the border peoples from China's northern and northwestern frontiers breached China's defenses. First in dribbles and then in raging torrents they occupied the northwest and poured

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*175 into China to establish militaristic states in North China. The
648 aggregation of invaders included the Huns, the Hsien-pi, the Juan-
S juan, the Toba, and the Tibetans. But the dominant group to
175 emerge was the Turks, who eventually ruled an extensive terri-
648 tory stretching from Mongolia to the Urals. Once more China, reunited under the Sui dynasty, was able to hold off the nomads. Under the T'ang dynasty the Chinese were able to advance into the domain of the nomads and to destroy the Turkish federation.

By the ninth century, as China declined in power, the nomadic peoples on the northern rim of the Chinese empire came into their own again. The situation appeared to be a repetition of what had happened at least twice before. The decline of the Chou had been followed by the disintegration of China into warring states (cycle one); the collapse of Han had ushered in the Three Kingdoms and the North and South Dynasties (cycle two). Now, with the fall of T'ang, there came the chaotic Five Dynasties and the division of China again into the north and south (cycle three). In each successive stage, the extent of nomadic power was greater than in the previous one. In the first period of division, both northern and southern states were primarily Chinese; in the second stage of division, the northern states were non-Chinese while the southern states were Chinese; but in the third stage, at first the northern states were alien and the southern state (Sung) Chinese, but later the northern invaders (Mongols) succeeded in conquering all of China.

3. Mongol expansion

In the period following the fall of Tang, peoples from Manchuria, Khitans and Juchens, as well as peoples from Turkestan, such as the Sha-t'o (or Chöl) Turks, poured into China. In the Northwest, the Western Turks and their offshoots, the Qarluqs the the Uighurs, were active. Later, some of the Khitans, ousted from North China, also established themselves in Turkestan. Here too, the Arabs, who had penetrated Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries, were influential. But the most powerful were the Mongols who, having united the tribes of Mongolia into a vast confederation of nomadic people in a series of sanguinary wars, in the 13th century embarked on a career of conquest that was to include all of Asia and part of Europe.

The Chinese, in their resurgence under the Ming dynasty, did not recover Turkestan. Central Asia remained in the grip of the later Mongols, from the Timurid dynasty in Persia, through the descendants of the Chagatai princes in Turkestan, to the Oirats in Northwestern China, the last of whom by the mid fifteenth century, were bold enough to make forays into China. The 17th century saw the rise to power of the Oirats who dominated vast areas of Mongolia and Turkestan. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was the power of the Oirat confederacy broken and China,

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
648 4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction
Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
175 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on
648 the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

N S 5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions
175 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad
121 eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal?
648 A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

N 175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive desiccation of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C.E.P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

N S a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the
175 phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."
121 The most important of the multiple influences is believed to
648 be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the
132 climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile
114 enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate
182 becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

N S A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of
175 the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food
(233) was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses,
(242) and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

N S
175 The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of
121 mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.
648 Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral econ-
(111) omy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle can-
(704) not graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats.
(235) Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

N S 6. Summary
175 In summary, the workings of the historical process represented
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105 in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one
175 set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our under-
● 648 standing of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a
182 rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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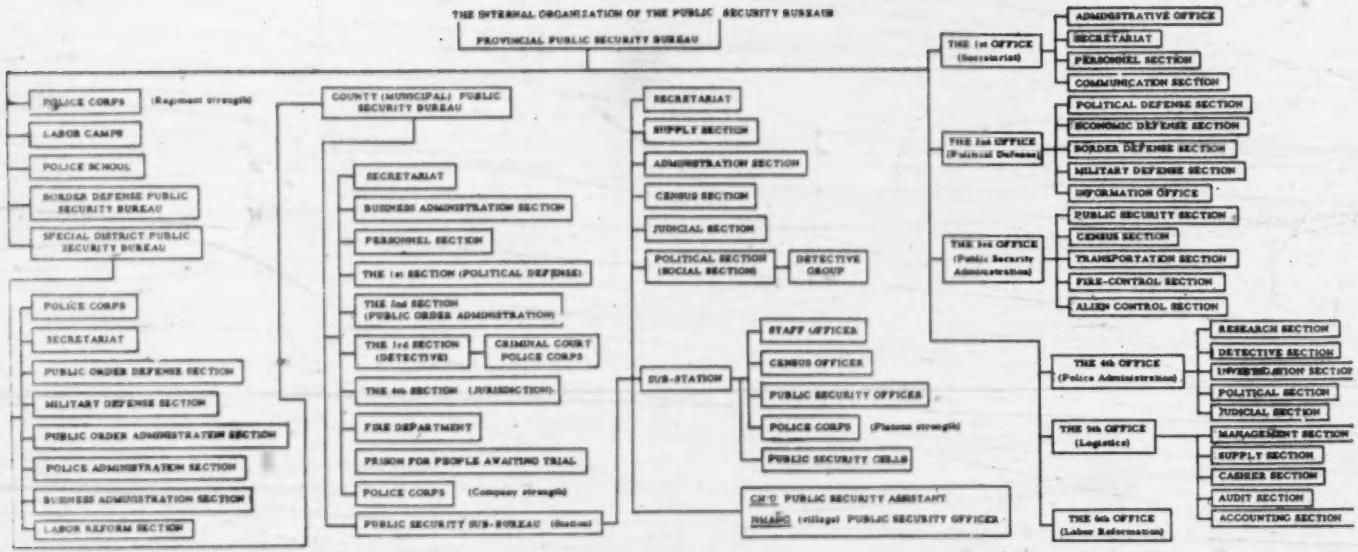
CHART II.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAUS



following page 537

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S [441] A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

614 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
K 563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

N 315 S [315] new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. S 315 [648] [433] Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 S [315] Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

315 the factors that should soon turn the once poor and desolate expanses of the Northwest into a major industrial area. At the National Petroleum Exhibition, held in Peking in December 1951, an illuminated chart showed that the Northwest is one of the principal sources of oil in the country. (China is rich in oil, China Reconstructs, No. 2, May-April, 1952).

Oil Development in Shensi:

In 1925, Mr. Brouyard, Chief Engineer of the Cheng-tai Railway (a branch of the Peking-Hankow Railway - from Cheng-ting in West Hopei to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi province), in making a survey for a proposed line from Taiyuan to Sian, the capital of Shensi, explored the petroliferous region east of Yenan, along the Yen-shui and the ravines, locally known as "petroleum ravines," above and below Yen-ch'ang in northern Shensi. An oil plant has been established in Yen-ch'ang, but the cost of transport has confined its market to the adjacent area in Shensi. The present plant at Yen-ch'ang is small and poor, even for handling the small amount of crude oil produced there. Some deposits of oil shale are found in the southern part of the province, in the districts of Pao-chang and Chung-shan.

The North Shensi Basin lies in the north of that province, [131] roughly between thirty-five and forty North Latitude and 107 and 111 East Longitude. The boundary on the east is the Huang-ho or Yellow River, and the oil seepages lie in that part of the basin south of the Great Wall in the valleys of Yen-shui, Lo-ho, and Wei-ho rivers. In Yen-ch'ang, from [648] 1907 to 1914, the Chinese drilled several shallow wells, and from 1914 to 1916 the Standard Oil Company of New York drilled two wells to 1,950 feet and 2,700 feet. This company also drilled five other wells in the basin in the three years they were there, the deepest being 3,500 feet, but results were not satisfactory. After this the Chinese drilled some thirty more wells, but none yielded much oil. Because of the smallness of the seepages and the unfavoragle geological structures, the basin cannot be considered promising. (See Table 1.) 1

Oil Development in Kansu:

The oil reserves of Kansu province are among the richest in the country. China's biggest oil field, Yümen, is located in the northwestern part of the province, and the largest production at present comes from the Shih-you-ho plant. A long sinuous basin stretches some 700 miles northwest with a width of some 100 miles in the east part and from a few miles to sixty miles in the west. Mountain masses border the basin on the northeast [133] and southwest. The oil beds are located in loose sandstones and conglomerates of upper Cretaceous and lower Tertiary age. Possibly the oil originated in Permian or Jurassic formations,

1. [See p. 128--Analyst]

315 and more oil sands may be found in the sands between the
[133] source beds and the present shallow reservoirs, which would increase the reserves a great deal. Oil seepages have been discovered at Wen-chu-shan, south of Chung-yüan (36.37 by 104.32), Shan-hsien-tzu, south of Yung-teng (36.44 by 103.24); Ching-tu-chen, north of Yung-cheng (38.17 by 102.07) and near Yü-men (40.15 by 97.13). Only one oil field has been developed in this basin - the Shih-you-ho, southwest of Yü-men at approximately 39.46 by 97.33 and near the last seepage.

[648] In 1937 the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company sent a party of geologists in to examine the field. After a study of its report the Chinese Government decided to develop the Shih-you-ho anticline. Actual drilling started in February, 1939, on the crest of the anticline near the oil seepage and sent to 492 feet and produced twenty barrels a day from two small oil sands. A second well nearby to a depth of 656 feet gave thirty-five barrels a day. These wells were drilled on the floor of the canyon by two small cable rigs and a small boiler. Then two rotary drills with Diesel engines were brought in from the coal mines. Nineteen holes in all were drilled up to
[433] March, 1944, the deepest being near 1,400 feet. Number 18 well at 1,313 feet came in with 10,000 barrels a day, but blew out cratering the hole. On account of small refinery capacity, only 4,000 barrels of crude could be handled a day. Until a larger and better refinery can be brought in, the wells now drilled supply the crude oil needed. The oil is a paraffin base, with 15.5 percent paraffin content, which is difficult to handle at low temperatures in that part of the country. It is impossible to estimate the potential reserves at present, but the extent of the anticlinal structure offers great promises. A geologist who visited the field in 1943 said that there may be twenty-six to forty-six million barrels of recoverable oil in the pool.
[133] Within the radius of eighteen miles of this field are three other anticlinal structures in the Tertiary sediments that warrant investigation. Other likely structures will probably be discovered as the basin is thoroughly examined.

315 The production of oil at the Yü-men field increased to
433 4,000,000 gallons in 1946. With the completion of thirteen construction projects in early 1955, its production has been considerably increased as well as greatly improved in the refining process of the oil produced. According to press reports, the Yü-men oil fields reported over-fulfillment of production targets for the first quarter of 1955. The oil fields administration stated that output targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel, and lubricating oil and other items were surpassed by seven to fifty-one percent in the first quarter. (NCNA, April 14, 1955). It was also said that a number of the newly-completed projects

S N 316 [648] Sinkiang. The discovery of uranium and some other fissionable materials has been reported there. While rumors that Sinkiang is being built up into an ataomic arsenal for Russia remain to be confirmed, nevertheless it seems to be of particular strategic importance in the building up of a joint Sino-Soviet Inner Asian fortress.

S N 315 [648] Under a previous Sin-Soviet agreement concluded in 1937, the U.S.S.R. carried out prospecting and drilling in regard to petroleum exploitation. Fields were discovered in several localities, and a refinery was built at the Wu-su field, which, completed in 1940, had a daily capacity of a thousand barrels. This refinery was closed, however, in 1943. The largest field discovered to date, some forty miles in length, is located at An-chi-hai. No estimate of reserves is available at present, but on the basis of known fields and producing wells, Sinkiang has China's most extensive and abundant reserves, far outstripping those of Shensi, Kansu and Szechwan. Moreover, the oil from Sinkiang bores is reportedly of better quality than that found in other provinces in the Northwest.

S 315 316 648 Before the Sino-Soviet Agreement of Moscow on March 27, 1950, the mineral exploitation of Sinkiang was carried out sporadically and on a very small scale, with inefficient local mining methods predominating. Under the terms of the 1950 Moscow Agreements, a joint Sino-Russian petroleum company was formed with Russian-supplied technicians and equipment to undertake prospecting, surveying, working, and refining or petroleum and gas. Two other similar corporations were also organized to explore and exploit the non-ferrous and rare metals. By agreement the products of the corporation were to be divided equally between China and the U.S.S.R., as well as running expenses and profits. Leadership of the corporations was to be assumed by representatives of the two contracting parties in rotation for periods of three years and the corporations were to be staffed by an equal number of citizens from each of the two countries. The agreements were supposed to be valid for thirty years. (China Weekly Review, July 1, 1950, p. 82). It has been reported that all three Sino-Soviet joint corporations have been transferred to Chinese ownership, although with Russian advisers, since the beginning of 1955. At the same time, the Peking Government, together with Sinkiang authorities, sent out three large survey teams to search for new mineral deposits.

N 135 Northwest China has a great variety of minerals, only a few of which have been even partially developed. In addition to the rich oil fields of both Kansu, Sinkiang, and possibly Shensi, and the abundant coal deposits of these three provinces, other recently discovered minerals are as follows: rich copper deposits

000 N *175 635 S 175 635 civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S 175 648 635 In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

N *175 648 635 In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

S N 635 162 The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

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N E. Population Problems

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
669 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
648 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
175 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

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642 2. The Uighur Autonomy
177 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
[668] the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

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167 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
708 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
466 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

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642 "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
668 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
177 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bâtur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
• (648) turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
(795) tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
(669) Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

N 795 Nity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the asso-
*668 ciation was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.
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S 795 In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in
668 China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cul-
177 tural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

N 795 3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant atti-
• 648 tude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization
*668 of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both
177 domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say
N that they were permitted to observe their festivals.
[793] Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In
• 648 April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from
*668 forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce
177 the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations,
793 they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist
798 the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has
*668 been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist
177 regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to
798 become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted
*668 the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the
177 enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism,
795 not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslave-
• 648 ment of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May
*668 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The
177 American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in
795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had
*668 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination
177 over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples
641 of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official
*668 documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Com-
177 mon Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

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575 ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Com-
668 munists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over
177 and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

S
217 It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders
668 and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sin-
177 kiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

N
20 VII. Organization
105 The organizational system of public information in the North-
west appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in
*668 charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of
177 Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which
[647 receive instructions from Peking and control the various inform-
• [648 ation services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

• 648 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the
874 health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942
743 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists
*668 The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in
177 the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

747 797 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
747 797 standing welfare contribution of the Catholics is their mainten-
797 ance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed
736 three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
648 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

74 *668 177 From the information that we get from the Communist press and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the
745 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
*668 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
177 one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

state as they may prefer." (point 14, ibid. p. 22.)

Coming to the second state, the Yenan period, the Communists retreated to an almost amiable position. The differences were summarized by a friendly observer as follows: "The basic structural change which distinguishes the Border Region from its predecessor lies in the broadening of the electorate. As contrasted with the Soviet election system which was restricted, indirect and unequal, the present system is characterized as universal, direct and equal, and to insure this change the secret ballot is substituted for the hitherto open ballot hand-raising. This means that whereas under the Soviets franchise was limited to workers, farmers and a section of the 'petty bourgeoisie', the new system extends the right to vote to all men or women over eighteen years of age, including landlords and capitalists, except when a person is insane or his political rights have been specifically suspended by court action. The Soviet election was also pyramidal. This means that a voter under the Soviets voted only for delegates to a local soviet, while delegates to an upper Soviet were chosen by the lower Soviets but not by the voter. The new system allows the voter to vote as many times as there are local, county or regional elections for members to the representative body of each grade of geographical division. The segregation of farmer and worker voters and their disproportionate representation under the Soviets are abolished under the new regime and secret or unsigned ballots of citizens of all walks of life in the same territorial unit are counted together without discrimination." (Ch'u Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip, or Shen-hsing Chi-shih, Hankow, 1938, pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hsü Yung-yingt A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 43.)

Judging by western standards, this was progress toward democracy. But from the Communists' point of view, it was a temporary necessity.

When the Communists conquered the Northwest in 1949, they found themselves in a much more favorable position than during the war. Hence their "common program" of this stage brought back a lot of the characteristics of the old Soviet Constitution. The Communists made the following points very clear:

1) The People's Republic of China is a country led by the Communists. Those who refuse to follow this leadership will be crushed and denied all rights (Articles 1 and 7).
2) The Communists are ready to continue the war to the last, at least until Formosa is occupied (Article 2).
3) The Communists will protect the private property only of qualified people, and at any time they can disqualify anybody (Article 3).
4) China must be tied to the U.S.S.R. now and in the future (Article 11).

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'-war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Asizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

Northwest Federation of Trade Unions: The chairman is Chia T'o-fu, a member of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Central People's Government and vice chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An influential figure is Chao Chan-hui, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and a member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Federation of Democratic Women: The dominating personality in the Northwest is Chang Tsu-fang, onetime director of the federation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and after 1949 a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, she was a member of three commissions. Ma Wen-jui, chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Organizational Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP, was also director of the Commission of Women's Work. Thus, intimately and inescapably entwined with Communist activities, the Northwest Federation of Democratic Women saw a tremendous expansion of its membership. In Sinkiang, by the summer of 1951, it had branches in 47 of the 78 counties and in five of the ten administrative districts, and 190,000 women members took part in the propaganda campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

Federation of Literary and Art Workers: By September, 1950, 7,000 literary and art workers in the Northwest were mobilized to take part in propaganda activities, and 30,000 writers and artists joined the Reformation Congress of Literary and Artistic Workers in the Northwest to establish the United Front.

New Democratic Youth League (renamed the Communist Youth League in 1955): This is an auxiliary of the Communist Party the function of which was to mobilize the youth. In the Northwest it was guided by Lo I, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League and of the China Democratic Youth Federation, and a member of at least two commissions in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. An example of the expansion of the New Democratic Youth League in the Northwest may be seen in Sinkiang, where, by spring of 1953, there were 1,015 branches with over 20,000 elite youth members. Half of the labor models in the Urumchi Saw Mill in 1952 were New Democratic Youth League members, and it was reported that the New Democratic Youth League members "have become efficient assistants of the (Communist) Party in carrying out patriotic movements in factories and villages." (NCNA May 4, 1953).

Sino-Soviet Friendship Association: By the end of 1951, there were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations in 157 of the 274 counties in the four Northwest provinces. Over

60,000 of its total membership of 336,610 in the Northwest were from the city of Sian. Hsi Chung-hsün is president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, and Chang Chih-chung, Chia T'o-fu, Chang Chia-fu, and Burkhan are the vice-presidents. Since 1951, the membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association throughout China has vastly multiplied, as the following figures show: three million in 1950, 17 million in 1951, 23 million in 1952, and 58 million at the end of January, 1953. The membership of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest, therefore, must have increased proportionately.

One of the strongest centers of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the Ili Administrative District, where, by fall of 1951, there were 36,814 members in 11 county branches (out of the 12 counties), and in 16 branches of the government. According to Te-li-ha-te, head of the Department of Organization of the Ili branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the people of Ili, Altai (Achan) and Chughuchak (Tacheng) had cherished the friendship of the Soviet Union since their revolt of 1944-45, and as their political consciousness was higher than elsewhere in the Northwest, they took the lead in the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949.

One of the chief responsibilities of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest was the conduct of propaganda. Its propaganda objectives were not only to propagate the gospel of the advance technology in Soviet Russia and the "very great assistance received from the Soviet Cultural Associations for Foreign Countries," but also to combat popular opposition to Soviet Russia. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Sinkiang might have fared better if many of the people were not deterred from joining by a whispering campaign warning them that if they joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association they would forfeit their right of worship of their religion. (Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 7, 1951).

B. Elevation of Political Consciousness

Aside from propaganda, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in the Northwest also initiated an ideological remoulding campaign in 1951 aimed at 2,500 teachers selected from eleven nationalities. This campaign was one of the many drives, one following or overlapping another, which were correlated to the work of mobilizing and organizing the people. The more important of the popular drives were the Land Reform, the Resist-America and Aid Korea Movement and the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries.

By the summer of 1952, the so called land reform was completed in 97 per cent of all the agricultural hsiang (administrative villages) in the then five provinces of the Northwest. The membership in farmers' associations constituted 30-40 per cent of the

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
797 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N
The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
• [648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N
When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S
In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

N
The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N
*563 Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
• 648 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N
*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every-Tibetan.

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*563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
554 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
556 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of

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influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with

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gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)

121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

. /The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of
any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[177] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back every-
[648] where along the northern borders of China by Chinese agricul-
turalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are
truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they
take readily and successfully to farming.

There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short,
[142] round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prom-
inent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[177] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cau-
[181] tious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
342 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
352 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
353 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour,
and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the
right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and
sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley
meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day;
in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with
boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef
less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

658
871 schools.

*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
[648] front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[658] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected
[874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 625 647 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organization-
[645] ally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also
[645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

*668 625 708 726 The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

*175 669 The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition *175 *668 that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal 648 and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

*563 578 In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3169 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[494] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations

*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
● 648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N Countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
• 648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
• 648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.

[668] 2. Formosa

[669] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Com-
[648] munist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
*563 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
794 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

*668 796 656 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

*668 484 648 *563 B. Guided Tours

Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

*668 208 876 C. School Programs

In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:

"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

*668 208 D. Other Methods

The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
[656] tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma
Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the im-
• 648 portance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the
669 Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense
[631] of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the
• [648] government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking,
635 Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining
[579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur-
[648] rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 When the Communists started their campaign in the North-
669 west, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the Peo-
* 668 ple's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
• [648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[701] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[206] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment
635 toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

N
159 P'an Tzu-li: Communist Party member
*668 Native of Shensi; dates and background unknown. A long-
631 time member of the Communist Party; served as secretary to the Provincial Committee of Ninghsia of the Communist Party. Since 1949, served as the chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia Province, and director of the Political Bureau of the People's Liberation Army. 1951, member of the Military and Political Council for the Northwest and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi Province. From 1953, member of the reorganized Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the People's Government of Shensi
N Province. In October 1955 he was appointed Chinese Communist
• [648] ambassador to North Korea, and in the spring of 1956 he was
N transferred as ambassador to India.
159 Inasmuch as Chao Shou-shan, governor of Shensi, is not a
*668 Communist but only a political figurehead, the actual power in Shensi was in the hands of P'an Tzu-li. While vice-governor of Shensi, P'an was responsible for mobilizing the people and preparing for the elections. He pushed through the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and also expedited the judicial process, clearing seventeen thousand cases from the dockets in a couple of months.

000 Pao-erh-han
See Burkhan Shahidi

P'eng, Te-huai
See General Handbook

S Saifuddin Azizi: Communist, government official
159 Born 1914 in Sinkiang. A Uighur. Studied in the Central Asia-
668 tic University in Soviet Russia, majoring in law and political science. Commissioner of education in the provincial government of Sinkiang under Chang Chih-chung's administration, 1946
S and 1947. Member and representative to the first People's Poli-
159 tical Consultative Council, 1949, delegate to the CPPCC. Mem-
668 ber in the Central People's Government Council, and vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, 1950, and member of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central People's Government and member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission. In September-November 1955 he served as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a member of the National Defense Council.

In the Northwest, he was a member of the Military and Administrative Council, in which he served as a member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Nationality Affairs Commission. In 1953, when the MAC became the Northwest Adminis-

N
159 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six
669 years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans, and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand
S secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso
[669] was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his
N troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and
[554] southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu
N Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse
159 was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second
• [648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points; First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Rus-
[648] sians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang,
N the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg
159 in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-
S shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats
669
648

159 Chinese Soviets, 1950, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Financial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Construction Commission in the State Council of the Central People's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National Defense Council, 1955.

[466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Reform Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in ~~Kansu~~ Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family. In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932, took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shanghai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949, represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its standing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou; vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou, and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit organized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
*668
● 648

159 of Shanghai and engaged in the anti-Japan activities during the
*668 Shanghai incident when the Japanese troops invaded Shanghai.
[648] He also organized his own Moslems after the Sian incident when
the Japanese aspirations in China became very clear. When the
war was over, he was responsible for the organization of the
Lanchou chapter of the Democratic League. Being an educated
[554] leader in a minority group has helped him reach his high position in the Communist government.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan: Member of the Democratic League
*668 A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. 1937-45, vice-
631 chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government and chairman of the Northwest Branch Committee of the China Democratic League; 1949, delegate to the CPPCC: 1950, member of the People's Government of Shensi Province; 1952, member of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest, director of the Commission on Culture and Education of that council and member of the Commission on Nationality Affairs; 1953-54, appointed one of the vice-chairmen and secretary general of the Northwest Administrative Council, and chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education; since 1951, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League and member of its Standing Committee. In 1955, he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

159 Yang Ming-hsuan belongs to that group of men who, claiming
*668 to be non-Communists and members of third parties, have served the Communists well. It may be noted that he was, even before the Communists came to power, a vice-chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region People's Government. Later, after 1950, he was director of the Commission on Culture and Education, with the task of bringing the students and teachers in line. In 1951, the Democratic League announced that it would devote its efforts to rallying and mobilizing the students and teachers, and Yang Ming-hsuan, as head of the Northwest headquarters of the China Democratic League, turned the attention of the league members toward organizing the students and teachers. But Yang's services to the Communists went further. He sought also to use his influence in bringing other political factions into line with Communist policies. When the Northwest Work Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee was formed with Chang Chih-chung as head, Yang was among the Communist officials who spoke, saying that the duty of the minority parties was to follow the lead of the Communist Party.

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COMMUNICATIONS

I. Introduction

101 A. Geographical Setting

The Northwest Region under Communist China consists of the provinces of Shensi, Kansu (including former Ninghsia province), Chinghai and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It is surrounded on the northeast and east by Outer Mongolia, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Shansi, Honan and Hupei, and on the west and northwest by Kashmir, Afghanistan and Russia. Szechwan (including Sikang) and Tibet border it on the south.

*175 487 [439] B. Historical Background of the Northwest Trade Routes

Commerce was possibly the main factor in the development of roads. In ancient times, the localization of scarce and desirable goods such as silk, led to definite long distance overland routes between China and Central Asia. The routes started either from Shensi, or Honan in China proper, and led via Kansu to Sinkiang, known as Chinese Turkestan. There were two important roads which connected China with Central Asia:

1) The Southern (or Silk) Road, from Tun-hwang in Kansu along the southern part of the Lob Nor and then along the southern brim of the Taklahakan desert via the cities of Yü-tien, Hotien (Khotan) and Kashgar to Ulugh Chat, thence a trade route leading to Central Asia through the Pamir Pass. Another road led from Turfan via Kurle Aksu and Kashgar also to Ulugh Chat.

2) The Northern Road went through the eastern part of Sinkiang along the Tienshan North Road by Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Wusu, and Ili to Hocheng and thence to Alma Ata.

The origin of the caravan trade can be traced back even beyond the time of historical records, so we have no idea when these roads came into being. However, it was over these trade routes that the people of the East and West first met on peaceful terms, long before the seas had been navigated. To the ancient merchants this kind of route was the most natural and direct way to guide a caravan from Eastern Turkestan (or from China Proper via Turkestan) toward Bactria, or following the opposite direction from west of the Pamirs toward the Yellow River. This old trade found one of its best markets in the ancient Roman Empire, to which, among other things, the large amount of silk exported from China gave its name to one of the trade routes.

*175 648 487 The importance of China's commercial relations with Bactria and the Mediterranean provinces during the Han dynasty made it advisable for the court to send there such envoys as Chang Ch'ien in 122 B.C. and Pan Ch'ao under the Emperor Ming (A.D. 58-76) both empowered to negotiate treaties with the kingdoms of the west.

*175 487 648 It was the Mongol Empire under Chingis Khan (1162-1227) which extended her power from the Yellow River through the Northern Road across Asia into Poland and Hungary to the Danube. Marco Polo went to China from Italy in 1275 by way of the Southern Road. Through the centuries, however, the life of the trade routes was subject to frequent fluctuations. There have been interruptions to commerce during the periods of warfare when the Huns came south of the mountains, and the roads were overrun. But as soon as hostilities ceased, the merchants would resume their accustomed task of rebuilding their caravans and carrying loads of goods eastward and westward.

*175 487 [491] [498] These trade routes remained significant through the years until modern transportation was introduced to China. Later on, motor highways were built, based on the old trade routes in this area. The Lanchow-Urumchi-Alam Ata Railway is presently being constructed along the old Northern Road. Even so, caravans still travel throughout the northwest.

II. Communications Development before and under the Nationalist Government

A. Railways

*175 496 In the vast area of Northwest China, there was only one railway line which was an extension of the Lunghai Railway running to Shensi province. This railway is an east-west trunk line, starting from a seaport in Kiangsu, running through Honan and Shensi, and now into Kansu. Construction was started on different sections as early as 1903, but owing to civil strife only the 810 kilometer section from Taipu Harbor near Haichou in Kiangsu in the east, westward to Ling-pao in Honan, was completed prior to 1930. Construction on the section from Ling-pao to Tung-kuan, a distance of about seventy kilometers, was initiated in 1930 and completed in August, 1932. It was extended another 130 kilometers to Sian in December, 1934. Service was inaugurated before 1937 on the last section in Shensi from Sian to Paoki, a distance of 170 kilometers.

[504] Because of obstructions in Taipu Harbor, a new port at Lien-yün was built in 1935 to serve this railroad. In the same year, a thirty-seven kilometer extension to join the new port with the trunk line at Hsin-pu was completed.

During the war, railway construction in the Northwest was emphasized. To solve the serious shortage of coal on the Lunghai Railway, a branch line of about 138 kilometers was created in December, 1940, from Hsien-yang northward through San-yüan and Yao-hsien to Tung-ch'uan in Tung-kuan county. Despite the extreme shortage of rail-building materials and manpower, work on the extension of the Paoki-T'ien-shui section began in 1939 and

Construction was initiated at Lanchou on
Communist National Day, October 1, 1952, immediately following
*175 the completion of the T'ien-shui-Lanchou section. A Sino-Soviet
*668 agreement was concluded on October 12, 1954 which provided that
496 the originally planned route was to be extended from Urumchi to
499 Ho-cheng on the Sino-Soviet border to link with the Russian Turk-
• 648 sib Railway at Alma Ata. Construction on the section on Chinese territory was to be undertaken by Communist China, while Russia was responsible for the construction on the section from Alma Ata to Ho-cheng. It has been reported that Russia had already finished the section on its territory in 1955.

On the Chinese side, service on the Lanchow-Wu-wei section of 303 kilometers began in February, 1954. At the end of that year, tracks had been laid as far as Chiu-pa, 347 kilometers northwest of Lanchou. On September 28, 1955, the section was extended to Chang-yeh, which, in the Kansu Corridor about 538 kilometers west of Lanchou, was the original goal for 1955. An extra 108 kilometers of tracks were laid up to a point about 100 kilometers from Yü-men by the end of 1955. A new section from Chang-yeh to Ching-shui reportedly began operating on May 1, 1956. This 138 kilometer extension made the railway serviceable for a total of 676 kilometers. It has been reported that tracklayers on this railway had pledged to extend the line to Yü-men, 800 kilometers from Lanchou, by the first of July, 1956, about one month ahead of schedule.

*668 Construction of this railway is of utmost significance economi-
497 cally and politically, as well as strategically. The Northwest still lags behind in industry, agriculture, and density of population, although it is vast in area and abundant in natural resources. When this railway is completed, trucks operating on the highways along this line can be employed to support the rail transport. The people in the region will be able to buy industrial products cheaply. Large numbers of workers and technical personnel will undoubtedly move to Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, so the population will grow rapidly and new cities spring up. Furthermore, travel time between Peking and Moscow via this railway would be greatly shortened, even more so than by the newly-opened route through the Chi-ning-Ulan Bator Railway.

3. Paoki-Chengtu Railway: The Chinese Communists had
*668 long looked for a route through which it could move from North-
496 west to Southwest China over the high mountains. At first, they
499 intended to build a railway linking Tien-shui on the Lunghai Rail-
648 way with Chengtu, the terminus of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway.
*175 It was the route originally planned by the Nationalists but construction on it was never undertaken due to the Sino-Japanese War and later, the civil strife. However, a new project, was reportedly drawn up by Russian experts and agreed to by the Chinese, to run a line from Chengtu through Lüeh-yang in Shensi to Paoki instead

*668 of T'ien-shui. Construction on this 700 kilometer railway was
496 initiated in July, 1952, and was scheduled for completion by the
499 end of the first Five Year Plan in 1957. On January 1, 1955,
• 648 tracks on the southern section had been laid to Kuang-yüan, 315
*175 kilometers north of Chengtu, and rail service was officially opened on New Year's Day, 1956, from Chengtu to Lüeh-yang, about 170 kilometers north of Kuang-yang. Construction had been in full swing on the 215 kilometer northern section from Paoki to Lüeh-yang at the same time. Although shorter, this section was said to be a more difficult project: over 100 tunnels were cut through mountains, the longest one being more than 2.3 kilometers; the Chialing River was crossed 16 times and about 400 bridges and culverts were built. Soviet technicians planned to run electric locomotives along the Feng-hsien (in Shensi)-Paoki section in order to pull the trains through the sloping terrain of the Chin-ling Mountains.

It was reported that in March, 1956, only about 100 kilometers of tracks remained to be laid on the whole Paoki-Chengtu Railway. On the northern section, rails had passed through the Chin-ling Mountains area and continued southward. It was expected that the entire line would be connected and opened for traffic by the end of 1956.

*668 This railway, when completed, will become the trunk line to
497 link the southeast with the northwest of China. It will make possible deliveries of rice and other products of the Southeast to the Northwest and Central China, and provide cheap transportation for industrial machinery and equipment with which to tap the rich natural resources of Szechwan and its neighboring provinces.

4. Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway: Construction on the 1000
*668 kilometer Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway which would link up North-
*175 west China with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, was started
496 in February, 1955. Work was under way on the fifty kilometer
499 section from Lanchou to Hsing-hsing-wan until the end of 1955. When completed, it would not only facilitate the development of the iron and steel base of Pao-t'ou but also shorten the route between Peking and Moscow.

5. Lanchou-Chinghai Railway: Survey work on the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was begun on December 23, 1955. This railway was to begin at Ho-kou on the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, about thirty kilometers west of Lanchou, following the Lanchou Chinghai Highway, through Hsining and along the Tsaidam basin which is rich in minerals, to Ta-e h-ting for a distance of 1500 kilometers. As reported, survey of the 176 kilometer section between Ho-kou and Huang-yüan (in Chinghai) was completed at the end of 1955, and construction was scheduled to start in the beginning of 1956. (The rest of the route was not yet decided.) The construction of this railway was aimed at opening up resources in the

*668 Tsaidam basin and developing the economy and culture of the
*175 national minorities.
496 Up to the beginning of 1956, the railway mileage in the North-
499 west region was increased to roughly 1800 kilometers from some 600 kilometers prior to 1949.

Based on the above-mentioned data, new railway construction in this region may be tabulated as follows:

Railway Construction in Northwest China
1950-1955
in kilometers

Line	length planned	date started	date completed	to 1955	Total
T'ien-shui-Lanchou	346	1950	1952	346	
Lanchou-Sinkiang a	2,800	1952	- -	666	
Paoki-Chengtu b	700	1952	1956	485	
Lanchou-Paotow	1,000	1955	- -	- -	
Lanchou-Chinghai c	1,500	1956	- -	- -	
Total				1,477[e]	3660[d]

a. To the end of 1955.
b. Of the total 485 kms. only about 100 kms were in Shensi.
c. Newly projected route
d. Based on the table of "Construction of New Railways in Chinese Mainland, 1950-1955" in Communication section of General Handbook.
e. Of the 1477 kms. about 1100 kms. were built in the Northwest region.

*668 As shown in the above table, about thirty per cent of the total
497 of new railways was built in this Northwest area. As officially
499 reported, Communist China has scheduled to spend, on transport
185 and communication projects, over 140 million taels of gold (1 tael is equal to 1.1023 ounces) of investments totalling over 700 million taels in capital construction during the First Five Year Plan. ("A Great Plan" People's China, August 1, 1955, pp. 5-6.) It appears clear that a very large amount has been spent on railway construction in this region, though no breakdown figure can be located. With regard to railway building materials, the same
[399] source indicated that "after reconstruction of the factories, Anshan alone will produce enough rolled steel to meet the needs of the nation's locomotive-building works, shipyards and motor and tractor works throughout the first Five Year Plan and the early part of the second. Anshan's annual output of rails will be sufficient for the laying of more than 3000 kilometers." It should
• [648] be noted that at least up to the beginning of the first Five Year
[439] Plan, most of the materials for railroad building had to be supplied by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
*668 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
499 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
464 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
466 did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated.
*175 In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
[701] munist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
• [648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

C. Civil Aviation

*668 The Chinese Communist Civil Aviation Company, which until
509 the end of 1955 was a Sino-Soviet jointly-owned corporation and
[413] was still entirely adjusted to the Russian system, raised its
[648] service from two to four trips a week from Lanchou via Chiu-
*[195] chuan, Hami to Urumchi. There was another flight twice a week, continuing the route from Lanchou to Sian where two sub-lines existed, one to Peking and the other southbound to Chungking. A third flight, also twice a week, connected Urumchi with Alma Ata through Ili by the Sino-Soviet international route; and the fourth was running inside Sinkiang from Urumchi via Kucha, Aksu to Kashgar.

IV. Conclusion

*668 The influential role which the development of transportation
489 and communications can play in the creation of a favorable climate
433 for sustained national economic growth, needs no elaboration. The Northwest which contains many of China's untapped mineral resources, and where the potential of agricultural development is fairly high, is a region where the man-resource ratio is low and the long-run economic potential is promising, provided it is linked with the populous regions of China and the outside world by better transport and a modern system of communications.

Transportation and communications development in Northwest
*668 China used to lag far behind the other regions as did its agricul-
489 ture and industry. After the establishment of the Communist
499 regime, transportation construction activities in this area have
178 increased greatly in the form of railway and highway construction. Of the total railway construction in Red China from 1950 to 1955, newly-built roads in the Northwest amounted to thirty per cent. Meanwhile the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway, Lanchou-Pao-t'ou Railway and Chengtu-Paoki Railway were still under way and the Lanchou-Chinghai Railway was projected for 1956.

Highways were constructed or renovated mostly along the old
*668 routes already in existence prior to 1949, some of which might
491 not have been motor roads. Among them the most notable ones
648 were the Hsi-ning-Tibet Highway, Sian-Lanchou-Urumchi Highway, Ansi-Tun-huang-No-chiang-Ho-tien-Kashgar Highway and the Hsi-ning-Chin-hung-shan-No-chiang-Kashgar Highway. Three international highways starting at Urumchi across the Sino-Soviet border linked up with the stations on the Soviet Turksib Railways.

*668 Air transportation was to be established to strengthen the Sino-
648 Soviet relationship from Peking to Moscow via Sian, Lanchou, and
509 Urumchi.

It is true that Chinese Communists had devoted much attention
*668 to construction in the Northwest area, especially in the phase of
489 transportation and communication. Aside from their shrewdness
433

N
*668 in understanding the long-run economic potential of this region,
489 it is equally true that there must have been some other reasons
433 forcing them to develop this remote region more swiftly than they might otherwise have done, investing in it sizable amounts of much needed capital backed by considerable forced labor. Other factors, both internal and external, should therefore be taken into consideration. In the first place, Communist China had made a tremendous effort to shift the center of its gravity from the coastal regions into these relatively empty lands bordering Soviet central Asia, perhaps partly as a result of the United Nations embargo and the Korean War. Secondly, the forced pace of development in the Northwest might be partly a defense measure. During the War in Korea it became clear how vulnerable Manchuria was to bombing attacks. Had the United Nations chosen to do so, most of Manchuria's industrial complexes could have been destroyed. But in the Northwest, factories, railways and mines were far
N safer than anywhere else in China. Moreover, this area would
[648] assure maximum secrecy for projects which Red China and Russia were reported to have been jointly undertaking. ("I Saw Communist China" by Robert Guillain in the Saturday Evening Post, June 2, 1956, p. 114.)

N Following on the heels of the railway construction work, a
*668 huge oil refinery at Lanchou was built. It is also reported that
433 between Lanchou and the site of the refinery, a road was con-
[382] structed more than twice as wide as Fifth Avenue in New York
[491] city, and a large hill thickly covered with houses was completely
N leveled to make the road straight. At Lanchou the railway yard
[498] under construction contained fifty kms. of tracks, with modern equipment such as turntables, grain silos, refrigerating plants and the like, all brought from Russia. Along the wide road, the beginning of what is called New Lanchou has arisen. In Sinkiang, a new city was born in Urumchi, where giant factories have been
S built, including the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metals Co., the Sin-
668 kiang Petroleum Co., the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel
432 Plant, the Sinkiang Machinery Plant, the October Motor Car
327 Repair and Assembly Shop, the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant,
328 and the like. This accomplishment in industrial construction and
382 future plans of industrial development are indeed very much tied
39 up with communications development.
[489]

Communist China may very well focus its principal attention
N on the Northwest during the period of its second Five Year Plan
*668 scheduled to begin in 1958, just as the first Five Year Plan con-
185 centrated on the Northeast. The Northwest might then play a
433 major role in the economic relations between China and Russia,
[648] and be industrialized to a level comparable with Manchuria.

It may therefore be concluded that so long as there are both internal and external pressures, and the "lean-to-one-side"

712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of
133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated
487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the
[241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial
439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor
648 border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans.
487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into
361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

131 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

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65 GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES--general statements dealing with several aspects of the administrative activities of all governmental agencies usually above the level of the small local community.

*668 includes, depending on its level, the provincial governor and
631 deputy provincial governors; the mayor and deputy mayors; the county head and deputy county heads; the district head and deputy district heads; the hsiang head and deputy hsiang heads; or the town head and deputy town heads. The number of members in a people's council (head and deputy head included) differs according to level, as follows:

(1) Provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority, 25 to 55;
(2) Municipalities, 9 t 25; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large population, but in no case may exceed 45;
(3) Counties, 9 to 21; membership may increase when there is an extraordinarily large number of hsiang and towns, as well as a large population, but in no case may exceed 31;
(4) Municipal districts, 9 to 21;
(5) Hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns, 3 to 13.

The term of office of a provincial People's council is four years. It is two years for those councils or municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns.

b. functions of councils

The functions of the people's councils at all levels are numerous. Many of them are traditional, such as collecting taxes, managing conscription, and running the administrative routine. But some are new or have been given new content, such as:

(1) Carrying out economic plans and budgets;
(2) Regulating and controlling the market and the local state enterprises, and directing the socialization of the private enterprises.
(3) Directing the production of agriculture, handicrafts, and mutual-aid cooperatives;
(4) Managing transportation, communications, and public enterprises;
(5) Managing local activities in the fields of culture, education, public health, pensions, relief, and social welfare.

• 65 The nationalization of business and industry has burdened the
631 local governments with much that formerly was done by private
*668 parties. Economic plans existed previously, but were limited to a few public works. Now the plans and budgets of the government cover almost every economic activity in the area. Previously, only when an occasional crisis arose did the local governments regulate or control the market. Now it is one of their regular functions. In the past, there were few, if any, local state enterprises. Now, with the program of socialization of private enterprises in full swing, the task of operating local state enterprises is tremendous. The local governments are responsible for the people from before birth until after death, and for controlling and managing almost every phase of their lives.

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651 TAXATION AND PUBLIC INCOME--sources of public income (e.g., gifts and bribes, tribute, license fees, ground rents, profits from public enterprises, fines, confiscations, tolls, taxes); types of taxes (e.g., taxes in kind, labor levies, poll taxes, property taxes, stamp taxes, excise taxes, customs duties, income taxes, inheritance taxes); importance of and revenue from each type; differentiation by administrative level; principles of taxation; tax law; mode of fixing and collecting taxes; specialized personnel (e.g., tax collectors, tax consultants); tax exemptions; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance	42	Income	434
Gift giving	431	Foreign trade	439
		Forced labor	466
Government lotteries	535	Fines	681
Government monopolies	656		

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
• [651] selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products.

S In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
563 in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
798 west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
182 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
• [651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

N Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
*563 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesi-
792 astical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
*563 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
554 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encamp-
556 ment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[594] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

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563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
62 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
[792] together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[292] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

*563 463 621 578 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 621 184 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. • [651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the [361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit [162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 628 177 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

/The Han Chinese/

*563 *[175] • [651] minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skirmishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government [731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The [167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the disasters have caused people of means to leave the region and make [463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich merchants who have authority in political and economic matters, but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and struggle for a living.

*563 131 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mongols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese [441] [439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade. There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here generations ago.

*563 342 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts. Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine furnishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yellow earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer- [369] chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses. But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 262 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in [556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits, fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted vegetables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed *563 291 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a S N [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organisation than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [798] [423] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 177 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 177 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

*175 rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they
*668 are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members.
578 They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse non-proletarian ideas have infiltrated into the party," he said, "and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the municipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were
[68] [651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

S 668 708 208 545

4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648]

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

668 648 545

N *668 208

IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

S [668] [208]

N *668 79 *[563] [771] - [651]

A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

*668 The subject changes as the Party moves from one campaign to
208 another. For instance, in Northwest China the first stage emphasized the destruction of organized resistance and the establishment of the Communist Government. About the time that the editorial of Jen-min jih-pao, Peiping, November 14, 1950, declared that "a comprehensive and far-reaching propaganda campaign should be carried out beforehand so as to enable the masses to gain a true understanding of the significance, functions and the way of the convening the chu people's representatives' conference" in Sining, Chinghai, "the Central People's Government Mission to the Northwest...convened three forum meetings of representatives of Tibetan, Mongolian, Turk, Moslem, Salar and Kazakh nationalities, and personages of all circles in Sining, and visited the mosque at the East Gate of Sining and the Chinghai Nationalities House..."

2. Resist-America, Aid-Korea and related movements

After the Communists participated in the Korean War and when the U.N. was discussing the case against Red China, an anti-Austin (chief U.S. delegate to the U.N. at the time) Rally" was held at Sian, Shensi. It promoted the Resist-America, Aid-Korea movement as well as the three self (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) movement of the Chinese Christian churches. In January, 1951, there came the first wave of attacks against the religious group I-Kuan-Tao. In 1952, there were the three anti and five anti-movements. About the same time, a movement for production-increase was launched.

3. Agricultural tax campaign

*668 When the new agricultural tax system came into force in June,
• 651 1952, the propaganda gave unreserved praise of the new tax and cursed the old regime. It is a good example of the Communist propaganda:

"New minimum tax rate is 7 per cent. For the majority of peasants, the rate will range from 11 to 15 per cent. Exemptions or tax reductions will be given those having economic difficulties arising from calamities, lack of manpower or disabilities and to families of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea and Chinese People's Liberation Army men. The new system is based on average annual agricultural income of every member of a family.

This new tax system is in sharp contrast to multifarious taxes under the Kuomintang regime. At that time peasants on an average paid from 30 to 60 per cent of what was left to them in taxes to the Kuomintang government after paying 50 to 80 or even 90 per cent of their harvest to landlords as rent." (NCNA, Peking, June 20, 1952. See section Agriculture of General Handbook for an evaluation of the actual tax burden.)

Judging by the above paragraph, the peasants under the Nationalists (Kuomintang) paid as high as 90 per cent of their harvest to

N
*668 the landlord as rent and 60 per cent of what was left to the govern-
• 651 ment as tax. If these figures were true, then the peasants were receiving only 4 per cent of what they harvested. Furthermore, at the most, the Nationalist Government had taxed the peasants only 6 per cent of their harvest while the minimum tax of the Communists is 7 per cent of the farmers' total annual agricultural income.

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*668 4. Achievements of Communist government

After the Communist government had existed for a while, the propaganda emphasized the achievement of the Communist regime. A good example is the article written by Liu Ke-p'ing, Deputy-Director of Commission of Nationalities Affairs of the Central People's Government, concerning "The achievements of the Nationality works during the past three years." In this article he listed the following achievements:

1) The establishment of the autonomous districts
2) The participation of the minorities in the government
3) The training and education of local cadres
4) The sending of Chinese cadres to work among the minorities
5) The establishment of state trading agencies in the minority areas
6) The gradual promotion of land reform among the minorities
7) The gradual change in the feudal relations between the owner and helpers among minority herdsmen
8) The improvements in public health among the minorities
9) The establishment of schools in Sinkiang and other areas where the minorities live
10) The help given to the minorities to create or improve their written languages
11) The printing and distribution of books and periodicals in minority languages
12) The radio broadcasts in minority languages
13) The study and improvements made on the traditional dances and music of the minority groups
14) The organization of the Chinese Islamic Association to honor the customs, habits and religious faith of the minority groups
15) Visiting groups sent to the national minorities from the Communist government and those organized among the minorities to visit Peking and inland China. (The Great Achievements in the People's Republic of China during the Past Three Years, (Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-he-kuo San-nien-lai-te Wei-ta Ch'eng-chiu, Jen min Ch'u-pan-she, ed. Peking 1952, Dec.) p. 37. The article was written on September 13, 1952.)

S
668 Propaganda along this same line can be found in Burhan's articles on "The great achievements made in Sinkiang during the past three years" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953

132 variable, thus making agriculture hazardous. The growing sea-
(241) son is short, with about five frost free months; even the few crops
134 that can be grown are often injured by autumn frosts. Dark colored chestnut earth is common only on the higher parts of the loess plateau of Shensi and Kansu provinces. It also occurs in the high plateau region of Chinghai Province. In the loess region most of the well-developed dark chestnut earth has been buried under recent loess and alluvial deposits. (T.H. Shen. Agriculture Resources of China, p. 20.)

2. Agriculture

241 Important irrigation systems, made possible by the Yellow
312 River and its tributaries, have been developed in Kansu, Ningh-sia, and Shensi. All these irrigated areas except Shensi produce one crop a year, such as wheat, millet, peas, or flax because the growing season is short. The large irrigated plains in Shensi along the Wei River, a tributary of the Yellow River, produce good American upland cotton in addition to wheat, corn, and millet. The largest irrigated area is in the Ninghsia plain where there are twenty-five canals from the Yellow River maintained by the provincial industrial bureau. Irrigation is only possible in the valleys, but they are narrow and comprise but a small percentage of the total cultivated area. When Buck made his survey of this area in 1929-1933, he estimated that thirteen per cent of the total cultivated land was irrigated. He felt that the extent of irrigation sometimes depended upon the prices of agricultural
• (651) products fell. Because taxes were still imposed on irrigated land and some of these taxes had even increased, further construction of irrigation works was abandoned until prices commenced to rise again.

137 The vegetation of this region is distinguished by the xerophytic plants, bunch grasses on the high elevation, and the tall and short grass sod. In Chinghai province, the Tsaidam Basin is characterized by desert and weeds, while in the same province, in the vicinity of Kokonor, there is grass. In Kansu, along the foothills and in the mountains, grass and weeds exist while in the desert area of Ninghsia, only weeds grow. Grass grows in Shensi along the Chin-ling and Huang-lung mountain ranges.

241 There is an inadequate amount of green manure crops used in this region, which has resulted in a shortage of organic matter and a deficiency in plant nutrients, especially nitrogen. In most of the
(372) area, straw of rice, wheat, rape, and legumes are not ploughed under but are used for fuel, decreasing an important source of organic matter to the soil and removing minerals necessary for plant growth and crop production. Application of chemical fertilizer in addition to local manures and the plowing under of plant residue is very necessary to soil fertility.

*668 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chi-
241 nese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of
407 agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw
185 materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far,
• (651) The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativisation has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have
563 proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national
(404) minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small
241 supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and
651 the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this.
452 It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have
*668 attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through
241 extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They
433 have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest,
24 with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect
23 in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to
433 increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

that on which we were engaged, must according to immemorial custom be provided with food and accommodation free of charge by the towns and villages through which they pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasites who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and animals as well. The local magistrates of course try and recoup themselves from the people, but in a very poor post they might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but most of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, the lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuable wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chinese assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, iron, asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and the post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land tax receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annum. But amongst our party was an official who had been magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in the mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter district, Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no land tax receipts, and practically no population. It should be explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain and remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process of exchange from the one into the other not being effected without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of the local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usually considered the standard by which the wealth of a post may be measured.

A road runs due south from Hsian, the provincial capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chenan to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct route between these two important cities, but it is so rough as to be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when it follows up and down the stream beds in the simple manner of so many mountain trails in China, but when the water rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it is very much worse and probably quite impassable for pack animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still just practicable in April.

The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmsteads, and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not fail

than some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who have passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations in Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Fenghsiang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where months and years pass by without their ever seeing another foreigner. Their success in securing converts may not have been striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether those whom they have secured are not more genuine Christians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the basest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds and illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in the street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have laboured on year after year doing good and leavening, in however small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese materialism. The results of their work may not always be apparent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail in time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of which other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most hospitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After descending for about an hour's march through gullies in the hills the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung, a highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated region, stretching for a certain distance along both banks of the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another two hours' march across this plain, past the boundary between Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts, brings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing in a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet deep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a short distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for ten li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali P'u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from Hanchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently the centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and Northern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is driven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. From here the road runs west for the rest of the way to Hanchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the East Gate of the city.

Hanchung, now officially known by the name of t district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities the province. It lies in the centre of the rich cigar-shap plain of the Han valley, surrounded by mountains, and its situation and general appearance much resembles smaller edition of Chengtu in Szechuan. Two crops, wh followed by rice, are regularly raised on the plain. A co siderable quantity of silk is also produced and some cott The situation of Hanchung in the centre of the most fer region in the province and at the point of intersection four trade routes, south to Szechuan, west to Kansu, no to the Wei valley, and east down the Han to the coa has made it a considerable trade centre. For the same reas it has always been one of the richest and most import likin stations in the province, where the Chinese offici as elsewhere, do their best to throttle the transit trade a kill the goose which lays the golden eggs by the excess imposition of dues and tolls. There are few more lucrat offices in the province than that of Superintendent of t Hanchung Likin.

Hanchung is the administrative capital of the upper H basin, and is the seat of a Taoyin and a Chenshoushih. T position of the former is that of Civil Superintendent of t magistrates in his jurisdiction. It is nowadays less import than it was in the days of the Manchus. Since the abolit of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou, and Hsi the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of t district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Govern of the province. Thus the magistrates correspond direc with the Governor and send copies of their despatches a reports to the Taoyin, so that the latter is short-circui and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as bei superfluous. Under the old system the Hsien reported the Chou, the Chou to the Fu, the Fu to the Tao, and t Tao to the Governor, each being responsible for the a of his subordinate. The position of Chenshoushih is t of a General with powers of military administration. At t present time, when things are more or less unsettled a the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has pow which amount practically to those of an independe

487 in the loess hills. The path, crossing the northern branch,
133 strikes up the hill side between two ravines and emerges on to a wheat covered plateau intersected by rifts and valleys in the loess. It runs across this plateau in a northerly direction, ascending gradually, for a couple of hours, and then, as the cañons on either side close in and the plateau narrows to a spur, it follows along the top of the latter, still ascending, for another hour to reach the village of Tsuiumu. 4800 feet, perched up on a ridge with the ground falling away in deep cañons all around, and 40 li from Linyu.
[E35] Supplies were very scanty in these hills, as the people are miserably poor; but a little wheat flour could usually be obtained, which was good where not mixed with too much loess in the process of threshing and grinding. Cock pheasants could generally be secured out of the corn fields when required.

It is an agreeable peculiarity of loess mountain country that the trails follow where possible along spurs and ridges rather than the valleys (this is so, in spite of a famous and much quoted description of the loess in which the life and traffic of the region is described as moving along the bottoms
[651] of the cañons), and Tsuimu lies on a sort of knot, where several ridges and therefore mule trails meet; consequently, though only a dot of a place, it boasts a likin station, and commands two trails into Kansu. The path to Yungshou Hsien, 50 li, follows along the top of one of these winding ridges, this one being actually the summit of a range which runs eastwards from the Kansu border and constitutes the first barrier crossed by the Great West Road between Hsian and Lanchou, and provides a most interesting march owing to the continuous and extensive views on either side over this peculiar loess country. To the south a series of loess spurs and intervening ravines fall away steeply towards the Linyu valley, beyond which the Ch'i Shan range is seen to end, as Yungshou is approached, in the rolling plains of the Wei River and its tributaries; while to the north, across an intervening dip, rises like a wall the edge of the loess plateau country of Eastern Kansu. These loess clad ridges of Western Shensi seem to be pieces broken off from the Kansu plateau, like the mountains on the edge of the Mongolian plateau, south of Dolonor in Northern Chihli.

From Hoyang to Ch'engch'eng, a short march of 45 li, 487
the trail runs west across the same undulating plains, 133
traversing two deep cañons *en route*. Ch'engch'eng, a [634]
second class district city, is a replica of Hoyang.

The next stage to P'uch'eng is a very long march, called 105 li, probably over 30 miles, for the li are long on these prairies. The trail runs south across the plain past 361
numerous hamlets, ascending gradually, for three to four hours' march, and then drops by easy gradients in the loess terraces to the walled township of Yungfeng Chen, 50 li from Ch'engch'eng, in the valley of the Lo River. These little walled towns often have the characters for their names inscribed over the gateway, like stations on a railway, a custom which is most useful to the traveller, and which I have not noticed elsewhere.

Five li west of Yungfeng the Lo River, at low water a 487
few feet deep and fifteen yards wide, and of the consistency [491]
of liquid mud, is crossed by a ferry. The Lo here flows 133
from north to south; on the right bank rises a loess bluff a few hundred feet high, and on the left the open valley some miles wide stretches up by easy slopes and low terraces to the level of the plateau. From the ferry the trail ascends the bluff constituting the edge of the tableland, and then runs west across the usual undulating wheat prairies, dotted with walled farms and villages, for the rest of the way to 361
P'uch'eng.

P'uch'eng lies in the open plain backed by low mountains about ten miles to the north. It is a large and important place, a first class district city and the centre of a great wheat-growing region. Many prominent men in Shensi have their homes in the district, and therefore, in these days of home rule, exercises considerable influence in the province. These large first class districts in the loess of Central Shensi, such as P'uch'eng, Lint'ung, Weinan, and Fup'ing, the very heart of ancient China, have always been proverbial for their agricultural wealth, and to this day the provincial Government subsists largely off their land tax [651] revenues.

From P'uch'eng to Fup'ing, another long march of 95 487
li, the trail continues west across the same undulating 133
prairies past many villages including the township of

west until we had got behind the Liangchou mountains, 487
and then dropping south to Hsining along the Kokonor 133
border. There is a shorter trail south-west from Liangchou, passing apparently more or less directly over the snowrange, but we were told that it was very difficult, seldom used, and probably impassable for loaded mules. There are only a limited number of trails leading up from the plains of Mongolia through the Nan Shan to the Kokonor plateau, and the route we followed, though little known to foreigners, is probably one of the most important of these tracks. It reaches the plateau by means of a famous gorge known as the Pien Tu K'ou (meaning Passage across the Frontier), and the section of our route from Chenfan, in the Alashan desert, to Êpo, in the Kokonor, is probably a portion of an important trail connecting Urga with Lassa, placing these two capitals of Lamaism in communication without the necessity of passing through settled Chinese territory. Our first few days' march lay across a portion of the Alashan desert to regain the Great West Road at Yungch'ang, a very trying experience, since the season of the year was the end of July, when nobody travels in the desert if he can possibly avoid it.

The first stage on this road being a very long one of 100 li across the desert, the magistrate had kindly arranged for us to break it into two by sending on tents to some wells 30 li out. Leaving Chenfan the road runs south through the oasis for 15 li, crosses the main branch of the Chenfan River by a ford, and then turns west into the desert. Two hours' march further on we reached the wells of Sha Ching, where we found a luxurious camp established for us by the forethought of the magistrate. The water from the wells is evil-looking and very brackish, but we had arrange... to bring sweet water with us. The contrast between these rich 634
oases, such as Chenfan, and the absolutely lifeless desert, [651]
lying side by side so that one passes in one stride from the one to the other, is most striking. The great wealth of the irrigated land is evidenced by the fact that the district of Chenfan, though containing so much desert, offers a highly lucrative post to its magistrate; that is to say the land-tax receipts, consisting of grain, are large; the grain collected in this fashion by the magistrate is remitted by him to the

634 provincial treasury in silver at an old-established rate much
651 below the market price, permitting a considerable profit to be made on the transaction. The productiveness of the land is of course entirely dependent on the irrigation streams from the snows of the Nan Shan, the magistrate informing us that he had been nine months at his post and only seen rain fall on two occasions.

487 The following day's march of 70 li to the oasis of Shehsia
133 Kou would have been easy enough had we not lost our way. We started at 3 a.m. in order to try and reach the wells of T'ou Ching, 40 li out, before the sun got too hot. The trail led across a waste of sand hills and soon ceased to exist.
[132] The desert is devoid of all vegetation and lifeless except for antelope, which were constantly in view; what they find to eat I cannot imagine. After we had been marching for some hours the soldier from Chenfan who was acting as guide announced that he had lost the way. Looking for the wells where we were to have our midday halt was like searching for a needle in a haystack, and the position was unpleasant enough. Altogether we wandered round, steering more or less west, for some seven or eight hours, suffering greatly from thirst, with the sand often over the ponies fetlocks. Our only landmark was an ancient ruined tower, the remains of some old fortification in this region, perhaps a part of the Great Wall. At last one of the soldiers sent out to reconnoitre from a rise descried the tents pitched at the wells in pretty well the opposite direction to that in which we were then trekking, and an hour later men and animals were satisfying their thirst. Another three hours' march across the desert brought us to the oasis of Shehsia Kou, where we were comfortably lodged in the interior of one of the fortified farms so common in this region.

The next stage is another march of 80 li to the village of Ningyuan P'u, but there is an oasis, Tung Wan, half-way, the going is better, and we took care not to lose
[E40] our way. Ningyuan P'u is a walled village at the mouth of an irrigated gorge where the mountains meet the desert plain. From here to Yungch'ang is a distance of 75 li. The trail follows up the irrigated valley for 35 li to the hamlet of Tsungchia Chai, where it turns up a barren stony ravine, crosses a low pass, and descends across an arid sloping

487 Kokonor border. The wool is usually bought by Mahomedan
471 middlemen, called *Kingchia*, and passed on by them to the Chinese agents. A similar, but smaller trade, is carried on at collecting centres such as Chungwei, Ninghsia, Shihsuiuzu, Wufang Sha, and Huamach'ih on the borders of Mongolia in the north of the province, but this Mongolian wool is inferior in quality to the Kokonor produce.

The immense journey made by this wool from the
651 Kokonor to Tientsin is only rendered commercially possible
471 by the Treaty right exercised by foreigners of bringing produce down to the coast from the interior under transit pass, which exempts the goods from taxation by the likin barriers *en route*, a fixed transit duty being paid to the Customs at the coast. This arrangement is all right when the provinces are knit together under a strong central government and when the finances of the country are national rather than provincial; under a loose federal system of semi-independent provinces, however, into which China appears at times to be drifting, the authorities of a distant interior province like Kansu can scarcely be expected to look with favour on an arrangement by which the most valuable trade in the province is in theory immune from all local taxation.

231 We purchased ponies at various places during our long
192 journey as we required them; one of the best I secured was acquired at Hsining. These Kansu ponies are bred on the grass-country of the Kokonor, and the two chief collecting centres for horse flesh are Hsining and T'aochou, especially the latter. These are an entirely different breed to the East Mongolian pony so well known in the Treaty ports. The Kansu pony is much finer in appearance though not so strongly built or as good a weight carrier at fast paces as the Kalgan pony; and being usually handled at an earlier age he is generally more civilized. For the purposes for which they are required, that is to say long road journeys of four miles an hour or so, the Kansu ponies would be difficult to beat anywhere, doing twenty to thirty miles a day for weeks or months on end, with the roughest of stabling, and on a diet of chopped straw, bran, and peas. A *Pei K'ou Ma* (pony from the Northern Passes, i.e. from Kalgan) is considered of little account in Kansu, and

317 distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. We informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that
312 of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

651 The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right
733 to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of
312 poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kilnburnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

624 It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the sui tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under
458 conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-
511 supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impossible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

133 And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised 798
attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Christian funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kan- 249
chow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of 798
enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown 651
any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers 624
as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These industrious growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction 798
increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak 624
vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

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501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep

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624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects, the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
346 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha
178 in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
624 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.
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The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years 171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

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from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the sub- 624
ject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their 651
country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even 563
in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with 701
the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every [782]
month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is 701
also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the 712
so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

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Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[271] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

565 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung Wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Datung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

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Kalmyk

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulaseta Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his entire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable [423]
land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of
[651] gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and [792]
gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

T 792

German castle, while the ordinary priests' houses are spread out on the main mountain behind like a neat little village. (Plate XXVI). In the dschong on the cliff lives the ruler of the Dscherku tribe (Tibetan: sde schok), the Tsawu be hu. At present this is an incarnate lama of the Saskya sect, but it has only been in Manchu times that he has taken the place of the former secular and hereditary princely house. There is now fixed spiritual ownership instead of the hereditary succession of the old aristocratic families. The same soul which from time to time merely enters another body, so to speak, is now permanent master. But, strangely enough, this soul always keeps choosing aristocratic families. He still delivers his taxes to the Chinese every three years. For the rest, he as well as his neighbors are subordinate to the Nan tsien king. In addition to him a second living Buddha has set up his labrang on the mountain.

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Since it is the most important place in a wide area, Dscherku ndo is also the center of the Chinese (i.e., Hsining) government in the entire "Hung mao ör de ti fang" or "Yü fu" (Peking dialect: Yü schu). At the time of my visit there was, however, only a single man, a Fan tse to boot, from Dunkur who was the representative and political agent of the Chinese in this country. This "Lo ts'a" was given board at Tibetan expense, but was not entitled to anything else, and his only duty was to be able to give information, if necessary, about important events in the country. Real Chinese officials could be found here only once every three years and these consisted of a commission to collect taxes. The latter were taken over from Mongolian times and the amount has been fixed since the year 1732. The commission was made up of a civilian and a military mandarin /Bi tieh sche (2)

2. Bi tieh sche is written pi t'ieh shih in Mayers, The Chinese Government. The name derives from the Manchurian word bitheschi meaning "writer" and one who knows how to write. These officials finally always had Chinese secretaries under them.

and Schu be who in Tibet wore red buttons/ with three interpreters and three secretaries, for whose protection close to twenty Chinese soldiers with four flags and several Mongolians from Tsaidam were taken along. On the journey thither the people always went from Dankar north of the Koko Nor across Tsaidam and the Odontala (Sing /143/ su h'ai) to the northernmost Yü fu tribe, Niamtso, then by way of the tribes of Guts'a and Antschun as far as Dscherku ndo which they finally reached

E 131 651

after three or four months. The nomads living along the route were obliged to furnish free means of transportation (ula) and plenty of free food (seven sheep a day). En route disputes between tribes were ironed out as much as possible, and secretaries and interpreters received earnings from this as well as from the ula. The commission stayed in Dscherku 10 to 13 months, that is, strictly speaking, long enough until the K'amba tribes had paid their taxes, whereupon the Chinese traveled back to Hsining fu with ula out of K'am by way of Deda, Lab (e) and Tendo, approximately along the route that I had taken to K'am. The result of these strenuous journeys, besides the moral reminder of Chinese supremacy was a sum of 2,000 taels. However, in the last few years it had never been collected, but had shrunk to 600 taels because the tribes always sought to avoid payment and maintained that they were unable to collect the proper amount. They said this was caused by progressive poverty which was supposed to have been caused by over-population and increasing summer droughts. I was told by various people that there had been very poor harvests the preceding years. However, my six Schen si merchants thought that the chief reason for the refusal to pay taxes lay in the small amount of authoritative power which China develops in K'am. (1)

E 651 T 161

1. The expenses involved in the sojourn and the return journey of the Chinese, which the K'amba had to pay in kind amounted to another 3,000 taels or so.

The ula, that is, free transportation back to Hsining, was arranged so that the K'amba gave the Chinese two oxen and one horse for each man and 15 oxen and 5 horses to transport the silver and the goods that had been got in trade, giving them a total of 75 to 80 oxen and 35 horses as their property and only a few guides besides.

The tax which each individual family was required to pay in money every three years was 0.075 tael (about 22 pfennig). Originally each 100 families were required to furnish one horse. As long as the value of a horse was still 7.5 tael (1780) the horse tax was figured in silver and this figure has been retained. On the basis of 0.075 tael per family and five members to each family, one can estimate the population of the Yü schu at 133,300 laymen and 22,000 tax-exempt lamas (that is, approximately one-sixth of the population) or a total of 155,300 souls. I regard this as a fairly accurate figure (i.e., 1.9

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653 PUBLIC WORKS--government construction of dams, reservoirs, canals, ship channels, railways, highways, sewers, and public buildings; method of accomplishment (e.g., by labor drafts, by contract with private entrepreneurs); public works policies (e.g., to relieve unemployment, to increase public revenues); maintenance of public works; etc. See also:

Chinese graft	186	Forced labor	466
Water supply	212	Highway and railway construction	499
Construction contractors	331	River and harbor improvements	503
Public buildings	366	Political graft	667
Sewers	366	Public works programs to relieve unemployment	746

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and the other at San-men which will give an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatts of electricity, ten times the nation's total output of power in 1954.

In San-men gorge, where the river is narrow and its bed solid igneous rock, a dam and reservoirs will be built. The dam will be some 295 feet high and detain in its huge reservoir water to a level of 1,150 feet above sea level. The reservoir will be able to hold back some 47,086,344,000 cubic yards (7,923,600 million imperial gallons) of water. At San-men gorge, a great million kilowatt power station is to be built with an average output of 4,600 million kilowatt hours, equivalent to sixty-four percent of the country's total output of electricity in 1952. A big electricity supply network in central China as well as over the vast rich basins of Wei-ho and Fen-ho rivers in Shensi and Shansi respectively will be built around the San-men gorge: over 2,623,400 acres more land will be irrigated before 1967, for the water levels and the huge waterhead above the dam - the water above it may be close to 230 feet higher than it is below.

At Liu-chia, above Lanchow, another million kilowatt hydro-electric power station will be built with an annual output of 5,230 million kilowatts. It will not only supply ample and cheap electric power to the new industrial enterprises in and around Lanchou and Hsi-ning, but also would free the city of Lanchow from the menace of inundations caused by the overflowing of the river during a flood. In addition, large tracts of land in Kansu as well as Inner Mongolia will be brought under irrigation. Navigation between Lanchou or even Hsi-ning along the Huang -shui, a tributary of the Yellow River, and Paotou in Suiyuan will also be improved.

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The two great power stations will mark the completion of the first phase of the plan in the fifteen years ending 1967. Thus the completion of these multiple-purpose plans for flood control, power generation and irrigation works to be built along the mid-course of the Yellow River will bring a new phase in the industrial and agricultural development of the region.

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2. Iron Ore and Ferro-alloys

Northwest China has a fair amount of iron ore deposits and some ferro-alloy minerals, such as tungsten, molybdenum and nickel.

a. Iron Ore:

Iron ore deposits are found in all the four provinces of Northwest China. In Shensi province, iron ore is widely spread in the Chin-ling and Pa-shan Mountain ranges - extending west to Kansu, east to Honan, and south to Szechwan provinces. It is relatively more concentrated in the districts of Feng-hsien

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by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any Layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

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With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

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The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

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Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the

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little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

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654 RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--government-supported research in applied science (e.g., agriculture, fisheries, mining, forestry, nutrition, medicine); public extension and demonstration services; government subsidies to weak or essential industries (e.g., airlines, shipping, agriculture); exploration; coast, geodetic, and geological surveys; meteorological research and weather stations; etc. See also:

Mining and forestry	31	Agricultural science	242
Water and air transport	50	Exploring expeditions	484
Cultural goals	185	Military research	711
Marine industries	228	Public Health	744

N 135 oil field which was discovered near Yümen in northwest Kansu during the latter part of the last war. Though several wells N had been drilled and a small refinery plant established, oil [315] production was never large due to shipping and transportation [489] difficulties. (It might be noted that construction of the Kansu- [499] Sinkiang Railway has been completed up to Yümen in July 1956. Tank cars may now replace trucks in the transportation of Yümen oil.) Despite these adverse factors, the Peking Government's planned economy gives top priority to the development of the known and the search for the unknown mineral wealth of China's Northwest.

N 315 Thirteen construction projects were completed in the Yümen Oil Field, China's biggest oil center, in the spring of 1955. A number of these projects now enable Yümen to produce eighteen percent more heavy lubricating oil and fifteen percent N more kerosene. (NCNA April 22, 1955). 316 A large coal field was discovered in Kansu in April, 1955. It is reported the new discovery with a total of approximately thirty-two million metric tons is four times as large as the A-kan-chen colliery of Kao-lan (Lanchou) county, one of the major coal mines in the province.

S Work has been started by three oil prospecting teams sent N to Sinkiang and Chinhai provinces by the Northwest Geology 315 Bureau under the Ministry of Geology. The prospectors are [654] operating in Turfan and Dzungaria Basins, Sinkiang and in Tsaidam, Chinahai, to locate oil-bearing structures, oil shales, heavy feldspar and other minerals. (NCNA April 19, 1955). One of the plans for 1955 was to complete the prospecting of several oil-bearing structures in the Turfan Basin and obtain the data to design a modern shaft mine in the Urumchi coal field (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955). In addition, rich coal deposits have been discovered in North Sinkiang, particularly in the Ili Valley.

According to 1955 reports, new oil fields were discovered and drilled, e.g., at Tu-shan-tzu, south of Wu-su, and new S coal fields were discovered in Sinkiang. Up to now, eight coal N fields are being worked along the foothills of Tien-shan in 316 Sinkiang, which form one of the largest coal fields in China, ranking third among all the provinces. In coal reserve, Sinkiang is next only to Shansi and Shensi. The present coal reserves of Sinkiang are estimated at 35,040 million metric tons and can last for three hundred years at the present daily output rate of 320,000 tons.

Iron ore and ferro-metals like tungsten, manganese, molybdenum and nickel, as well as some non-ferrous minerals, like gold, platinum, copper, lead and zinc, and aluminum have been discovered and some even worked, especially in the province of

N 315 new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the
S [315] exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of
N 315 648 177 Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

N 315 654 Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

N 315 The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of
N [133] the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have
N [433] been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more pro-
S 315 [648] [433] mising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

N 315 Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China
S [315] with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

N 315 654 oil shales, heavy feldspar, and other minerals. By mid-June, 1955, as a result of an air survey to prospect for oil in Sinkiang, in addition to ground teams with magnetic and gravitational methods in the search for oil, the secret of a petroleum river has been leaked out from a state oil refinery. (American Consul General, SCMP, June 1-30, 1955; June 16, p. 3-5), and ten promising areas for petroleum
N 315 production are discovered.

Oil prospecting in Chinghai:

No actual drilling and production of oil are reported from Chinghai, but the province has been prospected extensively for oil since early 1955. Promising discoveries of oil-bearing
N [654] structures have been increasingly revealed. Two oil-prospecting teams were sent to Chinghai under the supervision of the Ministry of Fuel Industries and the Ministry of Geology. A new oil field was first discovered southeast of Hsi-ning, the capital of Chinghai province. Oil wells for trial production are reported to be sunk there. (NCNA, April 26, 1955). New Oil-bearing structures have just been discovered in the Tsaidam Basin in Changhai province. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 27).

The Tsaidam Basin is one of the concentration points of present day oil prospecting and more oil bearing structures have been increasingly discovered in the area. (NCNA, June, 1955). In order to do the prospecting work, members of the Youth Prospecting Corps are dispatched there, and they have reported new discoveries of oil structures in the basin.
N [654] Following the recent discovery of the four layer oil structure by the fourth Sub-company of Number 632 Company of the Northwest Geological Bureau, the Number 104 Company under the Chinghai Petroleum prospecting Bureau of the petroleum prospecting General Bureau discovered at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kunlun mountains, a three layer oil structure in May, 1955. (Am. Consul General: SCMP June 1-30, 1955, p. 28). As to the exact locations of these new discoveries and their possible reserves, no data are available. Recent reporters however say that the newly discovered oil deposits in the Tsaidam Basin and at Karamai Northwest of Urumchi have even greater prospects than the Yü-men field (N. Y. Times, August 15, 1956).

N 135 b. Coal

Northwest China is particularly rich in coal. About twenty-nine percent of China's coal reserve lies in Shensi alone, formerly considered second only to its neighbor Shansi, if
S [135] claims of recent Manchurian discoveries are discounted). With some new discoveries, Sinkiang claims a coal reserve next only to Shansi and Shensi provinces. Thus the Northwest

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*668 241 474 185 and coordinate all rural activities toward the fulfillment of Chinese Communist agrarian policy: complete cooperativization of agriculture and the assurance of a steady flow of food and raw materials through fixed purchase of produce. (The problem of agricultural taxes in the Northwest has not been mentioned so far, [651] The Communists have not reported any reduction of agricultural taxes, or what the average tax rates in the Northwest are.) They have a system of cooperatives at the basic production levels. Though cooperativization has taken place slowly because of the peculiar conditions of many areas in the last six years, it is expected that once some nucleus of control has been established in the rural areas in the form of permanent mutual aid cooperatives and producer cooperatives, rapid cooperativization will take place, to embrace, ultimately, all rural inhabitants.

*668 563 In the national minority area, the Chinese Communists have proceeded slowly, so far, in their attempts to organize agricultural and pastoral activities. The problem of different national [474] minority groups has been one of the principal stumbling blocks in the creation of lower level co-ops, and will undoubtedly pose a barrier to rapid cooperativization.

*668 241 654 452 Secondly, the State has been able to provide only a small supply of farm implements and credit. Shortages in China and the difficulties of transportation undoubtedly account for this. It is questionable whether these shortages can be overcome in the next few years, but when they are, new farm tools and sufficient credit should account for significant output increases.

*668 241 433 Thirdly, one of the principal ways the Communists have attempted to increase output in the Northwest has been through extensive farming rather than through intensive means. They have done this by using vast amounts of labor, particularly military, to reclaim desert wastes, build irrigation works, and construct state farms to manage the reclaimed area. Evidence of this is most striking in Sinkiang and Kansu. Although Chinghai and Shensi with their hills and valleys limit extensive farming procedures, cultivation has been extended wherever possible. Because of the shortage of fertilizer and tools the Chinese Communists have been unable to promote intensive farming on a scale that would raise output per acre significantly. Instead, they have had to resort to expanding cultivation, that is, extensive farming, to obtain the desired increases.

*668 241 231 433 Finally, it is clearly evident that in all parts of the Northwest, with the exception of Chinghai, there has been a general neglect in promoting livestock production and instead an all-out effort to increase the planting and extension of cultivation of wheat, cotton, and oil seed bearing crops. This program differs radically from policy measures suggested by Western agronomists, i.e., J.L. Buck and T.H. Shen who advocated the restoration of fertility to

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655 GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES--government monopolies (e.g., salt, tobacco); enterprises operated by the state or its political subdivisions (e.g., postal system, telephone and telegraph services, railways, power plants, banks); organization and mode of operation of each; types of government enterprise; etc.

See also:

Social planning	185	Government property	421
Postal system	205	Banks	453
Telephone and telegraph	206	Government ownership and control of capital	471
Salt manufacture	258	Economics of state enterprise	475
Tobacco manufacture	277	Monopolies	477
Municipal power and light facilities	365	Railways	496
Power development	371		

S 316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchou-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

Coal Mining and Its Production:

N 316 While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and ad Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a xixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of N the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But [655] since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these N mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal [466] by mule collie carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

S 316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome, Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

*668 491 178 Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been re-opened for traffic. (See section Communications.) With these improvements in transportation, it is only logical to assume that trade in the Northwest must also have increased in volume.

*668 178 433 [315] [288] Another important change is the increase of production of the Yümen Oil Field and the establishment of four new textile factories in Shensi (for details see section Industry). Although there is no information on the distribution of these products, it is reasonable to assume that most of them are intended for the consumption in the Northwest. If this is the case, the import of [439] textiles and kerosene, which were two of the most important items of the imports of this region, must have been reduced.

*668 178 248 [438] [439] Still another important change is the enlargement of cotton plantations in Sinkiang. It is reported that the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company in Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region plans to send five thousand tons of cotton to other parts of the country in addition to ensuring an adequate supply for local consumption. On November 3, 1955, the first cargo of cotton of Sinkiang was dispatched to Shensi for its textile industry.

B. Government Control

*668 655 43 The Communist control of trade in the Northwest is more or less the same as that in other parts of the country. The main instrument of control is the state trading companies, which are in charge of wholesale trade and, together with the various co-operatives and mobile trading units, purchase of native products from this region. According to Communist reports, the six basic commodities in Sian, i.e., food, cotton cloth, edible oil, coal, tea and salt, have been fully monopolized by the state trading companies since June 29, 1955; and all private wholesale establishments dealing with those goods have been liquidated. More than one hundred members of the "capitalist side" were sent to reform camps, and the store assistants were either employed by the state trading companies or sent back to their native places to seek other employment. In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, the number of branches of state trading companies exceeded five hundred in 1954, about eight times as many as in 1950. They provide the people there with general merchandise, cotton cloth, oil and fats, petroleum, pharmaceuticals and stationary.

Aside from supplying goods on the wholesale level, the state trading companies have also undertaken to buy goods from this region. Among the goods bought in 1950 are: (1) wool, 23,000 catties, (2) hides, 800,000 pieces, (3) intestines, 1,270,000 pieces, (4) bristles, 280,000 catties, (5) tung oil, 4,500,000 catties, (6) medical herbs, 4,000,000 catties, (7) cotton, 800,000 piculs and (8) grain, 130,000,000 catties (cf. The Native Products of the Northwest, preface, Sian, 1951).

*668 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the
494 various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the
443 cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not avail-
656 able. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the
43 rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illus-
trate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the
*668 rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of
443 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies
656 near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market
43 is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to
trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Com-
munists took over, there was no government control over such
markets. But under the Communist regime, the following mea-
sures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2,
pp. 94-96):

1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or
• [655] producers sell certain commodities to the state trading com-
panies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such
commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five com-
modities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle,
lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are
in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on
the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist
cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954
amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), con-
stituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-
chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are con-
ducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate
the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these
markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per
cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commo-
dities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bam-
boo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope,
hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants
include the agencies of the state trading companies and the co-
operatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not
under government control and do not have a definite place of
marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small
scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the
total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control
*[195] has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail
[655] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of
[494] which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*195 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
• 655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
494 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although
all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be
assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and
to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement
concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-
hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to
achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the stan-
dard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better
terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[195] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-
ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth (No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	2. tea
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minor-
ity regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the
Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a
sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in
Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. How-
ever, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*195 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-
hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

*668 467,000 yüan in 1954, showing an increase in purchasing power
43 of 40.8 per cent. In the second sub-district of Hsien-yang,
*195 Shensi, the per capita outlay was 410,000 in 1953, and 620,000
yüan in 1954, showing an increase of 51 per cent. In Sinkiang-
Uighur Autonomous Region, the purchasing power of the people
is said to have increased 13 per cent in 1954 as compared with
1953, and the total value of state purchases of local products
went up 3.7 times in 1954 as compared with 1950. And in the
national minority regions, the total sales of state trade in 1954
increased 4.7 times as compared with 1951, and the total pur-
chase in 1954 increased 5.1 times as compared with the same
period.

On the other hand, the Communists have admitted certain
failures. For instance, on March 15, 1955, the Sian Municipal
Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive
to improve the work of unified grain marketing, in which it was
pointed out that waste and extravagance have been prevalent, and
it was demanded that the party and the New Democratic Youth
League branches in the various places should supervise and
ensure the check-up.

*668 Another failure is revealed in the report on trade control in
*195 Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu. From June, 1954, to January,
494 1955, the supply and purchase cooperatives in that area under-
43 took to buy all the native products at an official price and pro-
hibited the farmers from entering free trade. But the farmers
refused to cooperate, and they reduced production and lowered
quality. As a result, the Communists had to reverse themselves
and announce that it was still too early to eliminate free trade
entirely in the rural areas.

*668 As to trade in the national minority regions, the shortcom-
*563 ings as admitted by the Communists are as follows: One is that
43 the state trading agencies were interested only in wholesale and
refused to purchase products in small quantities. Another short-
• [655] coming is that they sometimes unduly eliminate private mer-
chants and thus a shortage in commercial outlets results. Still
another shortcoming is that the Communist cadres had failed to
pay attention to the specific needs of the national minorities. For
instance, some of them were so careless as to send swimming
suits to mountainous areas or electric typewriters to areas in
which people do not even know how to write (cf. Hsin-hua yueh-
pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79).

The main difficulty of the Communist control of trade in the
*668 Northwest seems to be the lack of cadres. For instance, the so-
43 called socialization of wholesale trade in the coastal cities such
*195 as Shanghai and Tientsin was more or less completed in 1953,
but they did not start it in Sian until 1955. Similarly, the control
of rural trade in Kansu, as revealed in the report on Lo-men-

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food processing 25
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 68
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 436
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 882
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 759
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

195 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
[873] number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
• [656] pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
N all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
204 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
*668 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the
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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

S N 485 795 114 798

S N 795 554 485 114

241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was 654 forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in 241 175 all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers [435] had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers 241 423 who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [429] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

241 423 427 171 162

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] [177] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[578] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

*175 conditions in 1954 and tasks for 1955, it was stated that 2,000
185 modern plows were now in use, and 67,245 mou (10,221 acres)
*668 of dry fields have been converted into water fields, while adequate
241 water supply has also been made available to 28,597 mou (4,347
433 acres) of original water fields. It was planned to have 746 agri-
[474] cultural producer co-ops in operation in 1955, with an area of
5,115,000 mou (777,480 acres) to be sowed with a planned output for the province of 853,350,948 carries (42,337,207 bushels). An area of 500,000 mou (76,000 acres) is to be sown for oil bearing crops with a planned output of 10 million catties (24,137
*175 metric tons). There is so little data for the pre-Communist and
241 Communist period that it is impossible to construct a table.
433 The only comparison that can be made is in oil seed bearing crops (and livestock which follows). The pre-Communist figures give an average of 21,000 metric tons for the years 1931-1939. Since it is planned to increase output to 24,137 metric tons, this will mean an increase of 3,137 metric tons; not a very significant increase.

162 In Chinghai there is a population of over one million; sixty per cent belong to the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui minority nationali-
*668 ties. The Communists reported that the province's seven million
231 head of livestock in 1951 was increased to over twelve million in
185 1954 and it is planned that 20 million will be raised by 1957.
*175 (Pre-war and war year statistics list the total livestock at little over one million. Communists claims of sevenfold and twelve-fold increases in this case, ought to be accepted with reservations. However, because the base year (one million) is so low, it is possible to have rapid increases of a relatively large magni-
[654] tude.) The People's Government issued loans to husbandmen engaged in animal husbandry totalling 6,555,000,000 yuan (U.S. $266,365) in 1954. Steps were taken in cutting and storing grass for winter, repairing sheds and enclosures, and building winter and spring shelters to protect livestock during the cold season. It was also reported that in 1954, goals in planned purchases of cattle and sheep were achieved, and this produced definite contributions in support of the industrial construction of the State. At the same time, these activities served to educate the people in patriotism and mutual aid.

*668 Tasks for the future were to continue to raise agricultural
185 production based on the mutual aid and producer co-ops and to develop supply and marketing co-ops, credit co-ops, and arrange for markets in rural areas to promote interflow of supplies and planned purchase and planned supply of food. Care was to be taken to preserve livestock and to continue afforestation schemes. It was reported that within the province some 38,900 mou (5,913 acres) had been afforestated in 1954 and the number of fires greatly reduced.

S N 214 171

March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177

The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Bock Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorializing explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 (656)

Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 *668 177

V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

174 *668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 579 *668 669 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counterrevolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 563 *668 669 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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Further-
*668 more, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaugh-
796 ter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.
• 656

B. Guided Tours

*668 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China
484 are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and
648 east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and
*563 palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda.
208 For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:
876 "In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows.
208 When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of M
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma
Yun-t'ing), served in the early year
High Commissioner for Chinghai, c
Division for Altai, and later in the s
1913, the Commission of the Guards

When the Revolution of 1911 broke
[669] studying at the military school in La
small part in the revolution by mobil
school and trying, unsuccessfully, t
points in the city.

159 He started his military career wh
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 19
transferred to be the garrison comm
promoted as commanding officer of
During the war between Chang Tso-
P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province,
commander of the cavalry in Jehol,
inces. After the war was over, he f
eral Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 19
pedition started, he followed Genera
the expedition. At this time his troo
Fourth Army of the First Army Gro
mander of the Fourth Army. In 1928
China and his troops suffered a grea
was settled, he regrouped his troops
was put in charge of suppressing the
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929
hsiang revolted against the Nationali
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma
tionalist Government. His troops we
the 11th Army. In 1930, his army wa
my Group and was in charge of patro
Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the
dered to go to Ninghsia, and on Janu
pointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplor
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma C
• 656 peace and prosperity to the people,
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his
the Pao-chia system by which the pe
insure against the recurrence of ban
measures to put a gradual end to the
opium. Fourth, he stabilized the cur
improved the taxation system. Simul
policies of improving land administr

159 afforestation, construction and repair of roads, and introducing
185 the irrigation system. During the fifteen years of his adminis-
[656] tration, 1933-1948, Ninghsia Province changed from a land of devastation to a land of peace and normalcy, achieved by ruthless regimentation.

159 When the war between Japan and China broke out in 1937, Ma
648 Hung-k'uei volunteered to fight the enemy. Because of the importance of the Northwest, and because of the importance of Ninghsia as the gateway to the Northwest, he was ordered by the Central Government to stay in Ninghsia to guard that strategic area against Communist infiltration. From 1937-1945, however, Ninghsia became a part of the Eighth War Area, and Ma was appointed as the deputy commander-in-chief. When the war against Japan was brought to an end in 1945, he was appointed deputy director of the Northwest Headquarters of the president.
159 When all-out fighting started between the Nationalists and the
669 Communists, he was given the post of deputy Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area. In July 1949, when the Communist troops began to push their way to the Northwest, he joined Ma Pu-feng, another member of the famous Ma clan, then Director of Military and Political Affairs of the Northwest Area, to set up defense lines. But the victorious forces of the Communists broke through all these lines and pushed their way to the eastern and southern parts of Kansu Province. The two Ma flew to Canton, the provisional capital, to see Vice-President General Li Tsung-jen for new instructions. It was decided to concentrate the troops to defend Lanchou. On August 25, 1949, when the troops of Ma Hung-k'uei were still some eighty miles away from Lanchou, the Communist troops had already reached that city. By the middle of September, 1949, the whole Northwest, including Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, was taken over by the Communists.

In 1949 when the Nationalist Government took up the defense
[631] of Kansu Province, Ma was appointed concurrently as governor of Kansu. His administrative record in Kansu was short-lived. The Communists took over the whole Northwest by September, 1949. When the Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan, both the military and political life of Ma Hung-k'uei came to an end. He entered the United States and lived a life of retirement in San Francisco.

159 Ma Hung-pin (1883-)

Another of the Four Ma who once ruled the Northwest of modern China, Ma Hung-pin is a cousin of Ma Hung-k'uei, governor of Ninghsia Province from 1933-1948 and governor of Kansu Province from 1948-50. Together with Ma Pu-fang and Ma Pu-ch'ing of Chinghai Province, they were usually called the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest.

*668 474 443 656 43 As to control on the retail level, it is exercised through the various cooperatives and the mobile trading units. As far as the cooperatives are concerned, detailed information is not available. However, a recent report on the state of trade in the rural market, Lo-men-chen, Wu-shan, Kansu, may well illustrate how deeply the Communist control has penetrated into the rural areas. According to this report, Lo-men-chen is one of *668 443 656 43 the large rural markets in the county of Wu-shan, which lies near T'ien-shui on the T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. The market is open on every other day, and the number of people coming to trade is usually between five and six thousand. Before the Communists took over, there was no government control over such markets. But under the Communist regime, the following measures have been adopted (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1956, No. 2, pp. 94-96):

(655) 1. State Purchase: The Communists demand that farmers or producers sell certain commodities to the state trading companies or their agencies before they may sell elsewhere. Such commodities, in 1954, were grain and oil products.

2. Controlled Markets: The Communists have put five commodities under their direct control. They are grain, cattle, lumber, firewood and hemp. Prices are fixed by those who are in charge of economic control, and trade is conducted mainly on the wholesale level under the supervision of the Communist cadres. The volume of trade of these commodities in 1954 amounted to 276,422 yüan (approximately U.S. $110,000), constituting some 30 per cent of the total value of trade of Lo-men-chen.

3. Free Markets at Fixed Locations: Such markets are conducted in a specific place, and the Communists do not regulate the quantity nor the price. In 1954, the volume of trade in these markets amounted to 448,379 yüan, constituting some 60 per cent of the total value of Lo-men-chen trade. The main commodities belonging to this category are straw hats (seasonal), bamboo and wood articles (mostly farming implements), hemp rope, hemp shoes, vegetables, fruits and chinaware. The participants include the agencies of the state trading companies and the cooperatives.

4. Mobile Free Markets: These include peddlers who are not under government control and do not have a definite place of marketing. Trade of this nature is necessarily on a very small scale, the total volume constituting about ten per cent of the total trade of Lo-men-chen.

It is mentioned in the same report that government control has made remarkable progress since 1953. In 1953, all retail * [175] [655] [474] trade of Lo-men-chen amounted to 2,123,682 yüan (NJMP), of which amount the state trading companies handled 3.58 per cent,

*668 the cooperatives handled 2.65 per cent and 93.77 per cent was
443 handled privately. But in 1954, private trade was reduced to
• 656 43.02 per cent, state trade increased to 41.55 per cent and that
43 of cooperatives increased to 15.43 per cent, the total being
*175 2,372,936 yüan. In the first five months of 1955, the private
655 trade comprised only 23.42 per cent of the total of 871,234 yüan,
474 and the state and cooperatives handled 74.36 per cent. Although all this is the situation in one single rural community, it can be assumed that it is typical.

*668 The mobile trading units are especially designed for the con-
443 trol of trade in the so-called national minority regions where the
563 people are mostly nomads. They travel from one place to an-
43 other, to provide the herdsmen with the supplies they want and to buy up their products. According to a semi-official statement concerning the trade in the national minority regions (cf. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 9, pp. 178-79), the Communists aim to achieve two things in this connection. One is to raise the standard of living of the minority peoples by giving them better terms of trade. For instance, the exchange ratios between wool
[175] (the main export) and tea and cloth (the main imports) in Hsi-ning from 1950 to 1954 were as follows:

Table X: Exchange Ratios between Wool, Cloth and Tea in Hsi-ning

Year	Price of Wool per 100 catties (yüan)	Exchange Ratio with respect to: 1. cloth	2. tea
		(No. pieces per 100 catties/wool)	
1950	745,700	2.29	11.61
1951	1,042,700	3.09	19.61
1952	1,230,758	3.71	28.13
1953	1,278,825	4.18	34.44
1954	1,258,000	4.18	31.45

Source: Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 3., p. 146.

The other aim is to drive foreign goods out of the national minority regions and replace them with goods made in China. If the Communists really mean what they said, this would lead to a sharp conflict between Chinese and Soviet goods, especially in Sinkiang, where Soviet goods have long been very popular. However, no detailed information on this matter is now available.

C. Evaluation and Prospects

*668 According to Communist propaganda, trade control in the
43 Northwest has been very successful. For instance, they boasted
*175 that the per capita purchase of commodities in Liu-lin-chu, Yao-hsien, Shensi, has increased from 345,000 yüan in 1953 to

657

657 PUBLIC WELFARE--pensions and welfare services for government employees; government care and administration of dependent ethnic groups (e.g., reservations); extent of public support of social work, welfare, relief, social insurance, and public health; etc. See also:

Social problems 73
Government housing programs 362
Public parks and playgrounds 367
Administration of dependent territories 636
Public health 744
Social insurance 745
Public assistance 746

S N The newest
311 development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only
563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking
175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu-
642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-
177 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang,"
631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The
S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks
[668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist
[565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various
175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk,
631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenus";
795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend-
649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi,
• 657 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the
S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese
175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi,
631 Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc.
649 Relay stations provided communication between the government
[202] in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system.

S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 657 175 647 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 657 563 S N 175 657 563 669 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

631 619 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648

S 743 744 668 177 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeutic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).

Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Government to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have given service to patients in small towns and remote areas. Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innoculation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

N 657 743 749 171 *668 177

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N 744 743 *668 177 In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office administers the health program. Health clinics have been established in different parts of the province. The work here is more difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 735 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

799 Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
744 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

• 657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 The realization grew however that with regard to natural
312 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
185 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
657 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[744] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
• 657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-194., that
635 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
646 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
646 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
749 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the
731 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
749 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
[722] were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[727] hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
747 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated government of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
S [162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary movement and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
• 657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social structures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
S 175 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
657 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
563 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mon-
578 gols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sinkiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them, while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs; they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
S 175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
668 Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

III. Functions of Propaganda System

A. Sounding Board

*668 This propaganda network has another important function. It
208 also checks public opinion and relays it to the Party. Every propagandist is supposed to report back not only what he has said but also what the public has said to him. Since the Communist Party has control of all newspapers, radio broadcast programs and other means of public information, there is no other way of knowing the true feelings of the people. Thus, the propaganda machine is utilized to sound out public opinion, in order to better deal with the public.

Furthermore, the propaganda machine is fluid and can be used as a weapon in every field. (For the details, see the Propaganda section of the General Handbook).

B. Work with National Minorities

1. "Central People's Government Mission to National Minorities of Northwest"

*668 Besides the regular propaganda organizations, special groups
• 657 and teams have been sent at various times to different areas. For
*563 instance, in 1950 the Communists sent a "Central People's Government Mission to the National Minorities in the Northwest." The chief of the mission was Shen Chun-ju, the deputy chiefs were Sa K'ung-liao and Ma Yu-kwei. The mission visited Panchan Lama on November 1, at Kumbum monastery in Chinghai. There they also attended a welcome meeting of 12,000 people of all the nationalities in Chinghai. The Panchan Lama presented Shan, Sa and Ma with katag, consisting of silk woven portraits of Buddha, the most precious gift to the Tibetans (obviously these were specially made, usually there is no portrait of Buddha), and expressed his profound respects for, and gratitude to, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "At the welcome meeting to the mission at Sining city on November 2, representatives of seven nationalities in Chinghai submitted to Chairman Mao a katag consisting of a silk banner more than 10 geet in length, inscribed with words in the Chinese, Arabic and Tibetan languages, stating: "Most Respected and Honored Chairman Mao; under your glorious banner, we have achieved equality, mutual assistance, love and unity." On the top of the banner there were attached 8 national flags of China and the portrait of Mao, at the bottom were paintings of the people of the seven nationalities in the province. (NCNA, November 4, 1950).

Of course, these activities greatly impressed the local people. This same mission in different groups visited Ninghsia and Sinkiang.

*668 In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study
658 campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest. Many of those so indoctrinated were organized into groups and sent

658

658 PUBLIC EDUCATION--extent of direct and indirect public support to education; government sponsorship and support of the fine arts, pure science, libraries, and museums; etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Libraries and museums	217
Science	81	Musical and theatrical productions	848
Education	97		

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

#175 *563 871 794 658

A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

872 794

1. Moslem schools

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

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The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

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arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chŏr-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

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An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ngags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

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To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

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B. Nationality Education under the Republic

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The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

S 871 162

Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

S 871 563

According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

S [162]

Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

S 871 563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

S 87 563

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

N *563 873 • 658 *175 871 N [669] Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

*563 873 • 658 *175 871 the first middle school in this area.

After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it became the center of secondary education in the area. The curriculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corresponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

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In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

*563 871 *175

*563 and attached to these headquarters was a primary and a middle
871 school. The Moslem Promotion Association, discussed here,
*175 operated a total of eighty-three primary schools, twelve of them senior primary schools. They had a total of 5,300 students and 201 teachers.

*563 The main purpose of the government during wartime, in
• 658 bringing educational facilities to the Northwest, was to unify
871 and reconstruct the cultures of the ethnic minorities along
*175 Chinese principles with equal emphasis in primary education on citizenship training, language, vocation and hygiene. In secondary education, the Kuomintang government attempted to develop or initiate technical abilities.

During World War II the Kuomintang government showed some interest in the education of the nomadic Tibetans. Chiang Kai-shek induced some tribal leaders to carry a school tent with their tribes. These tents served as primary educational centers. This move was revolutionary, as it was the first type of education, or at least of organized education, to reach the nomadic Tibetans.

Up to 1945 the educational program sponsored by the provincial authorities was as follows:

1. In Chinghai: As of 1943, there were eleven nationality schools operated by the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association. These eleven schools supplemented the forty-four Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Schools already in existence. Following the transfer of the Chinghai headquarters of the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association to Yü-shu in 1943, six more nationality schools were established, of which two were directly under the administration of the association. In addition, the association established two training classes for teachers of Mongolian and Tibetan, one at Ta-t'ung and one at Yü-shu. Hsi-jao-chia-tso, with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education of the National Government, also established a training class for the teaching of Chinese language to the native teachers.

2. In Ninghsia: The educational program of the local authorities received a boost when the Yün-t'ing Educational-Cultural Fund of one million dollars was appropriated. The money, however, was in depreciated currency of the National Government and did not amount to much, but with it the provincial authorities were able to set up twelve Yun-t'ing Primary Schools which had a total of twenty-five hundred students. In Ninghsia the number of mosque schools was much fewer than in Sinkiang. Here there were, up to 1945, only twelve classes with a total of two hundred and forty students. There were two nationality schools, one at T'ao-yuch and one at T'eng-k'ou, one banner school and a teacher training class in the Alashan Banner.

*563 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than
• 658 in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools
871 and students as of 1945 was as follows:
*175

Table 4

563 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945
87
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	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198
3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu		

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

871 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has
184 been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage
871 of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was
*175 appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

658 871 schools.

*175 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 658 792 871 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 166 871 [648] [658] During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 872 Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better 658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from 873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce [874]

658 or other professions to those who would enter a profession im-
873 mediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training
[874] for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 At the time the Communists took over, there were more in-
874 stitutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

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*668 658 In 1952 the Party promoted an ideological remoulding and study campaign among the literary and art circles in the Northwest. Many of those so inductrinated were organized into groups and sent

*668 to factories, rural villages, areas along the railways and in the
• 658 minority districts. Among them, 45 literary and art workers in Sian formed twelve creative writing teams and proceeded to factories, rural villages, areas along the Tienshui-Lanchow railway cities.

2. Propaganda missions by minority representatives

*668 a. To minority areas

658 There was another form of propaganda team which included
*563 well-known local leaders as members, with one of them as the head of the group. They were sent to a particular area to win over its minority groups. For instance, in June, 1952, the Northwest Military Administrative Committee sent out two propaganda missions from Sian, one to the Tibetan districts in southern Kansu and the other to pastoral districts in southern Chinghai. Each of these two divided again into two sub-groups. The first sub-group of the mission to the pastoral districts in southern Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-tso (Tibetan), visited the Mongolian banners and Chien-cha districts; the second sub-group, led by Hsia-jih-tseang, the Tibetan Living Buddha of Tung-jen hsien, Chinghai, visited Tung-teh and Tung-jen. The first and second sub-groups of the mission to the Tibetan districts in Kansu arrived at Hsia-ho and Lin-tan on July 17 and 20 respectively. The first sub-group led by Chief Huang Cheng-ch'ing (Tibetan) and Deputy Chiefs, Chu Hsia-fu, Ma Pei-ching (Moslem) and Huang hsiang, offered gifts to Labrang Monastery and its Living Buddha, Chia-mu-yang VI, on July 24. The visiting mission's welcome by the
[576] Tibetans, who had awaited the mission along the Mien-hsien-Hsia-ho highway, included the most solemn welcome ceremony of salutes fired from horseback and the presentation of katags. Abbot Tachi of Labrang Monastery and the leader of the mosque, Kung Ching-lu, were also present to welcome the mission at the outskirt of Labrang. Similar organizations were formed on other occasions.

b. To Peking, etc.

*668 Besides organizing and sending propaganda teams to the minori-
658 ty groups, the local minority people were also organized and trans-
*563 ported inland, especially to the Red capital, Peking, for short visits.
484 There they were exposed to systematic propaganda. They might come to attend meetings, to give performances, to receive training and education, or simply to have a sightseeing tour. The following are some examples.

"The preparatory meeting of the Chinese Moslem Association was held in Peking on July 27-31. The meeting was initiated and convened by eight well-known Moslems among minority nationalities: Burhan, Liu Ko-ping, Saifudin, Ta Pu-cheng, Ma Chien, Pang Shih-ch'ien, Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yu-huai. The meeting was attended by 53 delegates from all parts of China. Among them were Akhuns, Mullah and responsible people of the Moslem groups

*668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Usbeks, Tatars,
• 658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).

*563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

*668 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
*563 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
794 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

*668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

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659 MISCELLANEOUS GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES--governmental activities not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., census taking, government support of national and state forests; of established churches); expenditures on public safety (e.g., military establishment, police, fire protection, disaster relief); etc. See also:

Census data	16	Police	625
Army, navy, and air forces	70	Disaster relief	731
Fire protection	368	Established churches	795
State and national parks	529		

*668 669 578 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

*668 659 433 248 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now, is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 policies. Such resistance is revealed in instances where wheat
659 fields have been enlarged at the expense of cotton cultivation.
433 Any failure to carry out the State's purchasing plans correctly
248 then, will "undermine the prestige of the party and of state policies, encourage spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, and throw State plans into confusion." (Survey of China Mainland Press. No. 971. Supplement, January 19, 1955. "Make Accurate Estimates of Cotton Output and Fix Purchase Quotas.") Since the publication of this article on estimating cotton output and fixing purchase quotas, Peking has encouraged the "three fix policy" which is a measure designed to overcome food and agricultural raw material shortages in order to meet the planned targets set by the State. This policy provides for every administrative body throughout China to fix the production, fix the purchase of output, and fix the marketing of this output for the agricultural sectors of the Chinese economy. Undoubtedly this policy has been rigorously applied to the Northwest. Information is not available, however, as to whether the "three fix policy" has solved the above problems.

4. Kansu

*668 The Communists have made strenuous efforts to restore Kansu
185 to its former prosperity (in the days of the old Silk Road to Europe Kansu was a fertile and prosperous region). The plan to build Lanchow, the capital, into an industrial base safely removed from the seacoast, the opening of the Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway, and the extensive geological surveys for minerals and oil, indicate recent attempts to do this. On March 14, 1956, Deputy K'o Shih-king reported on the province's five year plan. Only information pertaining to agricultural progress and policy will be considered.
*668 The total output of grain and cotton in 1956 will be 10,350 million
185 catties (207 million bushels) and 250,000 piculs (16,662 tons)
433 respectively, representing 124.42 per cent (or 6,882,750 tons of
[241] grain) and 281.87 per cent of the quotas set for 1957 in the first
[313] five year plan. Afforestation will be carried out over an area of 5,300,000 mou (806,061 acres). (Union Research Service, Vol. 3, No. 3, April 10, 1956. p. 40.)

185 A comparison of Communist output figures with those of the
433 pre-Communist period is difficult. Since we cannot consider
[114] wheat only as grain (grain in this case would include corn, barley, millet, etc.) We possess no figures for oil seed bearing crops
[248] for 1956. However, for cotton, where Communist resources have been invested to expand cotton production and output, the 1956 figure of 16,662 tons as compared with the 1941 high of 3,712 tons represents around a fourfold increase.

*668 The Chinese Communists predict that the vast areas of waste-
185 land in Kansu will be transformed into cotton fields soon. Ex-
248 perts have been experimenting, it is reported, to select the most
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661 EXPLOITATION--exercise of their power by holders of political office to further personal goals, whether materialistic, psychological, or ideological; perquisites of office (e.g., exceptional income and material comforts, special sexual or marital privileges, unusual honors or deference); use of office for self-aggrandizement (e.g., exhibitionism, extortion of bribes, protection of vice, acceptance of commissions for services rendered); employment of power to force others to conform to personal ethical or religious convictions; suppression of rivals (e.g., purges); oppression of opponents; nepotism; protection of vested interests; etc. See also:

Organized vice . . . . . 548 Religious persecution. 798
Political machines. 667

*175 bureaucraticism and isolated themselves from the masses. Various
*668 national minorities adopted narrow nationalism as a means of pro-
578 tection against the ruling race (i.e., the Chinese)" (JMJP October
*563 1, 1950).

The conflict between Han Chinese cadres and national minority cadres, became so serious that in September, 1953, following the promulgation of four documents on the policy towards national minorities, the Government Administration Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a joint order to local party committees to investigate the implementation of the nationality policy and to cadres to carry out self-criticism and mutual criticism. The Jen-min jih-pao in its editorial (on October 10, 1953), also inveighed against the ideology of Great Hanism among the Han Chinese cadres and the "ultra-nationalism" of the minority cadres.

C. Cadres Reforms and Purges

*175 The remedy the situation, the Communist high command insti-
*668 tuted a series of reindoctrination conferences, the screening of
661 government personnel, and wholesale arrests and purges to improve
578 the quality of the cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün headed the panel of Chinese Communist Party and government speakers who harangued the cadres at mass meetings, held in May, 1950, in August-September, 1951, and in May, 1952, castigating them for bureaucraticism, commandism, incompetence, and corruption. The conferences of cadres were convened upon instructions from Peking. Following the speech of Li Wei-han, director of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1951, urging Communists to take the lead in rallying non-Communists and Han Chinese cadres to check their growing tendency toward "Great Nationality ideas," the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party, at the conference of the cadres held in August-September, 1951, adopted a program for the reform of the cadres, to be in three stages. Stage one, to begin September 21, was for a two and a half month study of Chinese Communist and Soviet Communist Party documents; stage two, beginning December 6, forty days for the registration, reexamination and selection of cadres on the basis of their qualifications; and stage 3, to begin January 16, 1952, thirty days for the reform of branch organizations. (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

This was the occasion for the screening and dismissal of large numbers of cadres. But more drastic action was still to come. At the fourth plenary session of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, November 22-29, 1951, the program of party reform was merged into the campaign for production and austerity. Article 5 of this program was "to simplify and retrench the

*175 government structure and to promote work efficiency," and article
*668 6 was "to strictly enforce austerity, to develop the struggle against
578 corruption, waste, and bureaucratism." (NCNA December 2,
661 1951).

The announcement of the "simplification and retrenchment" program was the signal for the purging of additional thousands of cadres, but this was still only the beginning. A month later, in January, 1952, Hsi Chung-hsün convened a conference of the Production and Austerity Committees in government organs throughout the Northwest, attended by cadres above the rank of deputy chief in the party, the government, and the military district. At this conference, Hsi Chung-hsün made a blistering speech charging that the campaign in the Northwest was not satisfactory, not penetrating, not broad enough, not directed to the main target and did not have concrete results. The leaders were sleeping, he ranted on, and the masses lacked leadership. The middle and minor officials were guilty of corruption, waste and decay. The top officials, he concluded, should assume responsibility and proceed actively in a militant attitude. (NCNA January 10, 1952).

The result of the purges, known as the Three-Anti Movement (anti-graft, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism), which was launched throughout China in 1952, and which, with its companion campaign, the Five-Anti Movement directed at businessmen, became a reign of terror unprecedented in magnitude and in horror. Untold thousands of cadres, Communists as well as non-Communists, and officials in the middle and lower grades of government, were arrested, tried and convicted in "people's courts," and executed while thousands more were jailed or condemned to corrective labor camps.

However, terror and persecutions did not accomplish the desired end of bringing the cadres in line. By spring of 1954, the demoralization of the cadres and the friction among them became so serious that a series of conferences was convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party at Sian. They were convoked upon orders from Peking, following the 7th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and in pursuance of its "Resolution to strengthen party unity." The speeches of the leaders all indicated that the demoralization of the cadres was worse and the differences and clash of interests between Communist and non-Communist cadres and between Chinese and non-Chinese cadres had increased. The cadres in general were charged with "conceit, departmentalism, dispersionism, exaggeration of seniority, boasting of achievements, concealing of defects, and suppression of criticism." (NCNA April 25, 1954), and the party cadres, in particular, were charged, at a later party conference, with "bourgeoise individualist ideas, conceit, sectarianism, parochialism, dispersionism and egotism." It was stated that "the low level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness

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*175 of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered
*668 the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders,
578 "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present
• [661] is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Hu-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 20, 1954).

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V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that
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[635] followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were
[632] also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

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*175 While the members of the Military and Administrative Council
*668 were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the
635 members of the provincial and municipal people's governments
632 were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by con-
666 ventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their
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[175] time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference
[668] of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities
[631] in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

it under heaven." 361

The common people usually call the city of Lanchow fu, Gao 631
lan hsien, after the title of the sub-prefect or head of the district (hsien) who has his seat there and who chiefly deals with the people. (1) The city lies close to the right bank of the Hwang Ho where

1. This post of Gao lan hsien was supposed to be a very busy one but poorly paid. These officials were therefore usually transferred to a good sinecure after a year. If they knew how to make a good impression on their superiors and relieve them of a great deal of work, they usually got Tsin tschou in the following year. I heard of a mandarin who three times changed over from one of these posts to the other, i.e., in one year he had to supplement his salary, whereas in the next, his earnings were very good. [661]

the latter narrows down for a short distance to a width of only 250 meters. There is no other place up and down the river where there is a similarly favorable spot for crossing over.

Each winter at this place the Yellow River is frozen over for at 133
least one and one-half months, so that even heavily-laden freight 481
wagons can drive across. The opening of this natural bridge which 527
took place toward the end of December was always a great festival occasion and was celebrated with great pomp. First of all the Gao lan hsien as fu mu kwan, i.e., father-mother-mandarin, as the patriarchally-minded Chinese calls his district chief, had to drive over the ice in his gala carriage, accompanied by a large retinue, in order to prove that the ice was safe. On the other hand, in fall and spring when the ice broke up, river traffic was often blocked for days or weeks. One could, perhaps, at the risk of one's life cross the raging stream between the ice floes on a raft of goat-skin bags. But in the spring when the ice had disappeared, the famous pontoon 491
bridge, the afore-mentioned wonder of the world, was set up at the expense of the provincial government. Twenty-two box-shaped wide boats of poplar wood were held together with heavy iron chains and especially with thick hemp ropes, as may be seen on Plate XXXIV. On top of these were laid unfinished planks, but so unevenly that one seldom dared ride across on horseback. Everywhere there were large holes, everywhere the planks rocked and tipped. The wooden railing, too, was more to look at than to lean on. Even Europeans regarded the bridge as a wonder of the world, but only /148/ to

491 wonder why this weak-looking work of man did not cause untold damage annually with the very swift river current. On several of the large iron posts that looked like cannon bores and were rammed into the earth along the bank in order to hold the large ropes and chains of the bridge, I found an inscription which revealed that the bridge had been put together in this manner long ago under the Ming emperors (in the fifth year of Emperor Hung Wu, 1372 A.D.), and was thus an arrangement that was centuries old. The government was obliged to pay out 10,000 taels (30,000 marks) each year to keep it in repair. And the cost of repair was actually said to have consumed a few thousand taels each summer. A hemp rope alone of the kind necessary to give added support during the summer
[661] floods, cost about 1,000 marks in our money. But from the 10,000 taels the officials who in the eyes of the people represented father and mother, must have been able to pocket a tidy little sum. (1)

1. After negotiations lasting one-half year - for a long time the "parents of the people" would not hear of a change - a German firm succeeded in getting a contract to build a narrow iron bridge across the river a year after my arrival. This was built during the years 1908-1911.

Thus Lanchow fu is a bridgehead, a fortress, which defends a
712 convenient Hwang Ho crossing. From time immemorial the place was regarded as important and was occupied by troops. Long before the beginning of our era, during the Ts'in and Han dynasties, we find mention of a fortified encampment here. (2) The Yellow

2. In the feudal age in China, during the Tschou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the boundary of present-day Lanchow fu bordered on the territory of the Hsi Kiang (Chinese), who, one suspects, were Tibetan nomads. At times the place was also entirely inundated with Hsi Kiang. At the time of the Ts'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.) and of the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the district became more and more Chinese. But the chief city of the district lay somewhat farther south. The present-day settlement was begun by Emperor Wen ti, the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-605). In the year 764 during the Tang dynasty everything was again lost to the Tibetans and remained in their hands, with some interruptions, until, after the year 1000, the Hsi Hsia kingdom

501 dozen whole yak skins are blown up and joined to make rafts and carry wool and other goods that come down from Tibet on camels or small conveyances farther down the river. In 1907 there were eight larger shops where Russian goods of the so-called Tschan tou hui hui - as the Sarts and Turkistan-Turks are called in Kansu - were traded. (1)

1. The number of Russian shops was on the increase. Tschan tou hui hui literally means "Mohammedans with bound heads." This designation comes from the fact that the Turkistan Turks always appear before the Chinese in turbans.

511 As long as I was in the province of Kansu the inhabitants used
651 astonishingly few foreign commodities compared to those of other provinces. The population of Kansu is particularly backward. To be sure, the way to the coast is very far and inconvenient. Besides that, the provincial government introduced a trade monopoly in 1907 on glass, bronze and lacquer goods, and Kansu in any case is regarded as the poorest province of the middle kingdom. Its annual balance is said to be so deficient that for many years other provinces have had to assume responsibility for the deficit. The many soldiers which seem to be necessary for the constantly recurring uprisings are said to be to blame for this state of affairs. The chief reason is, of course, the destruction and impoverishment, a result of the wars. Nor was stealing as prevalent in other provinces as here; the emperor was too far away. Payment of direct taxes, of land tax, is largely in kind. The most ancient registers of landed property are still used to control the levying of these taxes, whereas the farmer himself is taxed on the basis of the amount of land he
[661] has at the moment. In this way the agents of the yamen above all amass great riches.

When I was in Lanchow fu there were few Europeans living
563 there and these were missionaries. My old friend, the Belgian Father Van Dyk lived a quite lonely life in his mission and therefore greeted me particularly cordially. I moved into a camel hostelry outside the city quite near the Catholic mission, so that we could get together for an evening of conversation now and then and no city gates separated us, which were here irrevocably locked at twilight and divided up Lanchow fu and its suburbs into several separate parts. (Plate XXXIII). Mohammedans are not permitted to live here in the center of the city, they may only keep

have only one-story houses with spacious yards. 361

According to my observations, Hsining fu is 2,300 meters above sea level, while Hedin estimated only 2,265 meters, Grenard 2,250 meters and Filchner, on the other hand, by far the highest figure, namely, 2,380 meters. It lies in the middle of a flat alluvial valley, two kilometers wide, the floor of which can be irrigated, which fact determines the relative wealth of the inhabitants and above all the great cheapness of food supplies. The spot where the city stands 361
has again, of course, been very cleverly selected from a strategic 487
and economic point of view, namely, just below the point from which two broad-bottomed valleys, each containing an important road, branch off to the north and south (2) from the larger Hsining

2. The southern road leads to the Gum bum monastery and the city of Kue de ting; the northern one to Dai tung and farther toward Kanchow fu and the old Yümen, the gate toward Turkistan.

Ho Valley running from west to east. The mountains which enclose 133
these valleys are covered with loess and consist of the horizontal, red sandstone and clay strata which we find today under loess in such extensive areas of Northwest China, and which I have so often had occasion to mention. These reddish mountains rise up as much as 300 and 400 meters above the valley floor and are hopelessly bare. The summer rains are scarcely able to alter their faded color. Not even a tree anywhere. Even the willows and poplars around the villages are scarce. One very seldom sees large old trees anywhere in Kansu; they were cut down and burned during the many rebellions when the fetters of reason and right of ownership were loosened.

There is a great deal of rain in the region and many natural 631
springs. It is a little granery. Grain is sent from here to Lanchow 661
fu and many other places. The district also has a large untouched store of minerals. It is counted among the good sinecures. The best picture of its wealth is probably given by the annual income of the lowest civil mandarin, the Hsien, which amounts to between 20,000 and 30,000 taels (one tael is more than three marks, for the Hsining taels are very large). His regular income is, of course, as always in China, only 60 taels, the "rest" are perquisites. /173/ Taxes and - so it seems - lands which were formerly not surveyed but have now been reclaimed by the Chinese, and above all sentences in the many litigations make up the large sums.

491 661 Here, as in Lanchow fu, the sum set aside since ancient times by the imperial government for bridge repairs has played a certain part in the income of the hsien of Hsining. The city lies in the far west of China proper. And China represents the world to its inhabitants as well as its rulers. Therefore, outside the west gate of Hsining - as every child in the city knew - lay the tien bien yüe ya kiao, that is, the bridge which officially connects the earth with the moon. Now, no one can blame the holders of the honorable post of hsien for annually pocketing the monies with which, by royal decree, they are supposed to keep this important bridge in repair. But I was shown at least one stone which is supposed to have at one time been the beginning of the bridge. From here the way leads to the Hsi tien, the "western heaven," as Tibet is referred to by many Buddhists.

231 494 Another peculiarity of the city of Hsining is the enormous number of ponies which its inhabitants keep. There are surely several thousand of them. Almost everyone has his pony and everyone setting out on a journey, every cobbler or apprentice, rides horseback. Feed is cheap and the price of ponies not high. And if one is not too particular, one can buy up quite a number of ponies in a rather short time. 437 In this respect Hsining is a favorable starting point for a journey into Tibet, and that is why I again looked it up. Nevertheless, it took me a whole week to buy three good ponies. During this time I had ten Chinese women at my inn sew a large servants' tent for me. Carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers, smiths were engaged to complete my equipment. There was nothing in stock, everything had to be ordered. I had to bargain endlessly for every single object. For every button or piece of rope, for every little thing ten times its value was boldly demanded, laboriously I was obliged to bargain it down to a normal price, and if a day later I bought a duplicate, the tiresome haggling began again. Besides, there were so many things I wanted which I could not get. For instance, I had great trouble in that big city finding three pieces of wood which could be used as tent poles. The region has extremely little wood. After we had spent days looking in vain for a piece that would serve as a ridge pole, the son of the general finally took what I needed out of the arsenal and gave it to me.

Anyone wishing to travel in China should first of all tuck patience into his traveling bag. A Chinese must never be allowed to notice that you are in a hurry for a thing. In Hsining fu, also, all trade, whether in the open market or in shops, is carried on

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665 POLITICAL PARTIES--organization for the purpose of acquiring and retaining political power; political factions; organized political parties (e.g., number, composition, leadership, objectives); party organization (e.g., national, regional, and local committees); methods of recruiting and rewarding members (e.g., spoils system); nomination procedure (e.g., caucuses, primaries, conventions, slates); special organization during electoral campaigns; integration of political parties with the structure of the state and its subdivisions; etc.

but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. 381 Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native 277 industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and 438 that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the 635 period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the [669] province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a 665 number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

665 the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

[797] [177] 205 The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

1797 There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

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666 ELECTIONS--voting; informal methods of selecting public officials; organized electoral systems (e.g., election districts, registration of voters, requirements for nomination, polling places, balloting, precautions against fraud); election campaigns (e.g., fund raising, campaign platforms, speaking tours, use of publicity and propaganda); voting behavior and its determinants; electoral intimidation and fraud; methods of minority control (e.g., gerrymandering, rotten-borough system, poll taxes); etc. See also:

Nonelectoral methods of filling political offices 62, 63, 64
Molding of public opinion 208
Oratory 537
Franchise 641
Punishment of electoral fraud 687

S 668 423 578 474 reform movement encountered in Sinkiang. The attempts at forced cooperation resulted in many hard feelings and in violations of the principles set forth by the government. Examples were cited of "middle farmers" supplying carts or other tools, but not participating in the actual labor. Village cadres were unwilling to work on the cooperative farms lest their private interests suffer. Considerable difficulties were experienced in finding people who would accept responsibility. A partial solution was sought in sending more professional party workers to aid the cadres.

N *668 423 474 S 668 423 474 Similar reports are available from other parts of the Northwest. From these reports the following trends can be gathered:

(1) In the program of cooperativization the policy was to exclude not only the landlords but also the rich farmers. Since those who were not in the cooperatives would suffer social and economic ostracisim, the threat to all individual farmers kept out of the cooperatives was great.

(2) The experience of those who did join the cooperative groups, however, was not happy. Their hard work often was not properly rewarded. It was difficult to keep the record of credits straight. This was the reason why many cooperatives collapsed.

(3) However, the average farmer, including the party cadre, dreamed of becoming a rich farmer and private businessman.

Against this background one can understand the significance of Mao Tse-tung's drive for one million cooperatives in 1955. According to Mao's plan, by the spring of 1958 half of the agricultural population must be organized into cooperatives. In other words, by that time, half of the farmers in Northwest China would no longer be working on their own farms.

N *668 472 S 668 472 In the field of commerce and industry, the 3-anti and 5-anti movements were the prelude to the program which calls for the total elimination of private enterprise.

N *668 • 666 As described above, the political rights in the Chinese Soviet days followed the conventional Communist Party line. But during the Second World War, the Chinese Communists had advocated their democratic government and democratic elections in the border regions. Their procedure of a secret ballot included the following practices: "Each of the candidates' names is written on a bowl. The voter drops a bean or pea in the bowl bearing the name of his choice. If his election "unit" is entitled to more than one representative, he is given the proper number of beans. If a considerable number of the voters cannot read, the candidates are lined up, each carrying a well-calanced bowl or basket on his back. The voter drops his bean or beans into the bowl or bowls of his favorite candidate or candidates. The bowl is carried on the back to insure secrecy, so that no candidate knows who elects whom." (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 59.)

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*668 Communists, it was claimed, would occupy only one-third of the
• 666 total membership of any administrative organ of the government of any popular organization elected in this way. One-third of the members would go to the Nationalists while the other third would be reserved for non-party people. They called this the 3-3 system. (Hsu Yung Ying: A Survey of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Part I, p. 74). The system worked beautifully. The Communists activists together with their "non-party" following were always assured of a comfortable majority.

V. Pledges and Practices Regarding Political Rights

A. Elections

C
668 After the take-over, the Common Program of 1949 declared:
642 "The state power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The people's congresses and people's governments of all levels are the organs for the exercise of state power by the people. The people's congresses of all levels shall be popularly elected by universal franchise. The people's congresses of all levels shall elect the people's governments of their respective levels..."

C
668 But before a general election was held, the People's Political
666 Consultative Conference, which was an appointed body, acted as the All-China People's Congress. (Article 13). In the local districts, the appointed All-Circles Representative Conferences acted as the local People's Congress. (Article 14).

On February 28, 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i reported on the way in which the People's Congress of Peking was elected. He said: "The manner of electing the representatives differed according to the situation. In State Enterprises and schools of higher education the voters gathered in their productive or school units to have a direct election. For the farmers in the countryside, the workers, the businessmen, the youth, the women and the districts, the representatives were elected by 'the representatives of the voters.' With the only exception of the schools where people were experienced and literate, all the units elected representatives on a candidate list produced in the meeting by raising their hands. In schools, the elected with secret ballot. I think this is absolutely accurate and necessary... I think not only the People's Congress of Peking...but all the other places... shall follow the experience of Peking to elect their congresses in the similar way ...

"Whenever we mention election, people often think of 'universal, equal, direct and secret ballot.' This old slogan undoubtedly served its propaganda purpose under the reactionary, dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek's regime... But if we request to realize this slogan under today's New Democratic regime, it is not yet very suitable to the reality. Therefore we cannot wholly adopt it." (Liu Shao-ch'i:

C
668 By this law, the key elections are those below the county level.
671 These elections were generally open elections by raising of hands
666 in public. Only under special conditions were secret ballots allowed.

Furthermore, in spite of article 4, which promised equal rights of election to different groups of people, article 5 disqualified everyone who might vote in opposition.

The control of elections was tightened by article 8. As all campaign expenses are dispersed by the State Treasury, the Communists can easily make or break any candidate.

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668 In the new Constitution of 1954, there are at least ten articles,
642 i.e., 23, 24, 27, 38, 39, 44, 56, 61, 86, referring to the right to
666 vote or right to stand for election. There is no basic change from the situation analyzed above.

N C. Political Rights in Practice

631 The following news items trace the practice of political rights
*668 in the Northwest: "On the basis of the universal convocation of People's Representatives' Conferences of all circles in municipalities and counties throughout the country, 20 provinces have successfully convened their first Provincial People's Representatives' Conference of all circles. These provinces and districts are...Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai...

N "Of these, the People's Representatives' Conferences of all
631 circles of the first 16 provinces in the above list have successfully
*668 elected their respective Provincial People's Government Committees. The People's Representatives' Conferences of various
• 666 provinces and administrative districts have further elected and set up consultative committees to assist the government in carrying out the resolutions of the conference after it adjourns." (NCNA, Peking, December 20, 1950).

N "Since last year, the provincial and municipal People's Gov-
631 ernments in the Northwest region have attached importance to
*668 People's Representative Conferences. Except for some pastoral districts of Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang which still do not possess conditions for holding People's Representative Conferences, all counties and municipalities in the Northwest have held People's Representative Conferences while those of over 80 counties and municipalities exercise the functions and power of People's Congresses. But there are still a number of responsible officials of counties and municipalities who do not sufficiently understand that People's Representative Conferences and People's Congresses represent the basic system of our state and who do not convene People's Representative Conferences according to the system." (NCNA, Sian, July 15, 1952)

S "During the three years from 1949 to 1952, twice the Provin-
631 cial Conference of Representatives of All Nationalities and All
668 Groups of the People was held in Sinkiang Province. In each of

the 78 counties, 1 municipality, 1 central district in Sinkiang, at least three times, and up to nine times...these conferences have been held. In Tihua Municipality and Ch'ien-tse County, the conference has already acted as the People's Congress. It elected the mayor or the head of the county and the Council members..." (Burhan: "The great achievements during the three years of people's Sinkiang" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 1, 1953).

"In October, 1953, a general election was held..." (Burhan: "The work report of the past six years of the Sinkiang Provincial People's Government," a report at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the Provincial People's Congress, in Hsin-hua yüeh-pao, 1955, No. 11, p. 30).

This general election mentioned by the Governor of Sinkiang, Burhan, was one part of the election held all over the country. It was carried out according to the Electoral Law of 1953. The nation-wide election was not completed until September, 1954, just in time to meet for voting on the new Constitution. The meetings of the leading local People's Congresses in the Northwest were held on the following dates: (NCNA, August 24, 1954)

Unit	Beginning (1954)	End (1954)	Days of Meeting	Deputies Elected to the National People's Congress
Sian Municipality	July 14	July 17	4	8
Sinkiang Province	July 21	July 31	11	21
Chinghai Province	August 4	August 15	12	9
Shensi Province	August 4	August 12	8	19
Kansu Province	August 16	August 20	5	25

The real meaning of this kind of election was well illustrated in a deputy's confession: "I have never thought of being elected as a deputy to the National People's Congress. Some of my friends ran over the other day to congratulate me, saying, 'Do you know that? You have already received the weighty trust of the people of the whole nation. You are a deputy!'

"When I read my name in the People's Daily I did not know whether I was happy or flurried. My eyes became moist. I was grateful as well as ashamed. I felt that I could hardly catch my breath." (Ts'ao Yü, "I must do my job well as a deputy to the National People's Congress" in Hsin-kuan-ch'a, 1954, No. 18, September 16, p. 3).

VI. The Rights of the Minorities

A. Constitutional Rights

In the Common Program of 1949, chapter VI defined the Communists' Nationality Policy. In this chapter, it said:
Article 50: All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal....

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STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

A. Basis of Regions

*175 *668 669 The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central *175 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation *668 into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned 631 areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

B. Organizational Regulations

*175 *668 631 701

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;

(2) when land reform was completed;

(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of [666] each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

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a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take the place of the Military and Administrative Council.

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

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b. functions

Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

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After the Communists organized the Military and Administrative Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952, at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordinate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the
[671] same congress passed the organic law for local governments. Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

• [666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

*668 63 666 [563] of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 63 671 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 631 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

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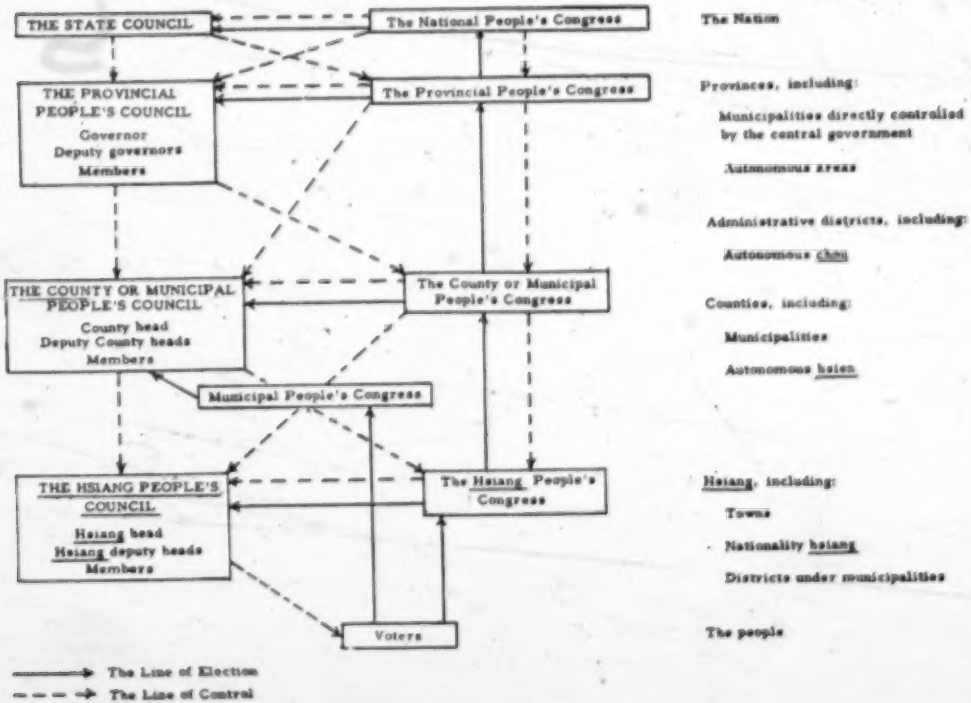
TABLE VI

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM UNDER THE COMMUNISTS AFTER SEPTEMBER 21, 1954.



following page 474 (e)

N
*668 Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
(633) People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

N
(633) (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

N
(635) (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

S
(668) (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

(635) Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were

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*668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang

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in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 1955, are shown in Table 9.
631

N
After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
• 666 but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

N
*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal

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175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

N
B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the

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friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
● [666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
175

S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

of the cadres had a corroding effect on the party and endangered the party cause." (NCNA July 21, 1954). But, said the leaders, "the main obstacle to party unity in Sinkiang district at present is the survival of the tendency of Great Hanism and the sentiment of local nationalism among a section of the cadres." (NCNA April 25, 1954).

The demoralization of the government personnel in the Northwest was so widespread that in March, 1954, when the residents of thirty-two villages in the Ha-chu county in Chinghai were told that they were free to voice their grievances, they made a total of 3,800 complaints in the hsiang people's representative assembly against the "bureaucratic work style of the leadership cadres." (NCNA March 2[illegible] 1954).

V. Political Structure and Political Progress

A. The Northwest Military and Administrative Council and People's Governments

Early in 1950, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council was established at Sian, which also became the location of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party and of the headquarters of the Northwest Military District. In the months that followed, provincial and municipal people's governments were also established in the five provinces then comprising the Northwest: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang.

While the members of the Military and Administrative Council were appointed by the Central People's Government in Peking, the members of the provincial and municipal people's governments were, according to Communist pronouncements, elected by conventions of representatives of all circles and all nationalities. Since no machinery of election was set up and the people were not instructed, these conventions were actually meetings of Communists and fellow travellers who were invited to attend, in the manner non-Communists were invited to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking in September, 1949.

Since the officials were those on the panels who were approved by the Communists, there was little for the representatives to do except to endorse the selection, and then to devote the rest of their time to other unrelated items of the agenda. The first conference of the people's representatives of all circles and all nationalities in Sinkiang, which met April 19 to May 10, 1951, was primarily devoted to the purpose of propaganda, the discussion of means of popularizing the Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign, the campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the land reform. The meeting of representatives in Chinghai, held in October, 1950, discussed these items on the agenda plus the means of collecting the grain tax.

Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in favor of Communist China.

In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

C. The General Election of 1953-54

In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China, were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the election of their representatives. In February, the Central People's Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

Communists. On paper, the people were permitted to nominate candidates from the floor, but such practices were discouraged. "Through the method of small group discussions and appraisals now adopted... individual nomination will gradually be standardized and consequently should not be subject to any restrictions." (Wang Shui, "How to nominate candidates for election" JMJP June 11, 1953). Thus the electoral procedure followed the Soviet practice of presenting single lists of candidates. The nominees were shifted by means of a process of "consultation and agreement" and after the list of names were agreed upon, the voters go through the motion of approving it.

This manner of voting bears close resemblance to the system in the USSR and is a far cry from the system adopted by the Chinese Communists in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region sixteen years before. (See Table 5).

In preparation for the election, large numbers of cadres were given training to qualify them to serve as chairmen of basic level election committees and to guide, conduct and supervise the elections. The number who were assigned was one cadre for every 2,000 persons and one technical cadre for every 500 persons. In the months before the election, the people were screened during the process of census-taking, and the qualified ones were registered. They were subjected to a barrage of propaganda and indoctrination in the form of meetings, forums, discussion groups, and through the media of books, pamphlets, films, radio broadcasts, and exhibitions. Mock elections were held where the cadres taught the voters how to conduct themselves, how to discuss the list of candidates and how to cast their ballots. Prior to the real election, experimental elections were held in a number of selected locations. These were the straw votes to give the Communist authorities an idea as to how well the cadres and propagandists have indoctrinated the people, how well the machinery operated, and what were the reactions of the people.

In Shensi, the experimental elections were held during the months from May to October, and the places where they were held included: the counties of Lin-tung, Nan-cheng, Pao-shan, Tao-shui, and, surprisingly, the wartime capital of the Communists, Yenan. As the results were satisfactory, the real elections were permitted to take place in October, and they were expected to be completed by the end of April, 1954.

In Kansu, due to the mixed population, the preparations for the elections were the reverse of those in China Proper. While in North China, in preparation for the elections, 67,727 hsiang were merged into 20,000. In Kansu, the 3975 hsiang were increased to 5650.

By March, 1954, it was reported the basic elections were nine-tenths completed in Ninghsia with 90 per cent of the people

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 516]

Table 5. COMPARISON OF ELECTION PROCEDURES

Chinese Communists in 1937	Chinese Communists in 1953	Soviet Russia in 1936
Universal, direct, equal	Restricted to certain groups; direct at lowest level and indirect at upper levels, unequal	Restricted, indirect, unequal
Secret ballot	Show of hands at lower level, secret ballot at higher levels	Show of hands
All men and women over 18 including landlords and capitalists	All over 18 except landlords, counter-revolutionaries, lunatics, and those deprived of civil rights	Limited to workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie.
Voters vote as many times as there are levels, in county and regional elections	System pyramidal. Voters vote only at lowest levels for delegates who in turn elect delegates to higher levels	Pyramidal. Voters vote for delegates to local soviets, who in turn vote for upper soviets
Ballots of citizens in all walks of life counted without discrimination	Different proportions for urban, rural, Chinese, non-Chinese, army and overseas Chinese	Segregation of farmers, workers votes. Disproportionate representation.

The sections on Chinese Communists in 1937 and Soviet Russia in 1936 are based on Chu Yun, Factual Account of a Shensi Trip (Hankow, 1938), pp. 11-12, quoted in Hsu Yung-ying, A Survey of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region (IPR, 1945), I, p. 43.
The section on Chinese Communists in 1953 is based on the Electoral Law of 1953.

N *175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
• 666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
N China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
*175 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
666 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
*668 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
641 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came
*563 to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
N in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*175 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
*668 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
666 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
635 Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
S Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[175] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[666] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice-
[668]
[635]

N governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
*175 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
• 666 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
*668 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in
635 Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national
N minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
*175 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
*563 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of
666 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470
646 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
N follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
*175 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality
*563 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
646 It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
S to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
175 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to
563 one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number
646 of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

N Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
642 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
631 mean that the people have been given the right to govern them-
646 selves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

N VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control
*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

668

668 POLITICAL MOVEMENTS--mass movements for substantial political change; types (e.g., messianic, nativistic, nationalistic, radical, revolutionary, reactionary); organization (e.g., into political parties, underground cells); leadership; doctrines, policies, and programs (e.g., socialism, communism, fascism); overt activities (e.g., passive resistance, propaganda, pressure politics, mass demonstrations, fomenting of labor disturbances); covert activities (e.g., infiltration, circulation of disparaging rumors, secret distribution of inflammatory literature, "front" organizations); proportion of population affected; etc. See also:

Social trends	170	Socialism	471
Reform movements	186	Development of nationalism	619
Propaganda	208	Temperance movements	730
Collective bargaining	469	Sociopolitical theories	829

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

• 668

[For additional information on the communist party in Northwest China prior to 1956, its aims, objectives, programs and the way in which these programs were implemented, see category 116, pp. 73, 158, 180, 235, 296-298, 312-320, 351-356, 358-361, 365-377, 379-381, 397-399, 408-409, 422-423, 434, 437, 441-442, 447-448, 450-452, 454-455, 459-460, 465-477, 480-482, 484,486, 488-510, 513-524, 535-545, 560, 569, 571-578, 581-596, 598-608, 611-612, 615, 618-619, 624-626, 629-632, 636, 648, 650-652, 654-665, 671-672, 675-676, 685-690, and 696-704.]

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S [441] A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K 563 Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
W A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
177 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
S able resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

S N 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized S N [182] pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in S N developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious- S N ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation S N (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. [795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563. 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN [668]

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

SN 563 153 577

SN The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

563 153 999 155

S N 563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is N 181 rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces [162] of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were 166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu 167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed N [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N • [668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 **I. General History of Relations with China**

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic N 635 groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is [162] Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. N [633] Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and [177] still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese • [668] culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

S 635 At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies [131] half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh [661] of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a [563] people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635 In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N • 175 **A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle**

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient S 175 Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as 487 Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423]

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

S N 214 171

March, 1955. Through these regulations, the prices of some books were lowered from 4% to 21%.

S 214 668 177

The above reported figures are impressive. The narrow choice of titles, however, has given constant cause for complaint. Readers in Aksu, Sinkiang reflected, according to a Sinkiang jih-pao report of January 11, 1953: "Why do you people in the Hsin-Hua Book Store sell only this kind of book?" And the editorialising explanation: "...to spread Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" will have hardly sounded convincing to the questioner. The China Youth Journal, 1955, No. 10, writes: "For a long time, young people have not found satisfaction in the published books. They are mentally half-starved. Some youths are so eager to read that they have fallen prey to feudal, superstitious, mysterious and sexy books."

S N 214 668 177 [656]

Similar complaints can be found in the press and the journals all over the country. Apparently, the policy of the Communists to swamp the "simple-minded" minority groups with Party doctrine did not pay off. Thus recourse was had to censorship. On July 20, 1955, the State Council promulgated the Temporary Regulations on Controlling the Book Renting Business, according to which the books which are lewd, supernatural and full of reactionary ideas are excluded from circulation.

N 207 668 177

V. Radio

Radio broadcasting of the Chinese Communist Party had a humble start. On September 5, 1945, the Hsin-Hua Broadcasting Station in Yenan made its first official broadcast. It had a power of 300 watts only. When the Nationalists attacked, the station fled with the Party headquarters but never ceased to broadcast.

From September 5, 1945, to September 4, 1946, it broadcast for two hours a day. The programs included news, comments, introduction to the liberated areas, etc. From September 5, 1946, the time increased to two and a half hours daily. The program included speeches, and voices of the people. Later a broadcast to the Nationalist Army was added. Starting from September 5, 1947, the broadcast increased to three hours. News summaries were added, and later, programs in English.

In March, 1949, the station moved to Peking and took over the Nationalists' station there. On October 1, 1949, the name was changed into the Central People's Broadcasting Station. It became the leading broadcast center.

In April, 1950, the Communists began to establish monitoring stations throughout the country. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has since broadcast the main programs for the monitoring stations all over Red China, including the Northwest. In 1950, there was only one program lasting 7 1/2 hours per day. From 1954 on, it increased to two programs with a total broadcasting

all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevisation. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
[701]
[631] Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member
S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member
A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader
Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu
Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

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669 REVOLUTION--attempts to seize political power by violent means; types (e.g., palace revolts, fifth columns, insurrections, class uprisings, civil wars); causes and objectives; rationalizations; participants; tactics (e.g., seizure of leading opponents, of military strongholds, of strategic urban utilities); counter-revolutionary tactics and movements; results of success and failure; etc. See also:

History and culture change 17
Social stratification 56
War 72
Cultural goals 185
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Riots 579
Punishment of treason 687

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631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175
647 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N
175 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
657 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
563 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bëk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

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175 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
631 of Economy of the Minorities.
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Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
N of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
175 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
175 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bëk's policy

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
668 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they
177 felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzuotan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ningheia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ningheia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 182 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S N [167] [651] 563 669 182

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

S N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
578 Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
669 and the Chinese, together with its international complications,
648 is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been
175 frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of
S Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy
642 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
177 the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National
[668] Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
167 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
708 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective
466 Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

S 871 563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

S 87 563
1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

N *563 873 658 *175 871 N [669]
Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

795 171 175 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 795 792 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
[648] turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
[795] tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 792 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
[669] Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

N 361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

N 161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in N Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that [173] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake [165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in [169] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports. S For example, in regard to the population estimation of [161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a 163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand, 165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also 161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ninghsia) S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase [161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million(more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

[1,2,] [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [778] [423] [651] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793]

N [197] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 798 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

795 641 *668 177 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted to certain select classes of people, not all the people.

Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated, toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1) have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

795 798 *668 177

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advocates the use of force against those who would not readily accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

795 *668 177

795 182 [669] Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resistance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

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PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest [669] has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 735 799

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

A. Basis of Regions

The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military campaign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

B. Organizational Regulations

1. Military and administrative council

On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Government Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;
(2) when land reform was completed;
(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a general election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the Northwest, but not in a basic change in the composition.

The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Communists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops, who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ninghsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and Sinkiang.

Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes: the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

N in curbing the hostility of segments of the population towards the
#175 Communist regime. Sabotage as well as open rebellion continued
#668 unabated, as the following items, culled from Communist papers,
669 show:
578 Item: November, 1951, arsonists set fire to the Urumchi Fur Factory causing a loss of two billion yuan (US $100,000).
S
175 Item: April to July, 1952. Revolt of Chinese Moslems in Kansu,
668 who killed over 3,000 Communist cadres and many government
669 officials and seized control of three districts.
578 Item: March to June, 1953. 1,380 "bandits" reported annihilated in southern Kansu.
Item: December, 1953, Suppression of "bandit" forces under Ma Liang in the Kansu-Chinghai-Szechwan border region.
Item: First half of 1954, 3,420 counter-revolutionary cases unearthed.

IV. United Front Work, 3. The Cadres

N
#175 A. Recruitment of Cadres
#668 The placement of non-Communist and non-Chinese leaders in the government and the organization of the people, while important, were but subsidiary tasks. The principal task was the reform of the old cadres and the recruitment of new cadres to serve as the work forces of the party and the state. The job, which was a part
N of the building of the "democratic United Front" since it concerned
[647] the integration of Communist with non-Communist employees, was handled by two agencies of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP: the Department of Organization, headed by Ma Wen-jui, which was responsible for party expansion, and the Department of United Front Work, headed by Wang Feng, which was responsible for recruiting and integrating non-Communists and non-Chinese functionaries in government and party work.

The shortage of trained cadres and the need for more were felt by the Communist authorities from the beginning of their rule over the Northwest. In November, 1949, barely a month after the Communists took over the vast territories of the Northwest and two and a half months before the formation of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, Ma Wen-jui, who had already set up his Department of Organization, declared that the main problem facing the Chinese Communist Party was the training and employment of new cadres (JMJP, January 4, 1950). The need was particularly urgent in view of the depletion of trained men due to the transfer of many of the veteran cadres of the old Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region to other parts of the country and the reluctance of the local youth to become cadres. Hsi Chung-hsün, secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that the number of men who had

*668 violate rules and regulations are stressed as they were in the monarchal days.

[626] Social pressure is also great. With the whole population organized under the Communists' tight control, the entire society can be mobilized to work against crime and political conspiracies. This has been well demonstrated by the various "anti" movements and the study groups.

B. Current Problems of Administration

174 *668 [656] Because of the tight governmental control of news and the distance which separates northwest China from the outside world, very little information has been obtained about resistance activities in the area. However, judging by the meager information offered by the Communists themselves, their rule over the northwest has not been very smooth. The Communists seldom, if ever, reveal their troubles while they are current, but they do uncover some facts when the resistance has been suppressed. By careful screening, one may piece together the picture of subversive activities in the area. Sometimes they were on an alarming scale. To help clarify this general background, some excerpts from the Chinese Communists' own reports and a few indirect quotations are presented as examples.

*175 579 *668 669 1. "During the past year, (i.e. 1950)...we have destroyed more than 69,600 bandits in the northwest. Right now there are still more than 5,400 active bandits. The largest group is the one under the leadership of Osman and Husein who are hiding in the deep mountains along the border line between the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. There are about two to three thousand men in this group. The rest of the bandits are in small groups linked with various underground spies and the rural counterrevolutionary forces. The condition is still very complicated..." (Jen-min ch'u-pan-she: Cheng-fu kung-tso pao-jao, 1950, p. 418, Report on the book of the Government.)

*175 563 *668 669 2. "...the misunderstanding...between the various nationalities has not yet been thoroughly dissolved. Consciously or unconsciously,...the Pan-Chinese idea still exists in our Chinese cadres' mind. Besides, we still have some serious shortcomings and mistakes in our nationality work. When the remnants of the bandits and spies fanned up the feelings of the people, it led to the disputes that occurred among the nationality groups in certain areas after the liberation. In the area of Lin-hsia (in Kansu), the military conflict between the Moslems and the Chinese caused more than one thousand deaths and the dislocation of more than 30,000 people who were forced to leave their homes. The loss in production was even more serious.

"In Ta-t'ung county of Chinghai, the T'ung-hsin-ch'eng of Ninghsia, in the area of P'ing-liang of Kansu, there have been

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*175 military riots on a large or small scale.... The Chinese at Tien-
*563 tzu-wa of Ku-yuan county (in Kansu) were unwilling to be annexed
*668 to Chang-hua-tien where the Moslems were the majority. They
• 669 repeatedly petitioned to the county government, but the county magistrate insisted on upholding his own opinion.... This ended in the tragedy of the magistrate being beaten and numerous people murdered." (Ibid., p. 444).

3. "(NCNA Sian, December 10, 1950)"

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175 "Bandit remnants remaining in Sinkiang, native bandits,
579 and special agents working for the US-Chiang elements, led by
668 Ulachibai, Stiga and Pulungchiafu who had been determinedly pur-
669 sued by the People's Liberation Army, were forced on December 1 to surrender their force of 127, bringing with them 70 rifles, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a number of horses.

"Ulachibai, a Kazak, was formerly the puppet (i.e. Nationalist) deputy magistrate of Chinghua hsien. Stiga, also a Kazak, was Commander of the Kou-mintang Self-Defense Corps at Nanshan. Pulungchiafu, a Mongol, was formerly puppet deputy magistrate of Ashan hsien, and a company commander of the forces of the bandit Osman.

"During the months of June and July, 1950, the aforementioned three bandits, in collusion with the US-Chiang agent, Osman, undertook to shelter special agents and army deserters, and proceeded with an orgy of rebellion, massacre, and robbery, in the Ching-hua, Nanshan, and Yenki areas.

"For the protection of the interest of the people, the People's Liberation Army, after the successful suppression of the bandit gangs led by Osman, Yollbars (Yolbar), and Janimkan (Janim Khan), since July has conducted operations against the bandit remnants of the three bandit chiefs.

"After overcoming many difficulties, the People's Liberation Army finally dealt annihilating blows to the remaining bandits."

An editorial in the Peking Jen-min jih-pao, (December 28, 1950) reported:

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*175 4. "Liu Yung-nien, chief of the technical division of the
669 Kuomingtang's 'Second Bureau' in Lanchow... is an arch criminal, who, after liberation of Lanchow, planted 1,200 mines and destroyed the Hsiang-t'ang bridge."

5. "In the spring of 1952, the anti-Communists guerrillas in the P'ing-liang area of eastern Kansu started two open rebellions on April 2nd and May 8th under the leadership of Ma Hsiao-tung and Ma Kuo-yuan. They attacked the counties of Hsi-chi, Hai-yuan and spread all over eastern Kansu and continued their activities, commented Lo Chun in "The Construction and Management of the Highway in Northwest China," in Chung-kung wen-t'i, No. 3, p.120.

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*175 6. "(NCNA Sian, September 7, 1952)
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579 The Ang-la tribe is located 300 li southeast of Sining in the

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Chien-cha district in Chinghai province. It is a place in the wooded mountains on the west bank of the upper stretch of the Yellow River, where over 8,000 Tibetans dwell together. After the liberation of Chinghai province, large numbers of the KMT remnant bandits under Ma Pu-fang fled to the Chien-cha district, and instigated Hsiang Ch'ien, chieftain of the tribe, to oppose the People's Government, obstructed the communication lines in the adjoining districts, successively assaulted with force the Tibetans and people of other nationalities in the border regions of Kweiteh, Hwalung, Shunhwa, and Tungjen, and several times attacked the PLA.

"With a view to peacefully solving the problem of the Ang-la tribe, as early as October, 1950, the Chinghai Provincial People's Government appointed Hsiang Ch'ien as a member of the Consultative Conference. From September, 1951, to April, '952, the provincial people's government dispatched personnel 17 times to persuade and convince Hsiang Ch'ien. Chairman of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government Hsi-jao-chia-tso, Vice Chairman of the Consultative Committee Drashi, Deputy Secretary General Ku-chia-sai; Ta-erh-ssu-fa-t'ai-hsia-jung-to-pu, member; Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs; Sang-je-shia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education; Keng-teng, deputy magistrate of Kweiteh hsien; Ch'ueh-chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien; T'ung-ch'u-hu, magistrate of Haiyen hsien; Pa-meng, Vice Manager of the Chinghai Trading Company, and other prominent figures of the Tibetan nationality went in person to persuade him...

"In February and March 1952, Hsiang Ch'ien thrice instigated more than 1,000 persons to invade the border region of Kweiteh and other hsien, and attacked the PLA forces at the locality. Furthermore, he dispatched personnel to infiltrate into Tungteh, Hsinghai, Tulan, and other hsien with the intent of instigating and expanding the rebellion...

"In early May, under the assistance and cooperation of the Tibetans and the people of various nationalities, the PLA of the Chinghai Military District carried out an annihilation campaign in the Chiencha district. Most of the reactionary armed forces surrendered at the locality, while Hsiang Ch'ien himself fled and hid in the mountains, bringing along a small number of persons and horses....Hsiang Ch'ien's family was protected by the PLA...

"Chou Jen-shan, director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Chinghai Provincial Committee, Sang-je-chia-tso, deputy director of the Department of Culture and Education of the Chinghai Provincial People's Government, Yueh-sai-to-chieh, member of the Committee of Nationalities Affairs, Yu-chia-sai, Secretary General of the Chinghai Provincial Consultative Committee, and Ch'ueh Chi, deputy magistrate of Hwalung hsien also went to comfort them...

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
• 669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

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175 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
668 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
669 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
579 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

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*175 "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*563 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*668 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
669 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
S the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
175 rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
563 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
668 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
669 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

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9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
625 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
694 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
631 carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
S gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
175 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
668 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
625 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
694 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
631 nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and
175 military and government officials of the former Chiang government
668 still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engag-
674 ing themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

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12. "An address delived by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy
*175 from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National
*668 Congress:
829 "'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

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"'Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary
*175 elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This
*668 is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance
• 669 in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heav-
*563 enly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be de-
789 stroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc. It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

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13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there
*175 appeared
669 "An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,
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*175 at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National People's Con-
• 669 gress on July 27, 1955:
*668 "'Chinghai is an area where many nationalities live.... There are hidden counter-revolutionists and reactionary landlords, rich farmers who are still trying in every way to sabotage the unity of the nationalities. The methods used by these enemies for sabotage are dangerous and shrewd, mainly along two lines, namely, under the cover of religion or by upsetting international relations. The counter-revolutionists also sabotage our productive activities through arson, robbery, spreading of rumor, etc. They even organize open military rebellions. The reactionary landlords and rich farmers also stir up trouble between the middle farmers and the poor farmers. They infiltrate into the mutual cooperative groups and cooperatives to sabotage the mutual cooperative movement.'"

14. The Sinkiang jih-pao, September 30, 1954, reported
S that
175 "In the first half of 1954 alone, we have discovered 3429 cases
669 of counter-revolutionary plots in Sinkiang. According to incom-
668 plete statistics, we have made arrests in at least 15,000 cases of various criminal offenses during the past 5 years." (A Report on the Achievements of the Political Works in Sinkiang Province during the Past Five Years," by Vice-chairman Kao Chin-ch'un of Sinkiang Province.)

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The above reports clearly indicate that there have been disturb-
[674] ances, resistance, sabotage and open rebellion besides ordinary crimes in every province of the Northwest from the very beginning of the Communist conquest until the present.

4. Conclusion

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The regular police system under the Communists is huge, yet
105 it is only a very small part of the whole police system, much like
*668 the part of an iceberg floating above the sea level. Strictly speak-
625 ing, every branch of the Communist government, no matter whether it is legislative, administrative, judicial or economic, is a part of the police system and under the control of the Party. Moreover, every person in the country is organized and enlisted in the secret service. He is watching and being watched. Violators are subject to very heavy penalty. (See "The Regulations for Punishing the Counter-Revolutionaries" adopted by 11th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on February 20, 1951, in 1952 Jen-min shou-ts'e.)

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

I. Introduction

*175 • 669 The history of China's Northwest has been a great number of insurrections and revolts against the established order. Spontaneous outbreaks, however, occurred only as a result of desperation. The forces that ruled the people remained unchallenged until the misery and poverty which surrounded them became unbearable. Even then, the people would not strike out blindly against their oppressors, but would look to their own tribal chieftains and priests for leadership (see section Political Dynamics). In more recent times, intellectuals, army men and even bandits have taken the place of the old leaders, but it would be incorrect to say that the people themselves have the political consciousness which changes governments or overthrows regimes. On the other hand, the persistent nationalism combined with the strong religious tradition *175 *668 that exists among the Moslems of the Northwest, and the tribal 648 and nomadic past of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia, could always be aroused by ambitious and popular leaders in opposition to alien penetration. Throughout the centuries, hostility has existed both against any foreign rulers and among the tribes and minority groups themselves. Three major sources of conflict will be mentioned here: 1) The traditional friction among the tribes of Northwest China due to religious and economic differences; 2) wide-spread resentment on the part of the native peoples toward Chinese rule; 3) dissatisfaction with the Communist regime.

II. Friction among Northwestern Peoples

*563 578 In the first place, because of its geographical position, Northwest China stands at the crossroads of conflicting political ideologies and religious beliefs, originating from the Middle East, India, China and Russia. In an area like Sinkiang, there have lived in uneasy proximity Buddhists, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Russians, unorthodox Chinese and atheistic Russians, as well as believers in the most primitive religious practices. Economically also there has existed great contrast: the nomadic tradition of the Kazakhs and Mongols, the oasis economy of the peoples of Inner Asia, the methods of Chinese agriculture, the alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tienshan, the economy of the Arikolis who live on the high plateaus of the Pamirs, alongside of which a very young industrial and commercial economy is developing. Friction has always existed between the settled farmers of the oases and the nomadic herdsmen, while within the farming communities, conflicts over water rights, the use of forests and roads, were permanent features in rural life.

*668 177 [466] cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated. Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 • 669 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities

While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

N *668 177 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed S [668] [177] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have [494] been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

N *668 798 • 669 N *668 575 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

*668 669 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N *668 669 648 Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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N countries bordering Soviet and Chinese Turkestan have given offi-
*668 cial recognition to this government-in-exile. It has its headquar-
• 669 ters far from Central Asia - in Düsseldorf, West Germany. How-
648 ever, the National Turkestanian Unity Committee is supported
S unofficially by many of the Moslem countries of the Middle East
668 and Central Asia, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan,
669 Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In each of these
648 countries the Committee maintains a representative office staffed by two members from each Turkish clan from Eastern and Western Turkestan. Iraq is the exception where there is only one representative. In addition to giving financial aid to the exiled government, these countries render assistance in getting Turkestanian refugees temporarily settled. They also allow the establishment of National Turkestanian Unity Committee branches within their borders.

The Committee is composed of ten departments, each of which is under the combined direction of President Veli Khayum Khan and a secretary. These departments are: 1) Organizations and Social Institutions; 2) Science; 3)Information; 4) the Press; 5) Public Health; 6) the Clergy (Turkish: Ulema); 7) Military Affairs; 8) Education, directed cooperatively by all members; 9) Women's Activities; and 10) Foreign Relations, of which Veli Khayun Khan alone is the head.

The spiritual leader of the movement for an independent Turkestan is the famous turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan, who is now a member of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Istanbul. A native of Bashkiria, Zeki Veliki Togan studied and taught Arabic literature at the University of Kazan. In November, 1917, he became president of Bashkiria. In 1922 he led the Basmachi revolt against Soviet rule. With their suppression, he fled to Tashkent, and from there to Turkey.

During the Second World War, the National Committee gave Germany effective aid against Russia, but its aim always has been independence from any foreign power. "The Germans, as the enemy of our enemy, were temporarily our friends, but we envisaged this state of affairs only for as long as they were fighting against the Russians." (Milli Turkistan #79B, p. 5). The ultimate goal of the Turkestanian government-in-exile is to liberate all of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, a territory of about four million square miles with a population of over twenty million. The leaders of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee claim that they are able to maintain contact with the peoples of Central Asia and that messengers frequently cross unguarded mountain passes to take contraband literature to Communist-controlled countries, and return to the West with reliable information of conditions under Communist rule. Naturally, it is difficult to estimate the degree of influence which the National Turkestanian Unity

N Committee holds over the people of Northwest China. Nor is it
*668 possible to predict to what extremes a fanatically nationalistic
• 669 movement may go in order to establish a Greater Turkestan Em-
648 pire, or the new sufferings which such a Turkic regime may mean
S to others.
[668]
[669] 2. Formosa
[648] Since 1949, Formosa has been the natural center for anti-Communist activities. The Nationalists attempt to maintain contact with the border regions, but it is impossible to estimate the effectiveness of such an espionage or sabotage system. Refugees from the Northwest and elsewhere are given subsidies. Frequently they are employed in the anti-Communist propaganda and planning undertaken by Taipeh. The Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs sponsors radio broadcasts to the Northern, Northwestern and Western border regions, and has done most of the planning for the eventual overthrow of the Communist regime. These include, 1) a draft plan for the administration of the border regions during the counter-offensive, 2) a draft plan for anti-Communist work to be handled by the anti-Communist agencies in the border regions (although no details are given about them), and 3) plans for the training of administrative personnel from the border regions. The Commission has also been publishing books and pamphlets on the problems of these areas.

An anti-Communist branch of the China Islam Association also has its headquarters on Formosa. It serves as a center for Moslem refugees from the Northwest, as well as from Inner Mongolia and China Proper.

Aside from these organizations, there are also individuals who possibly may form a nucleus for future anti-Communist leadership. They include such people as General Pai Chung-hsi, who works closely with the China Islam Association on Formosa, Yolbas Khan, one of the Kazakh leaders who fought with Osman Batur, Ma Hung-k'ui, the former governor of Ninghsia who now lives in San Francisco, and Ma Pu-fang, the former governor of Ch'inghai, who escaped to Formosa and thence to Egypt in 1949. The latter two are devout Moslems and have fought actively against the Communists in the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang is remembered for his enlightened rule and is trusted by the Moslems in all parts of the Northwest. (See section Biographies for details on these men).

Thus, the potential organization and leadership for a non-Communist government in the Northwest exists. Their practical value must remain slight as long as the regime in power continues to be centralized and as long as it gives the people enough material benefits to take the place of political freedoms.

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159 military commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang. He
669 further hinted that he might be in a position to persuade Russian
648 authorities to render help for developing Sinkiang under Chang's
631 leadership. Thereupon Chang Chih-chung recommended Burkhan as a member of the State Council of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and sent him to Nanking to negotiate with the Soviet ambassador. By December 2, 1948, a secret agreement was reached between Burkhan, as personal representative of Chang Chih-chung, and the Soviet ambassador. The prerequisite of the secret treaty was the removal of the Nationalist commander, Sung Hsi-lien. The important clauses included closer cooperation between Chang Chih-chung and the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of liberating Sinkiang, and in return, the government of the Soviet Union would give assistance toward reconstruction of Sinkiang. Chang had no choice but to remove both General Sung Hsi-lien and Governor Maksud, and recommend Burkhan as governor of Sinkiang. On December 31, 1948, the Central Government formally appointed Burkhan.

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159 On January 10, 1949, Burkhan officially took over the office.
648 In his open letter to the peoples of Sinkiang, Burkhan stressed
631 the pro-Russia attitude of General Chang Chih-chung. When Chang called a conference of the political and military chiefs in the Northwest, rumors spread that Sinkiang would be given to the Soviet Union or was preparing to surrender to the Communists. When Burkhan returned from the conference he denied all these rumors. By March 1949, the entire situation in the interior of China had made a drastic change. In Sinkiang, prices had
S become extremely high. Burkhan proclaimed his policy of econ-
[458] omic self-sufficiency in Sinkiang by issuing silver dollars and silver dollar notes as the new currency and discontinuing use of National gold yüan notes. In May of the same year, Burkhan extended the Sino-Russian Aviation Pact for another five years.
S In the meantime Manchuria had been taken by the Communists,
159 and the whole of north China was also put under the control of
668 the Communists with the surrender of General Fu Tso-i, while
669 in Central China, a Soviet regime was also formed. Generalis-
631 simo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from his presidency, and General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the Nationalist Government, took over the power and began to negotiate peace with the Communists.

N In July, 1949, the Communist troops had begun to move into
*[668] Kansu Province. On September 23, 1949, the Communist gen-
• [669] eral, Wang Chen, received the surrender of the Nationalist troops at Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu Province. On September 25, two days after the surrender, Burkhan, together with the commander of the Nationalist troops in Sinkiang, cabled to Peiping to announce their severance of relationship from the Nationalist

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part
[669] of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the
[648] government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking,
635 Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining
[579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur-
[648] rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 When the Communists started their campaign in the North-
• 669 west, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the Peo-
* 668 ple's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this drastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[701] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i,
[635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly
during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[806] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[891] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that
[499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
77 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward
635 religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
701 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways
631 in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

159 Ch'ilien and Chishih Mountains. In the Tsaidam River valley,
631 comprised of six districts, there were nearly a hundred thou-
635 sand Mongols, who were Buddhists by religion and nomads economically, and twenty-five thousand Kazakhs, with some Moslems and Chinese. When Ma Pu-ch'ing took over this re-
[185] gion he directed his reclamation program along the following lines: to inspire patriotism among the border peoples, to promote education, to develop the uncultivated lands by settlements of people, and to increase production by encouraging industrial programs, to improve the transportation facilities to ship needed goods to the interior, and finally to open mines in that region for the needs of both the border area and the interior.

159 His public life, like that of his younger brother, was finally
• 669 ended by the arrival of the Communists. When the Northwest was lost to the People's Liberation Army, he fled from Chinghai and followed the Nationalist Government to Formosa.

Ma T'eng-ai

159 Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the North-
631 west Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's
635 Government of Ninghsia Province until 1954.

159 Ma Wen-jui: Communist Party member

A native of Shensi Province. He had served as secretary to
*668 the Communist Headquarters in eastern Kansu under the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government. When the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest was formed in 1950, he was appointed as a member of that council, in which he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and a member in the Political and Legal Commission, positions which he retained when the council was reorganized as the Northwest Administrative Council in 1953. In the party, he has been since 1950, director of the Department of Organization and director of the Commission on Women's Work in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In 1955, he was transferred to Peking as Minister of Labor.

159 The main responsibility of Ma Wen-jui was to push the United
*668 Front work in the Northwest in 1950. His Department of Organization was active, months before the formation of the MAC and the People's Governments, in the induction of former Nationalist Government functionaries and students into the governments of the Communists. Later, he was responsible for pushing the ideological reforms of the cadres and the purges in 1952, and the job of Communist Party expansion in the Northwest.

159 position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member
*668 of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was
701 made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

159 Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

159 In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the North-
• 669 west, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

N
159 arrived in Sian in November 1868. From 1867 to 1872, for six
• 669 years, Tso fought with the Mohammedans, and finally in February, 1871, the headquarters of the Mohammedans, Chin-chi-pao, was taken by Tso's troops and their leader, Ma Hua-lung, was executed. In August 1872, Tso finally arrived in Lanchou, Kansu. By November 1873, the whole province of Kansu was liberated from the Mohammedans; and Tso was made the associate grand secretary. In 1874 he was promoted to full grand
S secretary. In 1875 the trouble in Sinkiang broke out, and Tso
[669] was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of that area. After all the preparations were made, Tso began moving his troops westward to Sinkiang, and by 1877, both the northern and
N southern regions of T'ien-shan were recovered. In 1878, the
[554] whole region of Sinkiang was restored and Tso was awarded by promotion to second class marquis (hou) and his lieutenant, Liu Chin-t'ang, was made a baron. In 1880, when Tseng Chi-tse
N 159 was sent to Russia by the Manchu government for the second
[648] negotiation of the return of Ili which the Russians occupied during the Turkestan uprising, Tso was ordered to move his troops to stand by for any eventuality. But in August 1880, Tso was suddenly summoned back to Peking. He arrived at the capital in February 1881, and was appointed to serve in the Grand Council and the Tsungli yamen. In 1881 he was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. In 1883, he quelled a minor uprising in southern Shantung. By August 1884, the conflict with France began and the coast of Fukien became seriously involved, so Tso was once again appointed high commissioner of that province, and in December 1884 he arrived in Foochow. In the spring of 1885, negotiations with the French were resumed and by June 9, 1885, a treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang with the French representative. In September 1885, Tso died in Foochow. He was granted all posthumous honors and was canonized as Wen-hsiang.

The achievements of Tso Tsung-t'ang in the Northwest can be summarized briefly in the following points: First, his military achievements had consolidated the political control of the Manchu Dynasty in the north. The pacification of the Nien revolts in Chihli and Shantung, the suppression of the Moslem uprising in Shensi and Kansu and the defeat of the Sinkiang rebels, chiefly Pai Yen-hu and Yakub Beg, all contributed heavily to the restoration of Ching power in the Northwest.

S Secondly, his diplomatic triumph in dealing with both Rus-
[648] sians and British in Sinkiang had secured that territory under the Chinese administration. During the civil war in Sinkiang,
N 159 the Russians occupied Ili and the British supported Yakub Beg
S in the south. At one time when the northern region of T'ien-
669 648 shan was recovered by Tso-s troops, British diplomats

#668 So-called counter-revolutionary elements were reported to
668 have operated in several provinces. In Hopei, the public security
669 organs uncovered several cases of "I-kuan-tao" sabotage. The
578 "I-kuan-tao" are supposed to be remnants of KMT officers and several sects like the "Golden Line". These elements had operated in Kansu, Shensi, and Inner Mongolia. They usually recruited former prisoners who had been in Chinese Communist prisons. These elements were supposed to have wormed their way into economic enterprises, rural mutual aid, and co-ops to engage in sabotage. They are blamed for fabricating rumors, and during the unified purchase of grain, they are supposed to have instigated the peasants to put aside grain and not send their surplus to the State.

#668 Another major problem is the assessment of cotton output and
659 the fixing of cotton purchase quotas. What the state does with
433 commercial crops, as it does with nearly all rural produce now,
248 is to send teams out to each household and estimate what the output, consumption, and surplus will be. The amount to be purchased is determined on the basis of these findings. Once this data is collected and examined, other items can be planned such as the amount of thread to be spun, the textile output that will result, and how much cotton cloth can be made available to the rural areas. It is very important, then, that the initial surveys to determine the available surplus that may be purchased by the State be correct in order to fulfill other portions of the plan. If incorrect estimates are made; i.e., lower estimates of output allowing peasants to retain excessive quantities of cotton, this would promote the growth of rural capitalist elements who might carry on speculative activities by selling their surplus cotton at a higher price than offered by the State. The Chinese Communists blamed two factors for incorrect assessments of cotton output; the incorrect ideological approach of cadres and their poor survey methods. In the latter case, some cadres, because they were unpopular among the peasants, thought it advisable to make slightly lower estimates of cotton output. In other villages, local cadres wished, by making lower estimates, to keep an extra supply of cotton for themselves or for their relatives and neighbors. In regard to defective working methods, the cadres did not carry out their estimation of output by first propagating Communist policy and mobilizing the masses; they made investigations without the assistance of the peasants and encountered difficulty in deriving the true output.

If inaccurate estimates of peasants' cotton production are made, it will also have a direct effect on peasants activity for mutual aid and cooperation and will hinder the unity between organized and individual peasants. It seems that the difficulties of estimating cotton output were widespread in Shensi and had given rise to peasant resistance of Communist agricultural

*668 563 474 476 185 In the Wu-chung Autonomous Chou, in Kansu, Hui and Han groups live together. Today there are 277 agricultural producer co-ops, eighty nine for the Hui and 124 for the Han. More than 3,200 mutual aid teams have been developedp 1,200 are permanent. Future policy stresses increased agricultural production by cooperativization. In a speech delivered by Ma Teng-ai to the National People's Congress however, key emphasis was placed on the correct implementation of solidifying the poor and middle class peasants and following the principle of allowing the peasants of various nationalities to enter the co-ops voluntarily. Such a desire to enter must result from the mutual benefit they feel they would receive. When agricultural producer co-ops are to be formed, namely, consolidating the various permanent mutual aid teams and pooling land, farm implements, etc. special attention is to be given the customs, habits, and religious beliefs of the different nationalities. For instance, if the Hui and Han members of the same cooperative do not want to use the same well, different wells are to be drilled, and used separately. I hogs are raised in a cooperative, they may be attended by the Han members themselves and they are not considered an auxiliary occupation of the cooperative. The Chinese Communists, in dealing with the nationality problem in the Northwest, so far have tread very lightly whenever they wished to promote cooperativization. They have proceeded very slowly, using subtle methods of persuasion to urge the various nationalities to enlist their labor power in the mutual aid and produce co-ops.

*668 *669 578 474 Communist administrators complain bitterly of counter-revolutionary activities in Kansu. In a speech by Su Chen-yung, Vice Director of Public Security Bureau, he states: "Counter-revolutionaries have unceasingly wages destructive activities against the Socialist transformation enterprises in both the cities and the countryside. With a view to impeding the work of the peasants joining the cooperatives, and to sabotaging agricultural production, they concentrated on certain reactionary landowners, wealthy peasants, and Taoist leaders to cheat some backward elements into establishing false cooperatives and even organising uprisings." (Union Research Service. Vol. 3, p. 43.)

Su Chen-yung then gives as examples the disruption of progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives, the killing of Communist cadres, the burning of supply and marketing cooperatives storehouses, etc. Such admission by Communist officials of overt violence indicates that the Chinese Communists still are encountering peasant resistance, although nearly seven years have passed since their occupation of the region.

*668 241 474 185 C. Conclusion

The Chinese Communists have attempted to control closely

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medanism, an equally alien religion, has become so firmly rooted in many parts of the country. The Chinese show more interest in the inscriptions relating to their classic works in the Pei Lin than in the famous Nestorian Tablet, and indeed the latter was only moved into that select enclosure recently because of an alleged attempt by a foreigner to remove the original stone under the pretext of having a copy made for a foreign museum.

We stayed in Hsian twice in the course of our journeys, an interval of two years elapsing between the two visits. On the first occasion, which was during Yuan Shih-k'ai's regime as President-Dictator, the city and province were in the hands of one of the Northern Generals supported by a Northern army; two years later the situation had completely changed, the province was enjoying a kind of home rule under native officials of its own choice, and was practically independent of Peking. In the interval Yuan Shih-k'ai had been dragged under in the collapse of his monarchical scheme, and with him had vanished, it would seem, all hope of a stable government in China. Many provincial capitals have had a rough time during the years which have elapsed since the Revolution of 1911, but few or none have suffered more than Hsian Fu. The history of events in Shensi during these years is interesting and not uninstructive for those concerned with the future of the Republic, and is here briefly related.

The Revolution of 1911 took a particularly violent form in Shensi, largely owing to the fact that it was engineered by the local members of the notorious secret society known as the Ko Lao Hui, and was ushered in by an outbreak at Hsian, in which the Manchu inhabitants of the Manchu city were massacred, and some missionaries murdered by the uncontrollable mob. For some months afterwards a state of chaos reigned everywhere, and to make matters worse the province was for a considerable time threatened by an invasion of Mahomedan troops from Kansu, under Sheng Yün, the ex-Viceroy of the North West, and Ma An-liang, the leader of the Kansu moslems, both of whom refused to acknowledge the Republic even after the abdication of the Emperor. These Mahomedan troops did in fact cross the border and sacked a few cities in Shensi, but were

stopped just in time by the explanations of Yuan Shih-k'ai; for it is unlikely that the revolutionary levies of Shensi would have been able to withstand them, and had it not been for Yuan Shih-k'ai's hand at the helm, the devastation of the whole North West by the Mahomedans, and possibly the establishment of an independent Mahomedan State in Kansu, might have been added to the general chaos of those days.

During 1913 things began to settle down under a loose home rule sort of government composed of natives of the province and strongly influenced by the Ko Lao Hui, but early in 1914 Shensi was once more thrown into a state of turmoil by the raid of the so-called "White Wolf" brigands. Hsian was saved by its walls, by no means for the first time in its history, and this terrible horde swept by, almost within sight of the city, westwards into Kansu, whence they straggled back again across Shensi into Honan laden with silver and opium before the close of the year. Yuan Shih-k'ai, however, had in the meantime taken advantage of the opportunity created by these disturbances to send a Northern army into the province on the pretext of fighting the White Wolf brigands, and having thus secured control of the situation, he proceeded to remove the local Tutu, or provincial Governor, and his native administration, and to replace them by one of his Northern generals as Governor with a staff of Northern officials. Shensi thus emerged from the White Wolf ordeal to see its home rule episode at an end and to find itself once again under the strong hand of Peking.

This action of Yuan Shih-k'ai's in Shensi was only a part of a far-sighted scheme which he was then carrying out for replacing the post-revolution Governors, mostly men of the extreme republican type, by his own nominees, stout soldiers from the North on whom he could rely, in preparation for the great day, the existence of which was totally unsuspected by the vast majority of Chinese and foreigners in the country, when he would ascend the Imperial Throne "at the will of the people." He carried out this policy with extraordinary success and tact in province after province, though in most cases it was a case of playing with fire, but for some reason or other he omitted to do so in the case of

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Yunnan, an omission which was to cost him his throne and his life. When the crash came in 1916 many of these stalwarts put up a splendid fight in the interests of their Imperial master, notably the Governor at Canton (who was not, as it happened, a Northerner at all, but a Yunnanese of aboriginal stock); but one by one they gave way before the overwhelming wave of a really popular rebellion; and it is said that it was the receipt of a telegram from one of the most trusted of them all, the Governor of Szechuan, announcing his abandonment of the Imperial cause, which finally brought home to Yuan Shih-k'ai the hopelessness of the position, and caused him to renounce his throne and sink soon after into the grave.

Returning, however, to the history of events in Shensi; during 1915 Yuan Shih-k'ai's hold over the province continued to tighten, and at this time many of the former revolutionary leaders and Ko Lao Hui chiefs were compelled to go into exile abroad, or to join the bands of brigands, composed largely of ex-soldiers disbanded since the Revolution, who began at that time to infest the Northern districts, and who have practically controlled the North of the province ever since.

At the end of 1915 Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor under the dynastic title of Hung Hsien, and on Christmas Day his great antagonist, the late General Tsai Ao, perhaps after Yuan Shih-k'ai the greatest Chinese of modern times, raised the standard of revolt in Yunnan in the name of the Republic. Scarcely anyone, Chinese or foreigner, in Peking when they heard this news suspected that this movement in a far distant corner of the Empire would grow into a rebellion which would overturn Yuan Shih-k'ai within six months. But General Tsai had laid his plans well, and carried them out with a courage and energy not always found amongst the revolutionary leaders, and as the year wore on and the Northern armies failed to defeat him in the mountains of the south west, province after province threw in their lot with the rebellion. The power of Yuan's military governor in Shensi rested purely and simply on his few Northern troops, and it was not surprising that, when in the early summer of 1916 the anti-monarchical rebellion assumed serious proportions, the situation in so turbulent a

669 province soon became critical. The crisis was eventually precipitated by the action of a young military officer of high rank, a native of the province, who revolted with the troops under his command, and having collected a large force from amongst the brigands and secret society men in hiding in the north of the province, marched on Hsian Fu as a supporter of the Republic. The Governor, who was not as staunch an individual as many of Yuan Shih-k'ai's other Northern Generals, promptly threw up the sponge and surrendered the city to save his own life. Shortly afterwards Yuan Shih-k'ai died, and Shensi thus reverted to the state of independent home rule existing after the Revolution of 1911, under the leadership of the young General who had successfully headed the rebellion.

635 Shensi is in rather a peculiar position. Though geographically it is one of the Northern provinces like Chihli, Shantung, Honan, and Anhui, from which the Northern Military Party draw their power and their troops, it has yet of recent years always exhibited a strong revolutionary and republican spirit. The proximity of Szechuan, a Southern province, may have something to do with this. But the main reason is probably not so much a feeling of sympathy with the Southern republicans, as the independent and somewhat turbulent nature of the population, strongly infected with Ko Lao Hui influence, which renders them impatient of Central Government control and desirous of managing their own affairs[1]. This desire for provincial independence is natural and laudable, being perhaps a preliminary step towards a spirit of true patriotism in which the Chinese are as a people, with a few exceptions, so extraordinarily lacking. But the actual results of provincial home rule are altogether bad, and consist in increased brigandage, a corrupt and inefficient administration, an uncontrolled soldiery preying on the people, and other evils too numerous to mention. The problem now facing the country is how to unite a truly republican form of government with a strong central administration.

[1] Shensi has since nominally joined the North, remaining, however, to all intents and purposes independent.

871 pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

575 The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-669 master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

575 After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was 635 not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, 579 and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

574 that on which we were engaged, must according to imm
651 morial custom be provided with food and accommodati
free of charge by the towns and villages through which th
pass, and not only they themselves, but the cloud of parasi
who accompany them, servants, soldiers, coolies, and anim
as well. The local magistrates of course try and reco
themselves from the people, but in a very poor post th
might almost be ruined by the passage of such a party.

634 There are patches of rice fields round Chenan, but m
of the district is composed of a maze of wild mountains, t
651 lower slopes of which are often dotted with the valuab
wood oil tree, a pretty sight in blossom in April. The Chine
assert that the district is rich in minerals, copper, ir
asbestos, and antimony. It is a third class district and t
post of magistrate is of course a poor one, as the land t
receipts amount to less than a thousand taels per annu
But amongst our party was an official who had be
magistrate at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further north in t
mountains, who affirmed that compared to the latter distri
Chenan was a garden; for Hsiaoyi, it seems, has no la
tax receipts, and practically no population. It should
explained that the land tax is usually collected in grain a
remitted to the provincial treasury in silver, the process
exchange from the one into the other not being effec
without a certain percentage remaining in the hands of
local official; hence the amount of the land tax is usua
considered the standard by which the wealth of a post m
be measured.

487 A road runs due south from Hsian, the provinc
capital, through the Ch'inling Shan *via* Hsiaoyi and Chen
to Hsingan on the Han River, being the most direct ro
between these two important cities, but it is so rough as
be little used. It is bad enough in the dry season when
follows up and down the stream beds in the simple mann
of so many mountain trails in China, but when the wa
rises and the path has to take to the cliffs of the gorges it
very much worse and probably quite impassable for pa
animals and chairs. We found the stream bed still j
practicable in April.

669 The number of burnt-out ruins of hamlets, farmstea
and huts along the trail we had just traversed could not

to attract one's notice, and enquiries elicited the fact that these were the result of the passage of the terrible "White Wolf" rebels, who passed in and out of Shensi in scattered bands by these out of the way mountain trails in 1914. During our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu we often found ourselves travelling in the footsteps of this devastating horde, whose trail of desolation could be traced in the ruins of farms, villages and towns from the borders of Honan to the confines of the Kokonor. Their lootings, burnings, and killings recall the depredations of the T'aip'ing and Mahomedan rebels who devastated N.W. China, south and north of the Ch'inling Shan respectively, fifty years ago.

This terrible horde of bandits or rebels was an aftermath of the rebellion of 1913. It consisted of an organized and well-equipped nucleus of a few thousand fighting men, disbanded soldiery from the Yangtzu Valley and Secret Society men from Honan, together with many thousands of local adherents drawn from amongst the brigands, soldiers and bad characters of the provinces through which they passed. The four words "Pai Lang Chao Liang" (White Wolf is recruiting) passed secretly up and down the Han Valley, and recruits from all quarters flocked to join the band. After 30,000 of Yuan Shih-k'ai's best Northern troops had failed to crush these rebels in Honan, they burst through into the Han Valley *via* the rich mart of Laoho K'ou, where a foreign missionary was murdered in the sacking of the city, and early in 1914 worked through the mountains into Central Shensi. Hsian, with its mighty walls, withstood the raiders as it had withstood the Mahomedans fifty years earlier, and the horde drove on almost unopposed through Western Shensi into Southern Kansu, looting, burning and killing. The massacres of Chinese non-combatants were appalling, and the raiders, many of them mere youths, richly dressed in looted silks and jewellery and armed with modern rifles and Mauser pistols, rivalled in their cruelty and lust for indiscriminate slaughter the most terrible of Chinese rebels of days gone by. The object of the raid into the North West seems to have been the stocks of opium in Shensi and Kansu. The resistance they met with and the measures taken to deal with them reflect no credit on the Chinese Government of the time and it is a common

rumour that many high officials were privy to the raid and shared in the loot which was brought back to Honan. It was not until they reached the Mahomedan districts of Kansu near the Kokonor border that they suffered any serious loss, and that was mainly at the hands of the Mahomedan population of those parts, who are not accustomed to permit themselves to be looted and killed without showing fight, and from the hardships of the long forced marches through that wild region, rather than owing to the action of any Government troops. Eventually the survivors straggled back with their loot through Shensi to their homes in Honan and Anhui. The Chinese officials assert that White Wolf himself, who appears to have been an ex-military officer from the Yangtzu armies, was captured and executed.

The failure of the Shensi troops, mostly revolutionary levies of Ko Lao Hui men and ex-brigands, of much the same type as the raiders, to deal with the White Wolf rebels was to be expected; but the failure of the Northern Army opposed to them in Honan in the winter of 1913–14 seems at first sight difficult to account for. The rebels were of course much more mobile than the Government troops, as they lived on the country by taking what they wanted and impressed men and animals everywhere to carry their transport. Then again their lives being at stake, they could be depended on to fight when cornered, whereas it is difficult to induce the Chinese soldier to close with his enemy in a fight of this kind in which he has no interest. Where not an ex-brigand, the Chinese soldier is often a good fellow in most respects, but he is apt to be too sensible to be willing to run the risk of getting killed without adequate reason. Hence battles between rebels and Government troops in China usually consist in the discharge of large quantities of ammunition at a safe distance from one another. It is the civilian inhabitant of the raided towns and villages who gets killed if he does not manage to escape in time to his *chaitzu* in the mountains.

We left Chenan on April 19th for Hsingan, distant, we were told, five hard days' march over the worst possible roads. The first stage was 80 li to the village of Ch'ingt'ung Kuan. The trail lay all the way down the steep winding gorges of the Ch'ienyu River and was terribly rough and

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand according to his own tastes and the military requirements of the local Government. In either character he is about equally obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have become scattered over the country with such disastrous results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

Yakub Beg. In 1895 he had risen to be commander-in-chief of the Kansu forces and despatched troops to aid in the suppression of the Mahomedan rebellion near Sining in that year. In 1900 he commanded an army of Kansu braves in the attacks on the Legations, and subsequently arranged for the safety of the Imperial Court during its flight to Hsian Fu. Being proscribed by the Foreign Powers after the collapse of the Boxer movement he was cashiered and sent back to Kansu in disgrace, where he resided on his large estates in some state till his death about ten years ago. His rôle was loyalty to the Manchus through thick and thin, and his example in this respect has been followed more recently by the other Mahomedan leaders, who were ready to remain faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty even after the abdication in 1912. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs then, and had T'ung Fu-hsiang still been alive, the Mahomedan North West would perhaps have refused to accept the Republic, with disastrous results to the neighbouring provinces.

From Wat'ing the road runs up a ravine to the west, reaching the foot of the Liupan Shan after 15 li, whence it ascends by a series of zigzags to the summit of the pass, a grassy ridge about 9000 feet high. There were many big carts making the ascent, a most arduous business effected by relays of animals. Here again, as often on our journeys, we had reason to congratulate ourselves on having a caravan of good pack mules instead of carts. The Liupan Shan is a prominent range of mountains rising far above the loess, which crosses Kansu from N.W. to S.E.; it is probably a continuation of the chief range of the Nan Shan, which is crossed by the main road west of Lanchou at the Wushao Ling (10,000 feet) and through which the Yellow River breaks its way in a series of precipitous gorges between Lanchou and Chungwei. From the pass there is a steep drop of about a thousand feet, and the road then descends through a dreary barren valley to Lungtê Hsien, a most miserable little city almost entirely in ruins, 50 li from Wat'ing. The loess country west of the Liupan Shan is much more barren and desiccated than on the P'ingliang side, and round Lungtê the poor-looking wheat crops were only just showing above ground towards the end of May.

485 inns of Shensi and Kansu, which we very seldom used, are also not bad, being large and roomy, and constructed mainly with a view to the accommodation of plenty of animals in the courtyard. I have a particular aversion to the Szechuan inn, usually considered, especially by the Chinese, as providing the height of luxury on the road; they are always crowded in between the other houses of a narrow street, and invariably have the defect of placing the *shang fang* (the chief guest room) next door to the *mao fang*, a revolting arrangement for a night's rest, which the Chinese do not seem to object to.

271 Ch'ingchia Yi was the first place where we struck brackish water, and from here on to within two days of Lanchou I found it scarcely potable. This is a very real trial in the dry season in Central Kansu, and though in the course of our journeys brackish water was of frequent occurrence, we never became accustomed to it, and found it a great hardship to be greeted with a cup of salted tea at the end of a hot day on the road. After the rains have 312 fallen the water is said to sweeten. We were warned of this, of course, but were told that the Mahomedans collected sweet rainwater in specially prepared pits, called *chiao shui*; but owing to lack of rain most of these pits were dry, or contained only a little evil-looking liquid loess mud. I believe that water in pure loess is usually brackish, but in most parts streams or wells are available in the underlying rock; this portion of Central Shensi, however, is in the heart of the loess watershed between the Wei and Yellow rivers, lying mostly over 6000 feet above sea level, and it is the streams themselves which are the worst to drink. I thought I did not know what real thirst was till crossing Central Kansu at the driest season of the year, but later on, when traversing a portion of the Alashan desert further west in early August, we longed even for the salted tea of Huining.

487 From Ch'ingchia Yi the road continues to ascend the same defile for ten li, crosses a pass in the loess, and descends 133 by a similar ravine leading west. Several hamlets mostly in ruins are passed, including the walled posting stage of Chaichia Tsui. These ruins, now more than fifty years old, which become increasingly frequent as one proceeds west, 669 are part of the trail of desolation left by General Tso's

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victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the southwest for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which

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but the products are wretched. In any case all these enterprises suffer from the blight of Chinese official management. Lanchou is also at a great disadvantage in this respect owing to the immense difficulties involved in transporting foreign machinery and all kinds of foreign goods across the many hundreds of miles of intervening mountains from the coast. The foreign resident can import a case of beer, drink the contents, and then sell the bottles for more than the original cost of the beer; but this does not represent a new method of getting rich quick, as the cost of transport is likely to be greatly in excess of the value of either the beer or the bottles. There is, however, one really flourishing native industry in Lanchou, independent of foreign machinery, and that is the cultivation and manufacture of water pipe tobacco, which is exported to all parts of China.

The time of our visit to Lanchou coincided with the period of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power, and the Governor was one of the latter's Northern Generals. He was an excellent representative of the type of Northern soldier, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the best rulers Kansu has ever enjoyed. Owing to the geographical isolation of the province and the conservative nature of its Mahomedan population, the rebellion of 1916 had but little effect locally, and the Governor maintained his position after the fall and death of Yuan Shih-k'ai; and had we again visited Lanchou two years later we should have found him still ruling only under a different title. After the Revolution the Governors of provinces were styled Tutu[1]; Yuan Shih-k'ai abolished this name with its republican associations, and revived the old title of Chiangchün[2]; after the compromise which followed the rebellion and Yuan Shih-k'ai's death, the title of Governor was also compromised in true Chinese style into Tuchün[3]. The Governor was a native of Hofei Hsien in Anhui, and consequently not a few civil and military officials throughout the province at the time of our visit wrote Hofei on their cards. It is extraordinary what a number of prominent Chinese in recent years have been natives of this obscure little district in Anhui, ever since

[1] Literally "General Manager," i.e. Governor.
[2] Literally "Army Leader," i.e. Marshal.
[3] Literally "Army Manager," i.e. Military Governor.

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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affairs of the province during those critical times appears to have been admirable, and Kansu was spared many of the troubles which were afflicting the rest of China during that period. Early in 1914, however, Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was then engaged in centralising his power by replacing the republican Tutus by his own nominees, sent one of his Northern Generals to Lanchou as Governor, accompanied by a bodyguard of a couple of thousand good Northern soldiers. To avoid friction the latter travelled up to Kansu as Commissioner for the Kokonor, his appointment as Governor only being announced by telegraph when he was within a few days of the capital. For some months there was a period of great tension between the Mahomedans and the new Governor, but the latter was a true Northern soldier, strong and reliable, and the Mahomedans, under wise leadership, eventually accepted the situation, and General Ma retired again to Hochou.

In the summer of 1914 the southern portion of the province suffered greatly from the incursion made by the so-called White Wolf rebels, who, after ravaging parts of Anhui, Honan and Shensi, made a sudden raid into Kansu by the Ch'inchou road, being attracted probably by the stocks of opium in those parts. A year after their passage we could trace their route by ruined towns and villages and burnt out yamens. After looting the rich cities of Ch'inchou and Fuchiang and other towns in that neighbourhood, they struck west through the mountains to Minchou and T'aochou on the Kokonor border. At Old T'aochou they encountered the Mahomedans for the first time and met with a fierce resistance from the Moslem population of that district. This so infuriated the rebels that when, by sheer weight of numbers, they eventually captured the city they massacred the inhabitants and literally razed the town to the ground. At the time of our visit a year later the four walls of the city enclosed a mass of ruins, not a single house being left intact. The destruction of T'aochou proved, however, the turning-point in the career of that terrible horde. So far they had ranged, pillaging, murdering, and burning, right across China practically unchecked. But here they had been severely handled by the Mahomedans, who were not accustomed to take that kind of thing lying

down; and in that wild and out of the way country there soon arose a shortage of supplies for so many thousands. Northwards towards Lanchou the way was barred by the Moslem troops of Ma An-liang, and southwards towards the rich province of Szechuan the intervening country was wilder and even more desolate; and so the rebels started back the way they had come, through towns and villages already laid waste. The mountain tracks were bad, the stages long, and food and fodder scarce. The bridge across the T'ao at Minchou had been destroyed, and many were drowned in the fierce waters of this Tibetan torrent. At Fuchiang and other places on the road the local people wreaked a terrible revenge for what they had suffered, and many hundreds of rebels hiding in the cornfields and scrub were beaten to death with sticks and agricultural implements. Many straggled back through Shensi with their silver and opium to their homes in Honan, but this was really the end of the White Wolf rebels whom 30,000 picked troops of China's modern army had completely failed to destroy in the central provinces six months previously.

With the disappearance of the White Wolf rebels and the surrender of the nominal government by the Mahomedans to Yuan Shih-k'ai's Governor, peace returned to the province. During the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916 there was a renewal of unrest, especially after Shensi had joined the rebels, and influence was brought to bear on the Governor from various quarters, urging him to resign or secede from Peking. But a declaration of independence was successfully staved off until Yuan Shih-k'ai's death relieved the situation, perhaps largely owing to the attitude of Ma An-liang, who prepared his troops for action, and let the republicans know that if anyone was to succeed the Governor it would be himself, and that he and his Mahomedans would stick by Yuan to the last.

The shadow of another Mahomedan rebellion is always over the Chinese in Kansu, who stand in great fear of the Moslems and have passed through some anxious times during recent years. But the general opinion we heard expressed was that there was no need for alarm as long as the Mahomedans continue to be guided by the wise and statesmanlike leadership of their present chiefs.

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the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueitê, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Épo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

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and Kansu, situated short marches of 50 li one from the other. The Chengtu plain, notoriously one of the most fertile and thickly populated regions in the world, was one vast rice field, the grain nearly ripe, and promising, as usual, an enormous harvest. The most lucrative posts in the whole territorial administrative system of China are said to be the district magistracies on the Chengtu plain in Szechuan and in parts of Kuangtung, which are alleged to be more desirable from a monetary point of view than a Taoyinship.

Having left Chengtu five or six years previously shortly after it had been looted and partly burned during the troubles following on the Revolution of 1911, we now returned to find it once more in ruins, with street after street of wealthy shops and residences burnt down to heaps of rubble as the result of recent street-fighting between the Szechuanese and the Yunnan and Kueichou troops. Chengtu is incomparably the finest, richest, and most populous native city I know of in China, but it has known but little peace since the Revolution. Szechuan, the most fertile and thickly populated province in the Republic, lies in an unfortunate position between the North and the South, and has frequently been the bone of contention between the respective protagonists, the Peking Government and the Yunnanese, during the long drawn out and indecisive struggle of recent years. The Szechuanese themselves incline naturally towards the South and their fair province is in every respect a portion of the South-West; but the Yangtzu waterway and the overland road from Shensi render them very liable to invasion by the Northerners. Further the abundance of labour, rice, and all kinds of supplies make the province a most suitable battle ground, where both Yunnanese and Northerners can practise the latest Japanese manœuvres and test their newest foreign machine guns at a minimum cost to themselves. The Szechuanese are not a warlike race, and have not in the past played an important part in these civil wars; though recently signs have not been wanting that they propose to make a change in this respect in the future. As regards numbers they are in a position to swamp all the rest, while they also have the great advantage of a modern arsenal at Chengtu.

The Yunnanese have played a very large part in the

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and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

2: Teichman G-8 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

Chinch'i, where we were able to examine some of the wonderful irrigation works which render these huge plains, otherwise desert, so fertile. There are similar works on the other bank near the village of Tapa. Their destruction would turn one of the richest plains in North China into a desert. In the North West irrigation is the key to agricultural prosperity, and though the ancient Chinese have done so much in this region, modern engineers could probably accomplish wonders in turning immense areas of what is still desert into fertile lands. Especially lower down, where the river makes its great bend round the Ordos, there would seem to be great openings for modern irrigation works. 312 133 361

Chinch'i Hsien, formerly known as Chinch'i P'u or Ningling T'ing, is a Mahomedan centre, and was the chief rebel stronghold in the great rebellion. The Mahomedans are still very powerful in this region, where their settlements extend south through Haich'eng and Kuyuan to P'ingliang in Eastern Kansu. T'ung Fu-hsiang's family own large estates in the neighbourhood, which they appear to have acquired after the capture of Chinch'i in 1871 by the latter. This event was the beginning of the end of the rebellion in Kansu, which led to the eventual defeat of Yakub Beg and the recovery of Chinese Turkestan; had the Kansu Mahomedans held out, the reconquest of Central Asia would have been rendered impossible, and the fall of Chinch'i constitutes therefore an event of the first importance in Chinese history. [361] 563 669

Shortly before reaching the neighbourhood of Chinch'i we noticed, much to our amazement, a small stern-wheel steamer tied up to the right bank. An examination through glasses showed her to be a mere rusty skeleton, and our boatmen said she had lain there for years. From subsequent enquiries in Ninghsia we learned that this vessel represented an attempt, made just before the revolution, by the Kansu Viceroy with the assistance of a Belgian gentleman to establish steam navigation on the upper Yellow River. A small river steamer was purchased, transported in sections at great expense overland and put together at Paot'ou. She seems to have made one trip up river, reaching with great difficulty the spot where she is now, and where she is likely 501

635 than the Mahomedan leaders of Kansu. But, unlike some of the Manchu irreconcilables, General Ma Fu-hsiang moves with the times, and was later on one of the staunchest supporters of Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Peking Government. He is looked upon in some quarters as a likely successor to General Ma An-liang as leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, a position which it is generally agreed he is well qualified to fill.

669 Ninghsia was one of the few places in Kansu which had a rough time during the Revolution of 1911 owing to the city being seized by the Ko Lao Hui, and matters seem to have been very bad until the arrival of Mahomedan troops under one of Ma An-liang's Generals, when many Ko Lao Hui heads rolled in the dust and order was speedily restored. It is only in the extreme north and south of Kansu, for instance at Ninghsia and Chieh Chou (Kai Chou), where there is a considerable extra-provincial element in the population, that the Ko Lao Hui are formidable, owing apparently to the counter-influence of the Mahomedans, who will never have any dealings with secret societies.

Immediately west of the Ninghsia plains rises the barrier range usually known to foreigners as the Alashan, and three days' distant in these mountains lies Tingyuan Ying, or Wangyeh Fu, the residence of the Mongol Prince of the State of Alashan. It was to this place that Prince Tuan, the Boxer leader and father of the then Heir Apparent, retired after the events of 1900, though he was supposed to have been exiled to Turkestan. After the Mahomedans had occupied Ninghsia during the Revolution of 1911, he came down and lived there for some time awaiting the issue, but on the abdication of the Manchus he appears to have retired west into Turkestan, together with the famous old Manchu die-hard, Sheng Yün.

At Ninghsia we received what then seemed the incredible news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's intention to make himself Emperor. Kansu and its Mahomedans probably welcomed the event, since they were never particularly enthusiastic about the Republic, but it was a terrible blow to the young men of the student class who believed in the *Min Kuo*[1]. I have heard Yuan Shih-k'ai's opponents allege that his ambition was always fixed on the Throne, and that in the days when

[1] "People's Country," i.e. Republic.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

he was living in retirement in Honan after the death of the 669 Empress Dowager he was in secret communication with many of the military chiefs of the new army of his own creation and plotting a *coup d'état*; then followed the revolution, and he was able to advance with consummate skill, under the pretence of trying to keep the Manchus on the Throne, to the positions of Provisional President, Dictator, and Emperor. Other Chinese assure one that he was a faithful servant of the Republic led astray by the ambitions of his family and entourage. Whatever the facts may have been, there is no doubt that Yuan Shih-k'ai would have made a splendid Emperor, and subsequent events have proved that he was then the only man capable of ruling China. The Kansu officials, like those of all the other provinces, were instructed to make preparations for the holding of popular elections for or against a monarchy, which were to follow a joint memorial from the provincial Military Governors, all with one or two important exceptions Yuan's own men, begging their master to ascend the Throne. These instructions were, however, accompanied by secret telegrams regarding the working of the elections, and so successful were these arrangements that Yuan Shih-k'ai was elected Emperor practically unanimously by all the provinces. Everyone throughout the length and breadth of China knew that these elections were a sham and a fraud from beginning to end; but the Chinese are a race of actors, and make-belief enters largely into most phases of their private and public lives, and the farce was solemnly completed. Yet when the standard of rebellion was raised by General Tsai Ao in Yunnan on Christmas Day, 1916, the fraud was soon apparent, and the whole monarchical scheme came tumbling to the ground as province after province, all of which had supposedly announced themselves as unanimously in its favour, deserted the Imperial cause. As an instance of Chinese make-belief (*yu ming wu shih*) the monarchical elections of the autumn of 1916 are hard to beat.

The officials of Ninghsia had kindly prepared two of the 501 large wool boats for our accommodation and smaller craft for the ponies for the journey down river to Paot'ou. Our craft were broad flat-bottomed scows with high sides, and when roofed over with our tents made quite comfortable

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and stands out horizontally (Plate III). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red dish on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan tan is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the sec
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have be frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meado
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temp has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed dur ing the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small woo tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of on of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

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671 LEGAL NORMS--extent of differentiation of social norms enforceable by some organ of politically constituted society from those enforced only by informal social control; conception of law (e.g., as precedent, as a body of absolute or relative principles); comparative prevalence of customary or common law and of "made" laws (e.g., edicts, decrees, ordinances, statutes, constitutions, binding judicial or administrative decisions, imposed taboos, divine revelations); lawgivers; law codes; legal categories (e.g., civil and criminal law); legal rules and administrative law; jurisprudence; uniform and multiple systems of law; etc. See also:

Justice 69
Innovation 176
Customary norms 183
Property law 421
Family law 593
Informal social control 628
Informal justice 627
Civil rights 641
Constitutional law 642
Government regulation 656
Martial law 722

795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

779 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

779 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

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detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

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These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

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[873]

Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime committed now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

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361 over their shoulders, like the togas of an ancient Roman. Defiant-
631 looking Tibetan horsemen, their long guns with meter-long forked supports on their backs, ride through the streets on strong ponies, often bargaining haughtily from their saddles with the shop owners. This outer city or suburb is also surrounded by an earth wall with
674 gates, for Kue de is not very safe. A small theft or robbery is the
432 order of the day, in spite of the fact that there are only about 400 families (2,000-3,000 inhabitants) living in the city. An incident that happened while I was there best illustrates the conditions. A Tibetan yeoman, son of a chief, of one of the Lutsang /265/ tribes in the southern part of the city, had sold a horse to a Chinese merchant. But hardly had the deal been closed when a rumor arose that the Tibetan had stolen the horse from a neighboring tribe. Now in order to pose, not as a common thief, but as a grandseigneur who would not let such a fatal accusation rest upon himself, and also to avoid conjuring up political difficulties for his entire tribe, our Tibetan was forced to return the stolen horse to its former owner, a Tibetan. For, just as was the case during the period of our robber barons, the Tibetans lay great stress on good manners and reputation. So the young man goes to the Chinese in order to buy back the horse. In his distress, he even offers slightly more than he got for it. But the Chinese is merciless. He will not under any circumstances cancel the bargain. Of course, the Tibetan cannot offer him so very much because he stole the horse in order to recoup his finances. What does a Tibetan do in such a dilemma? The next day as the Chinese is leading his horse out from its stable, the Tibetan knocks him down, swings himself onto the horse and disappears into the steppes, never to be seen again. His friends bring the animal to the owner from whom it was first stolen. Honor has been restored. A Chinaman does not count here.

631 On the morning after our arrival I went first to the ör fu, the ting, in the interior of the city. At the gate of his yamen I was received with a salute of guns, a great honor in China, for which I was indebted to the amban and which implied the wish that I should not go into the Ts'ao ti from here.

The yamen building was in a surprisingly dilapidated condition; the town is very unpopular among the officials. None of them stays more than a year and so no one has the offices and living quarters put into shape. When it rains only a few rooms are weather-proof. Even in the guest room large pieces of wall paper hang down from the ceiling. Through the holes one could see the

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675 CONTRACTS--conception of contractual relations; agreements, bargains, promises, and their enforceability; consideration; rights, privileges, and powers of contracting parties; procedure in the conclusion of contracts (e.g., presence of witnesses); terms and stipulations; types of contracts (e.g., legal forms, oral agreements, covenants); etc. See also:

Builders and contractors	331	Social relationships	671
Loans	426	Marriage contracts	684
Leases	427	Treaties and alliances	648
Sales	432	Penalties for breaches of contract	686
Insurance contracts	436	Religious vows	702
Labor relations	466		

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
572 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
88 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[302] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[242] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
574 functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[481] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
584 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
[787] are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[615] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
583 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
584 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

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681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering); corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions (e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory); deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment); theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention); penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state, injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice	69	Informal justice	697
Social control	638	Prisons and penal labor	697

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
(788) Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 " "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
782 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
779 and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gam-
[262] bling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid
• [681] down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely con-
demned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

779 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic
671 foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g., analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising
776 monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

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[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

*668 of the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of
631 municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts,
666 hsiang, nationality hsiang, and towns are directly elected by the
[563] voters. The minority groups shall have guaranteed quotas in these congresses. Minority nationals in administrative areas shall have an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of their administrative areas.

Thus, the people theoretically have political authority and the people's congresses are the organs for practicing this authority. These congresses on the lower levels are elected directly by the voters, while those on the higher levels are elected by the people's congresses of the next lowest level. For instance, the voters elect the people's congresses of the various towns. Then the People's Congresses of the towns elect deputies to the people's congresses of the counties, and so on. The provincial People's Congresses are elected for four years, while the other local congresses are elected for two years.

b. functions of congress

*668 As listed by law the functions of the people's congresses are
631 numerous. In brief, the congresses are to defend the rights of the
• 671 people and also to assure the support of the people. They approve local budgets and financial accounts; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development; elect and recall the people's councils at their own level; elect the deputies to the people's congresses at the next highest level; listen to and examine the working reports of the people's councils at their own level; and revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders issued by these people's councils.

These functions and powers could make the local people's congresses into real "watch dogs" for the people, but for several hidden handicaps. One of these is to be found in this same Organic Law, Article 6, which states that a people's congress can "revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the people's congresses at the next lower level." In this way power is retained by the upper level.

2. Role of people's councils

*668 The people's councils have a dual role: they are responsible
631 to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, and they are responsible to the governments above their own levels. Although they are supposed to be the people's instruments of self-government, they are also agencies of the central government and must obey the State Council. Theoretically, this double responsibility could put the local governments in an embarrassing dilemma, were the local congresses to differ with the central government on policy. In practice, however, it is not possible, because of the tight party control at every level and since the representatives are hand-picked by the party.

a. composition

In addition to the council members, a local People's Council

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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
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• [671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
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681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
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673

673 WRONGS--general definitions of acts which violate legal norms; major categories of breaches (e.g., crimes, torts, violations of contract, sins); recognized gradations in the gravity of offenses (e.g., malum prohibitum and malum in se, misdemeanors and felonies, venial and deadly sins); etc. See also:

Specific offenses and their sanctions 68
Sex perversions 85
Breaches of etiquette 576
Breaches of ethics 577
Taboo 784

625 The above chart (chart II) is self-explanatory. However,
*668 in the past, the major work of the police station was the fight
178 against crime. At present, the emphasis has been shifted to political defense. Thus, the political section becomes a major section in the internal organization of the police offices. To
• 673 view the problem from another angle, even common crimes
*668 can be political in nature. A case of arson may be considered sabotage of state property. A case of theft may involve the stealing of state property. Murder may be viewed as a disruption of production. Therefore it is difficult to separate common crimes from political resistance. One of the major arguments of the Communists to defend their own criminal past (e.g. Chou En-lai has a record as murderer in Shanghai Police Department) is the political purpose of the crime.

3. Committee of residents

625 In addition to the regular police, the Communists have also
*668 organized and used the common people to maintain public order and safety. In cities, there are Committees of Residents. These Committees are organized by districts, each one controlling from 100 to 600 families. Under the committee are "cells of residents." Each cell includes from 15 to 40 families. Each committee shall not control more than 17 such cells. The main function of these cells and committees is to maintain public order. ("The Regulations of the Urban Committee of Residents," adopted by the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on December 31, 1954, articles 2 and 3 in Peking Kuang-ming jih-pao, January 1, 1955.)

The rural areas have Security Committees, the administrative village being the unit with 3 to 11 members participating. Under these committees, security teams of 3 to 5 activitsts are established. These people police the countryside for the Communist government. The functions and power of these security committees are:

1)...Arresting and rugning over to the government and public security organs of counter-revolutionaries caught flagrant, derelicts and criminals wanted by law, but... have no power to try to imprison or dispose of such criminals.

2)...Investigating, supervising, prosecuting and denouncing counter-revolutionaries other than those caught in the act, but...have no power to arrest, detain, search or restrict them.

3)...Educating the masses to preserve the revolutionary order and supervising the persons subject to control in labor and production, forbidding them to speak and act indiscriminately and reporting in time to the public security organs on their behavior, but...have no power to

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674 CRIME--prevalence and incidence of crime; common and rare offenses; crime statistics (e.g., number of reported violations, arrests, and convictions for various offenses); types of offenders (e.g., juvenile delinquents, criminal castes; narcotic addicts, professional criminals); motives in crime (e.g., greed, frustration, sexual jealousy); contributory social factors (e.g., poverty, oppression); criminology; etc. See also:

Socialization	86	Crime prevention	625
Neuroses and psychoses	158	Sanctions	681
Organized vice	548	Litigation of civil cases	691
Ingroup antagonisms	578	Juvenile delinquency	738
Banditry and piracy	579	Suicide	762

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood.

(566) Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This
578 complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of C inghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou,
181 Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in
183 Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They
829 praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communi-
• (674) ties stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or
*563 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express
181 their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and
526 bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to S N give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation. [671] But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the • [674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali S N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that 681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted 184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much 674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties); [565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall: 681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit 184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is 674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

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184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
• 674 most certain death," states Ekvall, op. cit., p. 70. In the past, these problems of differences were somewhat minimized by leaving the various ethnic groups to their own leaders. For instance, as late as in the 1930's, among the Tibetans on the Kansu-Tibetan border, Ekvall reports that the village was the basic unit of administration:

621 "The village organization is generally an informal one. Among
184 the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen head-man; but among the nomads, although there is usually one person in the encampment who is known as the head-man by right of his influence, it is seldom that he has been chosen formally. The real power and final court of appeal is found in the group of substantial middle-aged and elderly men known as the elders (rgan-po), and their word is final in village affairs. Villages - whether villages in the restricted sense, like those of the sedentary districts, or in the larger sense which includes the encampments of the nomads - are associated in groups that have common territorial interests"(op. cit., p. 68).

II. Communist Administration

*668 A. The System in General
625 In order to suppress widespread resistance, the Communists have organized the largest and most complicated police system in Chinese history. This system includes regular police as well as secret police. To make sure that the police force will not rebel, there are numerous branches in the system to check on each other. The final control, however, is in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. To understand this complicated system, it is necessary to draw a skeleton diagram of the whole system instead of just the part in northwest China.

*175 they were to forward orders from above to the lower level govern-
*668 ments; to make decisions or suggestions concerning the personnel,
635 laws, and financial arrangeme nts of the province; and to coordi-
nate and supervise work in the area. There were, however, some new points. They were required "to execute the decisions of the provincial people's congresses."

a. limitations on authority

The significance of this requirement was lessened by the qualification: "provided that these decisions have been approved by the Government Administrative Council or the Military and Administrative Council of the administrative regions." Thus, nothing could be done on the provincial level that was not acceptable to the officials of higher levels. Second, the provincial councils were to
[632] "annul or revise the decisions and orders of the municipal and
[634] county people's government councils, or the municipal and county people's congresses under its jurisdiction, whenever these decisions and orders are contradictory to those of the higher level people's government." The higher government officials could over-ride the local interests.

b. increased authority

Under this system, the provincial governments of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang actually were branch offices of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, until the power of the latter was weakened in 1952. With the abolition of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council in June, 1954, the traditional importance and position of the provincial governments was fully restored. However, primarily they still are instruments of the central government.

B. People's Congress and People's Councils

631 The day after the First National People's Congress passed the
*668 new Chinese Communist Constitution, on September 21, 1954, the same congress passed the organic law for local governments.
[671] Taken at face value, this law gives more power to the local governments as well as to the people. From the town level up to the province, each is supposed to have a people's congress and a people's council, the congress representing the people, and the council acting as the executive body. Their position and interrelation can be seen in the following excerpts from the law:

1. Role of peoples' congress

Local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of government authority in their respective localities. (The Organic Law of People's Congresses and People's Councils at all Local levels in Chinese Peoples' Republic, p. 1, Article 3.)

a. election of deputies

[666] Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central authority, counties, and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses

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rather low, their conception about the party is not clear, and they are not qualified, or completely qualified, as party members. They take little interest in party work, consider the exemplary behavior of other party members in leading the masses as a 'disadvantage,' take no heed of the phenomena detrimental to the interest of the people."

Ma went on to state that bad elements had infiltrated into the party: "Some of the veteran party members in the face of the nationwide victory, display laxity, are arrogant and think of themselves as heroes. They are steadily losing or have already lost the sense of responsibility and positiveness that qualified Communists should have. They pay little attention to study and improvement, take little interest in politics, lack a serious attitude towards their work, do not seek to develop the work but simply carry out routine, and some of them are not prepared to continue with the revolutionary struggle, reject any difficult tasks assigned them by the party, and even degrade themselves to corruption, moral disintegration and estrangement from the masses, and are against party discipline." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, October 8, 1951).

Two months later, at another conference of cadres, Hsi Chung-hsün also deplored the deterioration of party discipline. "Diverse

S 175 625 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later, S [177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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"and some of the elements whose class standpoint is not firm and whose political consciousness is not very high cannot stand the test and become degenerated." (NCNA December 2, 1951). In May, 1952, Chang Chia-fu, director of the Department of Propaganda of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, declared: "Since they entered the cities, the Northwest Literary and Art Workers, owing to corrosion by bourgeois thought, have wavered more or less in carrying out Chairman Mao's literary and artistic policy." (NCNA May 25, 1952).

2. Poor Quality of the New Cadres: The large numbers of students and former government employees who were incorporated into the ranks of the cadres were not men of high caliber and they quickly followed the examples set by the old party cadres. At a speech at a conference of cadres at Sian in May, 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün charged that there were glaring shortcomings in the United Front Work because the new cadres, who make up 90 per cent of the total number of cadres, following the practices of the old cadres. They were arrogant, they entertained non-proletarian thoughts, and, because of their behavior, there were flagrant cases of bureaucratism (which he defined as estrangement from reality and isolation from the masses) and commandism (just going through the motions of carrying out orders). He pointed out that in the municipality of Sian, for example, eleven hundred residents were [681] [651] arrested and punished for the mere crime of possessing bicycles, and that in the countryside, the cadres resorted to threats, arrests, and tortures in the collection of taxes.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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184 matter; and robbery of some great living Buddha would mean al-
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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

axles, since the gauge required for the desert is a foot 485
wider than that used in the provinces of North China. 326

The first night was spent in a very cold, damp, north room of a noisy, dirty and crowded inn. The next day, 681
however, we secured the use of a small private court, containing an apartment with a tiny kitchen, where our servant was able to prepare the meals. This small court had been built by a Kashgar merchant, whose business necessitated frequent journeys to Suchow, Hankow and Peking. A few years previously, a deal in business involved him in a transaction through which he incurred the displeasure of a high official, the result being that he was placed under arrest, and forced to reside in that portion of a Chinese prison corresponding to the old English 'Debtors' Gaol.' No trial had taken place, and consequently no judgment had ever been passed on him. Any representations that he might make had been bandied from court to court, as each successive official refused either to investigate the case, or to take any action which might bring upon himself the wrath of some other notable, from whom depended the tenure of his own office. When we reached Suchow, Mr. Li's imprisonment, now ancient history, was merely nominal, and he was free to come and go at pleasure, provided he did not leave the precincts of the town. He was one of our first visitors, and we found him to be a man of alert mentality, and of great knowledge of the world. His morals and general outlook were those of Islam, to which he had added under the stress of trouble the Chinese vice of opium-smoking. He seemed, however, much pleased that we should be occupying his premises, and urged us not to hesitate to report to him if the manager failed to make us as comfortable as possible.

The news of our arrival spread rapidly through the 100

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682 OFFENSES AGAINST LIFE--definitions of and sanctions for homicide (e.g., murder, manslaughter); punishments for attempted homicide and attempted suicide; penalties for abortion and infanticide; etc. See also:

Euthanasia	73	Headhunting	721, 727
Accidents	164, 165	Suicide	782
Cannibalism	266	Abortion and infanticide	847
Blood feuds	627, 628	Killing the aged	888
Liability in instances of accident or self defense	672		

6: Tafel--148 T-3 (1908-1908) 1914 AF1 Tibet
N.W. China AF13

583 and without a word he took me by the arm and led me along behind the farmer, to a house a few doors away. There the farmer threw the silver he had got for the mules on a table and roughly seized a middle-aged woman who protested in vain and who had evidently been sitting in front of the door, quite unsuspecting. He quickly lifted the woman onto his horse and hurried off with her toward the nearest city gate. Twilight had already descended. He escaped just before the gates were barred. The Chinese who witnessed the drama laughed aloud while the woman covered her face with her hands and sobbed loudly and bitterly. My guide explained to me, laughingly: "For your two mules the man has got himself this faded woman, a widow." It is not considered respectable to marry widows, and so no wedding is celebrated, nor guests invited. The new husband pays a certain price to the family of the deceased or to whomever the woman belongs, and departs with her from her old home, if possible in the dark and without causing much stir. If the widow is self-respecting and well brought up, she leaves her old home with tears streaming, even though she may be heartily glad to get away from it.

426 Around the same time there occurred another incident which is
682 typical of the sense of justice of the Hsining people. The secretary of a yamen owed a certain bank five tael and left this small debt unpaid in spite of repeated admonishment. The owner of the bank thereupon sent one of his employees who demanded payment. But since the man either could not or would not pay, there was a lively altercation and the debtor suddenly took a knife and cut off a finger of his left hand, threw it to the young man and said "There's your money!" I was told that the blood balanced the debt. However, both parties were now so aroused that the quarrel continued and the employee was thoroughly thrashed by the secretary and members of his family. In his distress the employee kicked the secretary in such a way that the latter collapsed unconscious and died two days later. The wife of the secretary then went to the hsien and accused the bank employee of the murder of her husband. The hsien had the young man seized and would probably have beheaded him if his family had not demanded payment of 2,000 tael by the bank for the loss of their son. Finally the hsien (the father-mother-mandarin) decided that the bank should pay the secretary's widow 600 taels and thus redeem the young employee. Inasmuch as the "bank" had to pay the hsien for court expenses besides, the owner of the bank was on the point of bankruptcy when I left Hsining fu - all for 5 taels.

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685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc. See also:

Property	42	Banditry	879

5: Tafel--280 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
N.W. China AF13

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the
● houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects,
346 the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
778 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years 171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

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691 LITIGATION--incidence of civil actions; statistics of civil cases; causes and types of litigation; abuses (e.g., barratry, ambulance chasing); etc. See also:

Ingong aggression	578	Incidence of criminal actions and criminal behavior	674
Informal justice	627		
Tools	673		

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the edge of a precipitous cañon, which has engulfed the 487
road during recent years, and continue again on the further /33
side, while the track now in [illegible] winds round the head of the ravine. All through the loess country of Shensi and Kansu it is the same story, the track winding about to avoid the rifts, which are ever widening and working backwards by the collapse of their vertical walls. We were met on the provincial border by some Kansu officials and a couple of dozen Mahomedan braves, picturesque looking warriors mounted on handsome Kansu ponies, from whose appearance it was evident we were entering a new country. All [492]
Chinese in the North can ride after a fashion; but a Kansu Mahomedan, a Mongol, or a Tibetan sits his pony as though born to the saddle. Thus escorted we dropped by a long descent of ten li through a gully in the loess to Ching Chou (now Chingch'uan Hsien), and found ourselves once more in the valley of the Ching Ho.

From Ching Chou to P'ingliang Fu is a distance of 130 li, which can be divided into two marches by halting at the village of Paishui Yi, 75 li out. The road, a broad tree-lined highway, runs up the valley of the Ching Ho, which is well cultivated and populated. The trees along this road, which extend on and off all the way from Hsian to Lanchou, are said to have been planted by the order of the great General Tso, the conqueror of the Mahomedans, and if so, all travellers in summer time have reason to be thankful to him for the welcome shade they afford. At Paishui Yi we 634
were met by the P'ingliang magistrate, one of the very best [691]
district officers we came across in all our journeys, who proceeded that same evening to take advantage of his presence in the village to try a case in the courtyard of the rest-house in which we were stopping; no red tape or ceremony of any kind, but a quick, straightforward hearing. Kansu is an old-fashioned and conservative province, and at the time of our visit was jogging along in much the same way as under the Manchus, without having adopted many of the new methods of the Republic. This magistrate was a regular territorial official *de carrière*, the son of an official, and, though still quite young, had served for some years as a magistrate under the previous regime. Consequently he was thoroughly conversant with his work, and compared

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692 JUDICIAL AUTHORITY--extent to which the settlement of disputes, redress of injuries, and application of sanctions is withdrawn from the parties concerned and vested in some constituted authority; degree of identification or separation of judicial and executive authority; specialized judges and courts; judicial system (e.g., courts of original and appellate jurisdiction, courts of law and equity, civil and criminal courts); jurisdiction of each type of court; judicial powers and prerogatives; etc. See also:

Judicial authority of executive and administrative officials	63, 64	Commission	642
Concept of justice	677	Legal norms	671
Informal justice within the community	627	Special courts	698

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798 in the secret hope that the ever-shifting sands of the political hour-glass would produce new conditions, capable of manipulation, if needs be, to cover over such an insignificant incident as that of the execution of a Christian leader. They were strengthened in this expectation by reports of successful demonstrations by the anti-Christian organisations in large cities.

To us the reply from Lanchow seemed to hand over the situation to our enemies; nevertheless, prayer was constantly made by the whole Christian community to God for Dr. Kao, and we waited for the answer to come.

798 By the law of China, it is the Civil Magistrate who
● 692 pronounces the sentence upon the prisoner; nevertheless, it cannot be carried into execution without the additional authority of the District Judge; therefore, when this Official was approached and asked to ratify the sentence upon Dr. Kao, he very indignantly replied: 'I refuse to condemn a man whom we all know to be innocent. Every child in the Suchow streets knows that the prison door has never been forced, nor has any prisoner there been unofficially released.' And from this position no persuasion moved him, although he was perfectly aware that such opposition might ruin his magisterial career. We, on our side, at Dr. Kao's request, refrained from any kind of interference or interposition, with the exception that we duly informed our Lanchow friends of all the facts, urging them, if possible, to use their influence to secure an impartial enquiry, which must necessarily be held by officials other than the local authorities. As a result of this appeal, a telegram was presently received from Lanchow, ordering the case to stand over until the arrival of a Special Commissioner appointed for the examination. The natural effect of this communication, following on the action taken by the District Judge, caused some degree

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of trepidation in official circles, one result of which being 798
that it immediately secured for Dr. Kao the privilege of
receiving visitors, ourselves among the number. We 692
always found him cheery and serene, although the ●
sanitary conditions were so bad that they told seriously on his health, so much so, that when at last he emerged into the open day, he fell to the ground overpowered by the effect of the light. Many a time did we remind each other that although he had not broken open the city gaol and released its prisoners, we were yet all at that very hour seeking to preach liberty to the captives held in the strongholds of the Power of Evil.

It was with a peculiar sense of triumph that we brought the news to the prison, one Sunday afternoon, of the first baptismal service in Suchow having taken place that day.

The turnkey was increasingly friendly to his genial, though intractable prisoner, and when the doors were closed for the night, allowed him to leave his cell and preach to the other captives. The accusation was hanging on the evidence of one witness, namely that of the Governor of the gaol, and owner of the little slave-girl mentioned in a previous chapter. He was a man of weak and shallow nature, to whom cruelty of any kind partook of the nature of an amusement. He had bought over several witnesses, but when they heard the rumour of an investigation by a Commissioner appointed from Lanchow, they backed out and declared that only fear of torture had led them to give evidence. He began to realise, when it was too late, that each of the other officials had left himself a possible loophole of escape, which, if acted upon, would leave the whole burden of the responsibility upon his own head. Surreptitiously, therefore, he began to make preparations for a hasty exit into Turkestan; but this being prevented by his

798 superior, it soon became the city talk, that whereas formerly he looked like a man, now his face resembled 692 that of a terrified ghost.

Meanwhile the Commissioner from Lanchow arrived, and only made himself known after spending several days *incognito* in an inn, under the guise of a merchant. He easily satisfied himself that the accusation brought against Dr. Kao was without any foundation, and he collected witness from every tradesman in the vicinity of the prison, to the effect that the gaol had never been 798 attacked at all. He personally visited the prison court, and noticed that this cell now bore a new red paper 692 notice stating that : ' This room is to be called a House 697 of Detention.' This was a ruse by the Civil Magistrate, to justify himself for having placed an untried prisoner in a condemned cell.

Before returning to Lanchow, the Commissioner insisted upon immediate removal to the real ' House of Detention,' where was a sunny courtyard, surrounded by decent rooms, each containing only one occupant. Here, Dr. Kao soon resumed his normal appearance ; he was allowed to shave and keep his hair cut ; visitors came freely, and things in general were decidedly better. All the same, it was still a prison, and many of his neighbours had lived there for years, awaiting a trial that never came ; fed from their homes by little slave-girls sent in with their meals, and who slipped their slender bodies between the thick wooden bars of the locked entrance gate, with basins of rice for their masters' dinner. Some of these men had settled to a dull apathetic endurance of a wrong that could not be righted, many found a solace in the deadening fumes of opium, but there were a few who abandoned themselves to such a frenzy of despair that within a few months they were released by death from the hands of their enemies.

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One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until 692 this system of bribery and corruption should be over- 697 turned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent 798 men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some 701 months previously General Feng's troops had assumed 635 authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, ' Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die ? ' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect ! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled ; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested ; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

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694 INITIATION OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS--complaints and accusations; methods of detection; bringing suit; indictments (e.g., by grand jury); warrants and summonses; arrests and detention; bail; writs (e.g., of habeas corpus); pleas and demurrers; etc. See also:
Police . . . . . 625 Litigation 691

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*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the following:

N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953....The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"
563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups. They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
*668 administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
• 694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two municipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

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701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Such
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
• 694 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying
635 that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

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697 PRISONS AND JAILS--places of imprisonment and detention; precautions against escape; personnel (e.g., jailers, wardens, chaplains, guards); differential treatment of inmates (e.g., women, trusties); organization of penal institutions; prison rules and routines; rewards and punishments for behavior; terms; paroles and pardons; prison labor; penal labor camps; special prisons (e.g., prisons for political offenders, military prisons); etc.
See also:

Prison buildings 344
Forced labor 486
Penology 681
Prisoners of war 737
Reformatories 738
Insane asylums 743

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people. I expect you agree with me ; I had better go ; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

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DR. KAO'S arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window ; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

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and in it was a small grating through which the food could be passed. Next to this was the gaoler's own room, and beyond that again was another cell, in which twenty prisoners were incarcerated, most of them heavily ironed ; this room, too, was in almost total darkness. None of all those wretched prisoners were permitted to leave their cells except for a few minutes once in twenty-four hours, and all were entirely dependent upon their relatives or friends for their food ; consequently death from starvation was all too frequent, while, according to Dr. Kao's own account, the nights were made hideous by the agonised cries and groans of these most miserable of men.

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For some days after the arrest we suffered intense anxiety from the fact that no message whatever could reach us direct from the Doctor ; moreover, persistent rumours were afloat that he was to be shot. Of course he was regularly supplied with food from the Mission Compound, but we had no certain means of knowing whether he really did receive it or not. Those first days of suspense were, indeed, terrible. The Civil Magistrate, it must be explained, had secured to the accusation brought by him against the Doctor the signatures of the two other most important officials of the city, each one thereby declaring himself personally cognisant of the offence. Consequently, when the answer ultimately came from the provincial capital of Lanchow, it was couched in these terms : 'Since you affirm Kao to be guilty of breaking open the prison of Suchow with an armed mob, you may inflict the extreme penalty of the law ; but if later investigations should prove him to be innocent, you will personally be held responsible for your action.' The three officials then pronounced themselves prepared to take this responsibility ; but did so as a means of currying favour with the local garrison,

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159 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their
614 father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion
635 of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother,
Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with
[648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a
[170] commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he be-
[635] came a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the posi-
635 tion of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks:
185 First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the
[276] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he
[871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during
[499] his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of
771 religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling
641 of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment
635 toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they
669 pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

159 provincial capital of Chinghai, Sining, fell to the Communists.
669 He was asked by the Communist authorities to serve on their Military Control Board, but when the Nationalist Government moved to Formosa, he managed to leave China. He now lives in Cairo, Egypt.

Ma Pu-ch'ing (1898-)

159 Born in 1898 in the district of Lin-hsia in Kansu Province, Ma Pu-ch'ing was the elder brother of Ma Pu-feng, governor of Chinghai Province from 1937 to 1949, and the oldest son of the late governor of Chinghai, Ma Lin. The youngest son, Ma Pu-ying, did not enter public life, but chose to be a farmer. After
159 he was graduated from the First Middle School of Kansu, Ma
701 Pu-ch'ing entered military life. In 1922 he was commander of the Fourth Regional Garrison. Next year he was promoted as commanding officer of the Cavalry Regiment of the Fifth Mixed Brigade of the Army. In 1928 he became commanding officer of the 77th Brigade of the 28th Division of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army. In 1929 he was transferred to commanding officer of the 65th Brigade of the 22nd Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Army Group of the Revolutionary Army. In 1930, he was given commandership of the Loyang Garrison. By next year he became commanding officer of the 26th Division of the 4th Route of the 2nd Region of the Nationalist Army. In 1932 he was promoted as commanding officer of the First Cavalry Division of Kansu Province. In the same year, he was transferred as commanding officer of the Second Cavalry Division of the Nationalist Army. In 1936 he became commanding officer of the Fifth
159 Cavalry Division of the Army. When the Sino-Japanese War
701 broke out, he was appointed as the Commissioner of Highways
631 in Kansu Province. Later he was given the position as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam region in Chinghai Province, and concurrently commanding officer of the Fifth Cavalry Division. In 1943 he became deputy commander-in-chief of the Fortieth Army Group.

159 His appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam
631 region in Chinghai Province by the Central Government came at the time his brother, Ma Pu-fang, was governor of that prov-
635 ince. Thus the two brothers were often mentioned together as administrative heads of Chinghai. At that time China was engaged in the war against the Japanese invaders, and the whole coastal region had been lost to the enemy. To deal with the urgent need to continue the war, the Central Government then adopted a policy of developing the border regions. Ma's appointment as Reclamation Commissioner of Tsaidam was therefore considered a very important step. Tsaidam region is situated in the northwestern part of Chinghai Province, between the

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701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complex military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and mobility 55
Political organization 62, 63, 64
Military technology and equipment 71
Leadership traits 157

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older N [171] than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are [241] the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether N Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The *563 621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" [701] and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
871 monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
701 asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

/Mongols of the Northwest/

N 829 *563 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive S 829 563 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

S N D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, (178) internal and external, changed very little. Their families con- (596) stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this (614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of (619) banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and (701) the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and (622) hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of (554) the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

N In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably 829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) *563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a *668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The 177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live- (634) stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of (242) a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera- S 829 563 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent 668 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol 177 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their (634) livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, (242) are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present S N generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to (361) a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

N III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans 829 An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among *563 S 829 563

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they [432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up [701] the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover- [352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into [276] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the [186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. 441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

I. The Government of Administrative Regions

*175 A. Basis of Regions

*668 The turning point of the Chinese Communists' military cam-
669 paign in northwest China was on April 22, 1948, when they retook Yenan. With the deteriorating general military situation, the Nationalists rapidly lost the Northwest. In December, 1949, the Communist conquest of the area was basically complete. Just as in other areas, the army was their main strength, essential in maintaining peace and order. Thus the local political structures which they set up were closely knit to the military forces, an inheritance from the civil war. Recognizing this fact, the central
*175 government of the People's Republic decided to divide the nation
*668 into several large regions, roughly corresponding to the assigned
631 areas of each field army. It appointed the commanders of the various field armies to manage the civil administrations of the corresponding regions. The Northwest Region included the municipality of Sian, directly under the central authority, and five provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang.

*175 B. Organizational Regulations

*668 1. Military and administrative council

631 On December 16, 1949, the Government Administrative Council passed the organizational regulations of the People's Gov-
• 701 ernment Committee on Administrative Regions. According to these regulations, a Military and Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Central Government in each administrative region to maintain peace and order during the first stage of the Communist conquest.

a. composition

P'eng Te-huai, the commander of the First Field Army, was appointed Chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, which had two vice-chairmen and forty-one members. The chairman and vice-chairmen were Chinese, and the members included four Moslems, two Uighurs, one Tibetan, one Mongol, and thirty-three Chinese. One of the Chinese was a woman.

b. expiation

In the regulations it was also stated that the Military and Administrative Councils were to be abolished as soon as the following conditions were fulfilled:

(1) when the military action was over;
(2) when land reform was completed;
(3) when the people of each region were well organized and a gen-
[666] eral election had been called. Then the People's Congresses of each administration region, elected by popular vote, were to elect

*175
*668 a People's Government Council of the administrative region to take
631 the place of the Military and Administrative Council.
• 701
[666]

2. Northwest administrative council

a. composition

Apparently this anticipated election never took place in Northwest China under the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. Since November 15, 1952, when the Central People's Government ordered the reorganization of the Council into the Northwest Administrative Council, it has been known as the Northwest People's Government Council.

*175 b. functions

*668 Article 3 of the same regulations indicated that the People's Government Council of the administrative region (the Military and
631 Administrative Council) was to be a part of the regular local government system, ranking between the Central Government and the provinces. It represented the Government Administration Council in guiding the provincial and county governments in administrative work.

This was well defined in Article 4, which gave the detailed functions of the Council. The Council was to be the organ for transferring the orders of the central government to the provincial and other lower local governments. It made suggestions to the central government concerning personnel, law, and financial arrangements for the region. It also coordinated and supervised administrative work for the central government.

These regulations indicated that the Communist Government meant to make the administrative regions and their administrative structures a part of their regular, permanent government system. This was quite a change from the former system, which emphasized the position of the provinces.

c. structure

*175 After the Communists organized the Military and Administra-
*668 tive Councils of the administrative regions into offices with real
631 power, their structure became large, and even bulky. In 1952,
647 at the peak of its power, the Northwest Military and Administrative Council included the following offices;

Administrative Office;
Committee on Political and Legal Affairs;
Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs;
Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs;
Committee on People's Control
Committee on Land Reform;
Commission of Nationalities Affairs;
Department of Personnel;
Department of Civil Administration;
Department of Public Safety;
Department of Justice;

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*668 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

• 701 These police forces are supported by the regular People's
625 Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-
*668 defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime com-
[674] mitted now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up
[873] for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 177 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

159 Democratic League and has served as director of its branch in
#668 Sian. After the Communists took over, he was selected as one
631 of the two deputy mayors of the city of Sian. He is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League.

Chang, Pang-ying: Communist Party official

Up to 1950, Chang was secretary of the South Shensi Regional Committee of the CCP. After 1950 he rose to be director of the Bureau of Public Security and vice-chairman of the Shensi People's Government. He was a member of the Northwest MAC and also third secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau (later the Sinkiang Committee) up to the present. In 1955 he was made a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chang Te-sheng: Government official

Chang is a native of Shensi Province. His birth date is unknown. Under the Nationalist Administration he served as a member of the Commission of Overseas Affairs of the Central Kuomintang. Later he supported the Communist revolution and served as Vice-Commissar of the Political Department of the North China Military Area. When the Northwest Administrative Council was formed in 1953, he was given the post as a member of that council and concurrently one of the vice-chairmanships of the People's Government of Kansu Province. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Shensi PPCC Committee.

Chang, Tsung-sun: Communist Party official

[701] Background unknown. 1937, commander of the 358th Brigade in the 133rd Division in the 18th Group Army and later commander of the 2nd Military District in Northern Shensi. 1945, elected as alternate member of the Central Committee of the CCP; 1948, deputy commander of the First Field Army under P'eng Te-huai; 1950, deputy commander of the Northwest Military District. Member of the Northwest MAC, and procurator-general of the Northwest Office of the Supreme Procuratorate. Since 1952, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and since 1954, member of the National Defense Council.

Chang, Tzu-fang (Woman): Communist mass organization leader

Prior to the Communist triumph in 1949, Chang Tzu-fang was chairman of the Federation of Democratic Women in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. In 1950 she became a member of the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. In the NW MAC, and subsequently the Administrative Council, she was a member of the council, the Political and Legal Commission, the People's Supervisory

159 Commission, and the Land Reform Commission.
*668
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Ch'ang, Li-fu: Member of the Communist Party

A native of Shensi Province, dates unknown. When the Military and Political Council for the Northwest was established in the Northwest, he was appointed Secretary-General in 1950; in 1953, when that council was re-organized into the Northwest Administrative Council, Ch'ang was appointed a member of that council and also served as its secretary-general. In the Central People's Government, he was made deputy secretary-general and director of the secretariat in the State Council in 1955.

Chao, Chan-k'uei: Labor model and official

Native of Ting-yuan in Shensi; a servant at age twelve; at thirty-eight worked as a metal worker on a railroad; at forty-two, went to Yenan, organized workers into labor unions and labor corps, set production record in iron foundry. In 1947 when the Nationalist forces captured Yenan, Chao first defended the iron works and then hid the machinery.1949, delegate to CPPCC, Peking. 1950, was deputy head of the Department of Labor in the NW MAC.

Chao, Po-p'ing: Communist Party and government official

Personal data not available. 1950, director of the Department of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, deputy secretary in the Sian Municipal Committee of the CCP. 1952, director of the Department of Propaganda in the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. Elected as vice-governor of Shensi in 1954.

159 Chao, Shou-shan: Army officer
*668
• 701
631

Born in 1895 in Shensi Province in farm family; graduated from a surveying school; joined the army and became a commanding officer of a brigade in General Yang Hu-ch'eng's army in Shensi; Garrison Commander of Hanchung, Shensi; after the December 12, 1936, incident when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was detained by the Young Marshall, General Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-ch'eng, Chao became Garrison Commander of Sian. In 1937 he became commanding officer of the 38th Army; later, the commander of the 4th Army Group; 1947, relieved from his command and given a choice of becoming a member of the Military Advisory Council or going to U.S.A. on an investigating tour. Toured U.S.A., joined the Communists later that year. In 1949 his troops re-entered Sian. 1949, delegate to the CPPCC; 1950, became chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai; 1952, appointed chairman of Shensi People's Government; 1953, member of the Northwest

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159 Administrative Council. Reelected Governor of Shensi in 1954.
*668 Chao's career as an army officer was highlighted at three
• 701 different occasions: First he took part in the coup d'etat against
631 Chiang Kai-shek during the Sian incident; then he became a war hero in the Sino-Japanese War for his campaign in the Chung t'iao Mountains along the Shensi border, and finally when he shifted his allegiance to the Communists in 1947, he was instrumental in appealing to the Northwestern troops to revolt against Chiang's regime. His appointment as Governor of Chinghai and then Shensi by the Communist regime was a recognition of his service to the Communist cause.

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159 Chia T'o-fu: Communist, government official
Background unknown, dates unknown. During the Sino-Japan-
*668 ese War he served as the secretary-general to the Northwest
631 Office of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist Party; 1948, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the North China People's Government; later secretary to the Municipal Committee of Sian. 1950, mayor of Sian; 1950-52, member of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administration Council in the Central People's Government, and vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest; since 1952, vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and concurrently vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee of the Northwest Administrative Council. Chairman of the Northwest Headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions, and vice-president of the Northwest Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Also a member of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP.

In 1955 he was promoted to director of the Fourth General Office (Light Industries, Fuel) and concurrently Minister of Light Industries in the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Chia is one of the principal officials responsible for the economic development and industrialization of the Northwest.

S
159 Ch'ü, Wu: Government official
Head of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Sinkiang Provincial
668 Government under the Nationalists; 1949, mayor of Urumchi,
631 member of the Sinkiang People's Government Council; 1950, deputy secretary general in the Government Administration Council; 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council; 1955, deputy secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Member of the Executive Committee of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Hsi Chung-hsun: Communist

159 Born 1912 in Shensi Province. In 1926 he joined the Commun-
*668 ist Youth League. 1927, was in prison. 1932, staged "soldier
631 rebellion of the Liang-tang Mountain" and conducted guerilla warfare in northern Shansi Province; 1937-45, in charge of the defense of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area. 1949-52, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military Administrative Council and concurrently chairman of the Land Reform Committee for the Northwest MAC. Since 1953, in the Central People's Government, member of the Central People's Government, vice-chairman of the Commission on Culture and Education in the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, member of the National Planning Committee, member of the Constitution Drafting Committee and member of the Central Election Committee; in the local government, vice-chairman of the Northwest Administrative Council; in the Communist Party, he is an alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. In the army, he holds the post as political commissar of the Northwest Military District, and in the mass organizations, he has been, since 1951, president of the Northwest headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and member of the Board of Directors of the SSFA. In 1955 he was promoted to be vice-premier of the State Council of the Central People's Government.

Hsi has been virtually the boss of the Northwest region, especially after the transfer of P'eng Te-huai to be commander in chief of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea in 1951. It was Hsi who instituted the ideological reforms and the purges of the cadres in 1952, and it was he who instituted the "study" program for the general line of the state for the transition to socialism in the Northwest region.

Hsi has been a life-long Communist. The fact that he holds so many memberships in the Central Government indicates the important role he plays in the Communist regime. His position in the local administration is equally high for he is the second political boss in the Northwest, next to General P'eng Te-huai.

Hsing Chao-t'ang: Army officer

159 Native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. 1923, commanding
*668 officer of a division in the Second Army of the Kuo-min-chun
* 701 under the command of Hu Ching-i of Shensi. 1937, deputy com-
631 mander of the Hopei-Chahar Guerrilla Forces; 1941, deputy speaker of the Hopei-Shansi-Shangtung-Honan Border Council; 1948, member of the North China People's Government of

159 Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Govern-
*668 ment of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the
*701 lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abol-
[631] ished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

159
*668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered
[792] one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.
159 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Cen-
*668 tral Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chair-
631 man of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

159 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-
*668 jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to
792 editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of
594 Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

159 Before the Communists took over Tibet in 1951, his effort in
*668 bringing about a peaceful "liberation" of Tibet had won him a
554 tribute from Communist authorities.

159 Huang Cheng-ch'ing: Tibetan army officer
*668 A Tibetan of Sik'ang Province, born 1903 and graduated from
701 the Kansu Political Training Institute; teacher of the Five
631 Tribes College in Lanchou; member of the Supervisory Committee of the Lanchou Branch of the Kuomintang; 1927-1928, commander of the tribal troops of the 7th Field Army of the Second Army Group of the People's Revolutionary Army; 1934, garrison commander of Labrang, Kansu; 1944, leader of the Labrang Delegation to Chungking; 1950, member of the Military and Political Council of the Northwest and concurrently vice director of the Department of Animal Husbandry in that council; 1953, one of the vice-chairmen of the Northwest Administrative Council. In 1955, he was elected one of the vice-chairmen of Kansu.

159 Huang is the oldest of three brothers. His second brother,
*668 Huang Cheng-pen, was the Grand Assistant of the Labrang Temple, one of the six famous Lamaist temples in the country, and was in charge of all the affairs of that temple and others under its jurisdiction. His third brother, Huang Cheng-ming, is the Living Buddha of Ah-mang-ts'ang, Chia-mu-yang the Fifth. The three brothers were the actual rulers of Labrang in charge of the military, political and religious affairs within that region. Thus Huang's high position in the Northwest under the Communist administration is understandable, another example of the Communist policy in that area of using local minorities leaders.

Ho Wei-te
(631) Background and dates unknown. 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Kansu Province, a position he retained in the election of 1953-54.

159 Kan, Ssu-ch'i: Army officer and government official
*668 Native of Hunan, graduate of Hunan Middle School, political
701 commissar in the 18th Division of the Sixth Army under Hsiao
631 K'e; 1934, deputy political commissar in the Second Front Army under Ho Lung; chief of staff and political director in the 120th Division under Ho Lung; political commissar in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Defense Forces; 1945, elected alternate member in the Central Committee of the CCP; 1950, member of the NW MAC, member of the Land Reform Commission and director of the Department of Public Security in the NW MAC. 1951, political commissar in the Chinese Volunteer

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159 Forces in Korea; 1955, deputy director of the General Political
668 Department of the People's Liberation Army.
[701]
[631] Kao Chin-shun: Communist Party member

S Background unknown. When the Communists took over Sin-
159 kiang in late 1949, he was chosen as one of the two vice-chair-
668 men of the People's Government of Sinkiang. He is now vice-
631 chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region and second secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the CCP.

N Li Ching-lin
159 Background and dates unknown. 1949-53, member of the Mili-
*668 tary and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and vice-
631 chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia; 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia.

Liao Han-sheng: Communist Party member

A native of Hupeh Province, dates unknown. A political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; in 1949 he was appointed a member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently one of the vice-chairmen of the People's Government of Chinghai Province until the election of 1954. When the council was reorganized in 1953 into the Northwest Administrative Council, he continued as a member.

Lo I: Communist official and mass organization leader

Background unknown; member of the commission on political and legal affairs, land reform and people's supervision in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, and member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Member of the All-China Democratic Youth Association. In charge of youth work for the CCP in the Northwest.

Ma, Hsi-wu

Background unknown. In 1952 he was president of the Northwest court of the Supreme People's Court, and member in the Political and Legal Commission and the Land Reform Commission of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council. 1955, vice-president of the Supreme Court in Peking.

N Ma Hung-k'uei (1893-)
159 In the study of the modern history of Northwest China under
614 the Nationalist administration, particularly the history of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, special attention must be directed to the history and background of the Ma clan,

159 and the so-called Four Ma, all of Moslem religion. Ma Hung-
[614] k'ui is one of them. His father, Ma Fu-hsiang (literary name, Yun-t'ing), served in the early years of the Republic as the High Commissioner for Chinghai, commander of the Guards Division for Altai, and later in the second year of the Republic, 1913, the Commission of the Guards Division for Ninghsia.

When the Revolution of 1911 broke out, Ma Hung-k'uei was
[669] studying at the military school in Lanchou, Kansu. He played a small part in the revolution by mobilizing the students of the school and trying, unsuccessfully, to take over some strategic points in the city.

159 He started his military career when he followed his father to
701 Ninghsia as a batallion leader. In 1921, when his father was transferred to be the garrison commander of Suiyuan, he was promoted as commanding officer of the Fifth Mixed Brigade. During the war between Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria and Wu P'ei-fu of Chihli (Hopei) Province, he was appointed as the commander of the cavalry in Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces. After the war was over, he followed the victorious General Feng Yu-hsiang to Peking. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition started, he followed General Feng again, taking part in the expedition. At this time his troop was reorganized into the Fourth Army of the First Army Group, and he became the commander of the Fourth Army. In 1928, he fought the war in North China and his troops suffered a great loss. When the situation was settled, he regrouped his troops into the 17th Division, and was put in charge of suppressing the bandits in the western part of Shantung Province. In April, 1929, when General Feng Yu-
[669] hsiang revolted against the Nationalist Government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Ma remained loyal to the Nationalist Government. His troops were again reorganized into the 11th Army. In 1930, his army was enlarged into the 15th Army Group and was in charge of patrolling the Lung-hai and Tientsin-Pukou Railway lines. In the winter of 1932 he was ordered to go to Ninghsia, and on January 1, 1933, he was appointed governor of Ninghsia.

When Ma Hung-k'ui took over the administration in 1933, the
159 province of Ninghsia was in a deplorable situation, suffering
185 from floods and the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. To restore
656 peace and prosperity to the people, Ma Hung-k'uei first mopped
[579] up the remnants of the bandits in his province. He introduced the Pao-chia system by which the people were organized to insure against the recurrence of banditry. Third, he adopted measures to put a gradual end to the planting and smoking of opium. Fourth, he stabilized the currency within Ninghsia and improved the taxation system. Simultaneously, he followed the policies of improving land administration, encouraging

159 the "Four Ma of Islam" in the Northwest. When he was twenty-
701 one years old, Ma Hung-pin started his military career by serving as commanding officer of the cavalry corps in charge of the Sining mines in Chinghai Province, and at the same time he was a member of the reclamation commission and mining commission of that province. In 1911, he became commanding officer of the cavalry batallion in charge of the patrol of the western region of Kansu. His first military merit was achieved when he pacified the disturbances of the two Mongol banners in western Suiyuan who were stirred to revolt by the independence achieved by Outer Mongolia in the first years of the Chinese Republic. In 1914, he was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry Batallion and stationed in western Suiyuan guarding the Yellow River Bend and keeping a watchful eye against the Outer Mongols. Because of his meritorious record in the pacification of bandits in his area, he was awarded several medals and was promoted to lieutenant general by President Li Yüan-hung of the
[648] Peking Government. Later he also received a medal from the government of Belgium for his excellent work in protecting Belgian missionaries. In 1920 he was appointed as Defense Commissioner for Ninghsia (not a province at that time) and was charged with the duty of defending the frontier areas. In 1926 he was given the post of Pacification Commander of the Shensi-Kansu border regions. In 1927, when the Northern Expedition began, he was the commander of the 24th Division of the Second Army Group of which General Feng Yu-hsiang (the Christian General) was the commander-in-chief. In 1928 he was transferred as the commander of the Seventh Division.

159 When the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking,
635 Ma Hung-pin was appointed the first governor of the newly organized province of Ninghsia. This was, so far, the first political assignment for Ma. In 1930 he was also made acting governor of Kansu Province. His political life ended in 1933 when his cousin, Ma Hung-k'uei, succeeded him as governor of Ninghsia.
159 From 1934-1936, his main task was to pacify the remaining
[579] bandits in the eastern region of Kansu. Because his policy in suppressing bandits was to win them over rather than annihalate them, he had won for himself the nickname of "Ma the Kind
[701] Man." In 1937, as commander of the 81st Division and, concur-
[648] rently, defense commissioner for the western region of Suiyuan, he led his troops in fighting the Japanese invaders in that area. In 1940 he became commander-in-chief for the defense of Etokuchi, a Mongol Banner in western Suiyuan.

159 When the Communists started their campaign in the North-
669 west, Ma Hung-pin surrendered Ninghsia Province to the Peo-
* 668 ple's Liberation Army on September 16, 1949. Because of this deastic move, the whole Northwest was soon lost to the Communists.

S
159 authorities. Moreover, Osman was not given a post in the gov-
648 ernment of the East Turkestan Republic, but only a regional
669 post, despite the fact that he had helped in the establishment of the republic, and his Kazakhs were discriminated against. When he joined the Chinese Nationalist Army and repulsed the Outer Mongolian invasion, he was hailed throughout China as a hero. Later, he was the rallying point of the resistance of the Kazakhs and other anti-Communist forces in Sinkiang.

N- Pai Hai-feng: Mongol, army officer
159 A native of Jehol Province and a member of the Kharchin Banner of the Mongol tribe in Inner Mongolia. Dates unknown. Graduated from the first class of the Central Military Academy; went to Russia and studied in the Oriental University. 1931-1932, served in the Peiping Branch of the National Military Council; later succeeded Yun Chi-hsien as commander of the Mongolian
N Police of Pai-ling-miao, Suiyuan. During the war period. 1937-
[901] 1945, when the police were reorganized into a brigade of the regular army, he served as commanding officer of the brigade and was eventually promoted to commander of a division. In the meantime, also served as a special representative of the Kuomintang to the Mongol Banners in Chahar and Suiyuan Provinces as well as the representative of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps for that region. 1943, resigned from his duties with the Kuomintang Party.

N When the Communists took over North China in 1949, he
159 served as a member of the Military and Administrative Council
631 of the Northwest, and as vice-director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. 1953, a member of the Northwest Administrative Council, and vice-dean of the Northwest Nationalities College.

N Pai Ju-ping: Communist
159 A native of Shensi Province; dates unknown. During the per-
631 iod of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Government, served as
*668 the director of financial affairs in the Administrative Commissioner's Office in western Shensi, and later as finance commissioner in the border government. 1950, when the Military and Administrative Council of the Northwest was formed, he served as a member of the council and as director of the Department of Finance. In January 1953, the Northwest Administrative Council was established to replace the Military and Political Council of the Northwest. He serves as a member of that council and concurrently as vice-chairman of the Financial and Economic Commission in the council. 1955, director of the Central Handicraft Administrative Bureau in the State Council.

000 one of the vice-chairmen of the Kansu PPCC.

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159 T'ao Ch'ih-yueh: Army officer
631 A native of Hunan, dates unknown. Graduate of Whampao
701 Military Academy; 1936, commanding officer of the Eighth Division, Nationalist Army; 1945-49, commander of the Sinkiang Garrison; 1949-, deputy commander of the Communist forces in the Sinkiang Military Area, and commanding officer of the 22nd Army Group; 1949-, member of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and member of the Government Council of the People's Government of Sinkiang; 1951-, member of the National Committee, People's Political Consultative Conference; 1953-, member of the Northwest Administrative Council.

S
159 During the Nationalist administration, T'ao was never in a very important position in the army. His rise to fame began
701 when General Chang Chih-chung, representing the Nationalist Government, conducted peace talks with the local leaders of Sinkiang from 1946-1949. At this time T'ao, succeeding General Sung Hsi-lien, became the commander of the garrison forces in Sinkiang. When the defense of the Northwest by the Nationalist

S
159 troops was broken down by the victorious Communist army,
669 T'ao took the lead of all military and political leaders of Sinki-
668 ang to switch his allegiance and support to the Communist regime in Peking. On September 26, 1949, he made his public announcement in which he separated Sinkiang's relationship from the Nationalist regime and gave his whole support to the Peking regime. And on October 1, 1949, he went to Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu, to welcome the commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army, General Wang Chen, to Sinkiang. His troops were then reorganized into the 22nd Army Group, which he still commands, but which was later disarmed and transformed into "production corps." T'ao was elected to the CPPCC in 1951. He was a member of the NW MAC (later the Northwest Administrative Council) and in 1955, a member of the National Defense Council.

N
159 Teng Pao-san: Army officer
*668 A native of Kansu Province; dates unknown. 1927, deputy commander-in-chief of the Preparatory Army for National Con-
701 struction under the command of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General. 1930, deputy commissioner in the Pacification Headquarters of Shensi Province. 1937, deputy commander of Suiyuan War Area under General Fu Tso-i, stationed in Paotou, Suiyuan; 1948, 1949, during the Communist advance in 1949 he gave up his city and fled. Later he defected from the Nationalists. Delegate to the CPPCC; appointed chairman in the People's Government of Kansu Province and re-elected to the same

000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-hsün's (veteran engineer of Free
464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata line in
466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
*175 did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated. In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers, among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Communist China, p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed
[701] for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway. According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers. ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
[648] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to supervise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
*668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
*175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added, in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most important highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilometers of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu. One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section between Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being renovated.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

immediately above the rock on which the loess rests. The 133
regularity of level and depth of the loess over wide areas, the invariable slope of the loess uplands in the same direction as the rivers and streams, i.e. all draining S.E. and the meeting-line of the light sandy loess and the heavier reddish loess, which can often be traced for miles at the same level, may also be noted in support of a water origin; while lastly there is the fact that the loess has nowhere, except in the extreme west, crossed the Ch'inling Shan, a continuous range, whereas it is piled high on either side of other ranges which are not continuous. These lines are written without access to books of reference of any kind, and it should be understood that they represent merely the impressions of a traveller with no scientific training, who has not the least intention of starting a controversy on the subject of a problem which has probably long been settled by competent scientists. But in spite of the fact that we have often seen loess at a height of 6000 feet or more, it is difficult to believe that it was not deposited there by water.

Yao Chou, now a second class Hsien, is quite a large 361
city for Northern Shensi, and about the most prosperous, 249
or rather least miserable, place we came across in that region. It lies, surrounded by indigo fields, in a narrow valley below the level of the loess uplands. We were here 701
joined by a *Lien* (company) of infantry, since the north of Shensi is, at the time of writing, so overrun with brigands, well armed and organized in bands many hundreds strong, that it would have been impossible for a party of Chinese officials to tour those districts with a smaller escort. Curiously 609
enough, owing to the extraordinary change which has occurred in the position of the foreigner in the interior of China since the Revolution of 1911, while no Chinese but brigands, soldiers, or the poorest of coolies can travel on the roads of Northern Shensi without great danger to property and life, a missionary or other foreigner can circulate where he pleases with comparatively little danger of being attacked. We had so far been accompanied by a 579
small mounted escort of a dozen men or so; for though the mountainous districts of Southern and Central Shensi through which we had passed harbour plenty of brigands, these are mostly local robbers who plunder isolated travellers

the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and thus equipped serves either as a soldier or a brigand 701
according to his own tastes and the military requirements of
the local Government. In either character he is about equally 579
obnoxious to the people. Both rôles too have their respective advantages; the life of a Chinese brigand may be rather lean at times, but there is always the possibility of a good haul; the life of a soldier in Shensi may be dull, but he is fed and paid without being asked to do any work. This kind of soldier of fortune is known locally in the province as a *Tao K'o* (guest of the sword); most of the better-class brigands and soldiers are Tao K'o, which is considered a title to be proud of. The Shensi soldier differs widely from and compares unfavourably with his colleagues in the well-organized and disciplined armies of the North (Chihli, Shantung, Anhui, and Honan provide most of the sturdy men for those fine Northern armies on which the power of Peking rests); but it is not his fault, for he is the victim of circumstances and of the Ko Lao Hui. I have been in close contact for months with Shensi soldiers, who were, to use the Chinese euphemism, *Kuei hui pei shan* ("returned from the Northern hills"—a polite way of referring to an ex-brigand locally), and always found them excellent fellows as far as I was concerned, though behaving tyrannically towards the people.

The difficulties of suppressing brigandage in the wild and pathless mountains of Shensi are in any case very great. Measures for the satisfactory pacification of the region would include the complete reorganization of the provincial army, or the garrisoning of the province with three or four brigades of good Northern troops. But the latter is not at present practicable, as the people of the province not unnaturally are great believers in home rule and like to manage their own affairs. Another very necessary but difficult reform is the disarming of the people and the recovery of the large
stocks of rifles at present in private hands. In modern China 579
the brigand without a rifle is a negligible quantity. It is
chiefly through the various rebellions that these arms have 669
become scattered over the country with such disastrous
results, and brigandage grows steadily worse with every such 701
outbreak of civil war. A rebellion is engineered (in Shensi at any rate) by collecting funds and enlisting brigands and

secret society men as soldiers; after the rebellion is over, whether it succeeds or not, the soldiers are disbanded and scatter with their arms over the country, with the inevitable result of increased brigandage. The growth of brigandage in Shensi may easily be traced since 1911, the revolution of that year, the rebellion of 1913, the White Wolf rebellion in 1914, the anti-monarchical rebellion of 1916, the troubles of 1917, and so on.

From Yich'uan Hsien to Hanch'eng Hsien is a distance of about 240 li, three hard days' march by a difficult track through the mountains which here hem in the Yellow River. All the way from Yench'ang south to the plains of Central Shensi, which are reached at Hanch'eng, the traveller is crossing a series of parallel ridges trending east and west across his path; but while between Yench'ang and Yich'uan the intervals between these ridges are filled by loess which provides comparatively easy slopes, the region between the latter place and Hanch'eng is covered by mountains which are practically free from loess and entail the crossing of a series of precipitous little passes. The trail slants across these mountains towards the Yümen K'ou, the point where the Yellow River emerges from its gorges on to the plains; the river itself is not touched, though glimpses are caught from the tops of the passes of its huge trough in the mountains.

From Yich'uan the trail runs up the valley to the S.W. for a few li and then turns up a gorge to the south, which leads after a couple of hours' march to the foot of the barrier range which bounds the Yich'uan valley on the south. A steep climb leads to the pass, the Lut'ou Ling (5100 feet). This range and the valleys and spurs leading up to it, though covered with loess on the northern side, are uncultivated and uninhabited. On the southern side there is practically no loess, and the latter is not met with in any quantity again till the path debouches on to the plains of the Yellow River above Hanch'eng three days later. The absence of loess in the low-lying valley bottoms of these mountains is rather curious, and one may speculate whether perhaps the Lut'ou Ling range, which before the existence of the Yellow River was probably joined to the mountains of Shansi, did not form a barrier keeping the floods which deposited the loess from reaching this region, which con-

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, although the whole populace declared them to be innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of the North-West Frontier were placed under the jurisdiction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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flung himself on the victim so as to receive the blows on his own body. This so startled the assailants that they desisted; he then took possession of a young soldier's cap, for purposes of identification, saying, 'This is a matter for judicial investigation. If this boy has done anything wrong, take him to the Mandarin.' This the soldiers refused to consider, and followed the Doctor to the Mission House, finally begging him to drop the matter, and not to report them to their officers. To this he consented. A few days later our own carter was sent out to a village near by to bring in grain for the mules. A band of soldiers, acting in accordance with their irregular custom, commandeered the cart and animals for their own use. The carter questioned their right, whereupon he was beaten, and filth of the worst description was rubbed into the wound. The soldiers then moved away, leaving him semi-conscious by the roadside, to which place our small scouts soon fetched some of the students, as well as Dr. Kao, who indignantly called attention to General Feng's placard above his head. This happened close to the residence of the Minister of Defence, who, hearing what had occurred, came out himself and saw the man still lying wounded near his own gate. He ordered the offender to be brought before him, whereupon one of his own soldiers was produced, and by his order was stripped of his uniform and handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. The Commanding Officer was likewise degraded, and the Minister himself called at the Mission Compound to apologise for the insult offered, expressing himself as exceedingly angry that we, who were his friends, should have been exposed to a public insult. Meanwhile, the carter developed a severe form of blood-poisoning, and his life was despaired of; and in the civil prison lay the soldier, whose life was to be taken

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement :

' The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me ! '

' To arrest you ! ' we exclaimed. ' Impossible ! On what plea ? '

' I am accused,' he quietly said, ' of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous ; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added : ' This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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people. I expect you agree with me ; I had better go ; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily : ' Seize that fellow Kao ! ' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

DR. KAO'S arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window ; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until this system of bribery and corruption should be overturned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some months previously General Feng's troops had assumed authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, ' Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die ? ' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect ! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled ; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested ; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

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361 ●701 563

Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

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-4° temperature they were too warm, they went about half naked so T 291
that their torsos were dark brown. /163/

In a wood near a small monastery south, that is to say, this side C
of the pass, I came through a decayed wooden lattice that led me to ●701
a low wall of earth and field stones. A small, damp watchman's hut lay behind it and inside ten soldiers and a sergeant with a few rifles, lances and swords were keeping watch. This was the border of China! Beyond it was Tibetan territory, from an administrative standpoint also. For the country beyond, there was to be no governmental protection on the part of the Chinese!

Inasmuch as I had only two servants and, as I said, my entire 600
supply of silver for years to come, and since the pass was supposed to be very dangerous from the point of view of robbers, I gave the commanding officer a small present and for that I was given half the frontier guard as an escort. I would have been given the entire watch, but unfortunately the other half was not present. It had been - as the sergeant repeatedly assured me - "eaten" by some superior officer, that is, the wages for the soldiers had got stuck in the pockets of the higher officers. Only one salary, as I heard later, the sergeant had saved for himself. And since the powder which the superiors delivered would not burn, my protectors immediately borrowed powder and lead from me. We loaded our guns and under the protection of a fluttering red flag, we set out a half hour later. But only a small strip of land is Tibetan here. On the same evening, after we had left the Dar dia La Pass and traveled for many hours down the broad Tschi tai gu Valley which has been reproduced on Plate XXXV as it is seen from the pass, after we had passed four smaller Tibetan monasteries, we again reached a Mohammedan village. The valley contains a Salar gun and is under the control of a Schu be (captain) in the walled village of Tschi tai bu. In the year 1895 a large battle was fought in this Tschi tai Valley at the town of Be tschuan tang, in which many hundreds of people were killed - my soldiers even spoke of thousands. The Mohammedans, chiefly Salar, who had taken part in the great rebellion were hard-pressed here by Chinese and Tibetans under the command of Tung fu hsiang, assisted by the generals Hsining fu and Ho tschou, and finally, after desperate resistance, yielded to the superior forces. Since that time many villages in the Tschi tai gu Valley lie in ruins, others were being built up at the time of my visit. Thus there are now supposed to be only 4,000-5,000 Salar altogether. Many of them were killed,

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from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the sub- 624
ject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their 651
country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even 563
in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with 701 ●
the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every [782]
month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is 701
also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the 712
so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

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● 701 712

In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

[714] Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da-tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable
361 number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of
[344] room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

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The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 ●
712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese [103]
call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow."

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty to- 241
day there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot.

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 600
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

159 position in 1954. Since 1953, appointed concurrently a member
*668 of the Administrative Council of the Northwest. In 1955 he was
701 made a member of the National Defense Council. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

Teng is another example among the officers of the Nationalist Army who shifted their allegiance from one party to the other. As his defection from the Nationalist Government speeded the Communist cause in North China, he won a rather high place in the Communist Government.

159 Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-1885); General, statesman

Born in 1812 in Hunan Province. His family was poor though both his grandfather and father held the degree of hsiu-ts'ai. He studied under his grandfather and later under his father, and in 1837 entered the Ch'eng-nan Shu-yuan (Southern City Academy) and studied under Ho Hsi-ling. Obtained the Chu-jen degree in 1838 but failed in three attempts to win Chin-shih degree. In 1852 when the Tai-ping troops entered Yunnan Province, he was asked by the governor of Hunan, Chang Liang-chi, to help in the defense of Ch'angsha, the capital city of Hunan. He fought against the Tai-ping troops for three months, until the invaders had to by-pass Hunan to go northward to Hupeh Province and down the Yangtze River. In 1853, when Chang Liang-chi was promoted to governor-general for Hunan-Hupeh-Kuangtung-Kwangsi, Tso went with him to Wuchang and defeated the Tai-ping rebels. When Chang was transferred, Tso resigned from his post and retired to his native home. In 1854, Lo Ping-chang was appointed governor of Hunan, and Tso was asked to serve under him, but did not accept the offer. In 1854 the Tai-ping troops invaded Hunan again. Tso was asked by the people of the province to resist the invasion, and he helped Lo for five years in the defense of Hunan. In 1860, Tso was asked by Tseng Kuo-fan to train five thousand troops in Hunan; in 1861 he was ordered to take charge of the military affairs of Chekiang Province, and in the same year he was appointed governor of Chekiang. In 1863 he was promoted to governor-general of Fukien and Chekiang Provinces, and concurrently governor of Chekiang. In 1864 the whole province of Chekiang was freed from the Tai-ping troops, and Tso was awarded an earldom of the first rank and the designation of k'o-ching. In 1866 he recovered both Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces and the Tai-ping regime came to an end.

159 In 1866, when the Mohammedan uprising started in the North-
669 west, Tso was made the governor-general of Shensi and Kansu. In 1868 he first engaged the Nien bandits in Chihli, and by the summer he annihilated the bandits in Shantung Province. He

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
694 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying
635 that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

T 792 346 The houses are not old; they were built after the great Mohammedan revolution in the 1860s during which time the monastery burned to the ground.

C 361 701 On the evening of the second day of the journey beyond Wei yüan bu, I had already reached Da tung hsien. I had again come to a purely Chinese city, after having passed only Dungan and Tibetan villages on my way. Da tung hsien is one of the extreme outposts of Chinese colonization, the seat of a district head - the hsien was established only in 1762 - and has a very large garrison. Besides the Chinese soldiers and officials there is also a Tibetan prince stationed here with a band of militia, and not far from the walls Mongols pasture their herds.

C 361 The city is usually called Mo bai tschen by the people, which refers to the old market that belonged to the nomads here. The town is small because only Chinese are permitted to live in it. Adjoining it on the west, however, is an attractive and busy suburb where many Mohammedans do business. In the year 1895 it fell upon evil days. The Mohammedans made every effort to capture the city by undermining the miserable walls and making assaults upon them. It is amazing that the city nevertheless held for four months.

C 563 361 The following day brought me through uninhabited high mountain country and through snow a foot deep farther west, as far as the Mohammedan town of Bamba. I found there only a few miserable huts instead of the thousands of families that once lived here. But it was possible to recognize all the old streets because of the countless ruins, almost level with the ground, which testified only too eloquently of the unspeakable misery, of the destruction of a talented people which, heedlessly, in a state of blind religious fervor, entered into hopeless battle with the Chinese giants. Bamba and the extremely fertile valley 25 miles long of Schang wu tschuan as far as Do ba where it joins the Hsining Valley was one of the centers of the last Mohammedan insurrection. With the capture of Do ba the revolt was quelled. The entire valley now has only 800 families of Hui hui all told. Once (until 1895) Bamba was a great rival of Dankar, today it is dead. Its caravan road which follows the narrow valley northwest up into the Koko Nor steppes is deserted because all trade from here is forbidden by the government. The Mohammedans whose families /256/ were forced to settle here after the Chinese victory (1) must carry on their trade in Dankar and

1. In Bamba there are about 100 families of the old sect

[text continues on p.439]

out of the question. During the second watch we were visited by 900
wolves and their constant howling made sleep impossible. My dogs were mad at this disturbance and answered with angry barking, and the surrounding rocky mountains intensified this concert of the steppes with endless echoes. On the third day we again came across traces of 361
human beings, finally discovered a distinct path and soon saw people. [563]
We found a few dozen tents of the Tscham ri Tibetans, and around noon we pitched our tents on the small grassy plain in front of the Schara khoto walls (Plate LVII).

The extremely jovial Schu be Tsch'en, the captain of Schara khoto, with whom I was well acquainted from my previous visit, arrived accompanied by his non-commissioned officers and official interpreters and was friendliness personified, although he must have cursed me inwardly for once again disturbing his peace and meditation. After the initial formal greeting, we embraced like old friends and exchanged presents. He asked me above all for European gunpowder because he could not get any at all or none that was good, from his superiors. His thick accent, his many "f" and "pf" sounds instead of the North Chinese "sch" and "tsch" respectively, betrayed the fact that he was a man of the people from "Lan dpfu" (Lanchow fu). He was an officer who had risen from the ranks. This schu be did me a great favor by sending a messenger the very first evening to the amban of Hsining fu to inquire after the promised /280/ escort. I had notified the amban of my change of plans and the reasons as soon as I got to Kue de and had reminded the old gentleman of his promise. But up to now I had received no answer.

At Captain Tsch'en's orders, a uniformed soldier with a loaded gun 701
always had to help my men tend the animals during my five-day stay at Schara khoto. However, none of the soldiers inspired me with confidence. They were 15 and 16-year old boys, and yet the Chinese mature more slowly than Westerners. Besides, the entire garrison in- [276]
dulged in opium and were, without exception, obsessed with gambling [525]
And indeed, what else should these people do with their time in this godforsaken place? Once a month there is drill, otherwise, except for carrying messages, there is no official duty for the men. Throughout the rest of China the soldiers can carry on a little trade or agriculture on the side. But in Schara khoto there is nothing to sell, the caravans pass heedlessly by and on the few fields only wild oats grows and even that ripens only every few years. It is easy to see how little profit there is in animal husbandry, considering how much is stolen, for Tibetans passing by take all the animals that are not carefully
[after leaving Ts'ien hu tsch'eng— Analyst]

C 701 watched. It is the duty of the garrison to safeguard the road, but they cannot even afford to stock herd animals, although the garrison numbers 40 men, and nominally 100.

T 792 346 If one travels down the valley from Schara khoto, that is, in the direction of Dankar, one comes to a monastery on the left of the road about an hour's distance from Schara khoto. It is Dunkur gomba which gives its name to the whole district. The city of Dankar which lies about 20 kilometers farther to the north is also called Dunkur by the Mongols. But in order to distinguish the city from the monastery the former is called Dunkur khoto or Gä sching (Chinese: Gai schang), meaning bazaar and city (Tibetan: Kar). The monastery was founded very early by the Mongols, in Gushi Khan's time. In the course of the years it has had its own sacred incarnations which are called Dunkur-buddha by the Chinese. It consists of a collection of one-story priests' houses which enclose two temples with their accompanying prayer houses and administrative buildings, and it has a very peaceful atmosphere. It does not need a wall. People say that it is not easy to harm the devout monks in their home which belongs to the yellow sect. Many Tibetans are convinced that the priests can cause the wrath of God to descend on their adversaries, and the fear of divine punishment is the best protection. But outside the portals, on the pastures round about the houses, as everywhere else, not a tail is safe from theft. For this reason the monks have their own guards for the animals. They themselves do not personally have anything to do with animal husbandry. In their many leisure hours, all they do is carry on financial enterprises. The entire valley, down as far as Dankar, is in their debt. But in such worldly activities the monks of the Dunkur monastery do not assume a unique place. The monks of the Gum bum monastery also have their debtors up and down the land. Many people say that the Mohammedan rebellions of 1896 were hatched primarily because far too many Mohammedans had, as a result of /281/ poor harvests, fallen into the hands of usurious monks and were on the brink of ruin. It was the leaders of the movement, primarily, who owed the monks enormous sums, according to Central Asiatic conceptions of fortunes. Through the rebellion they hoped to get rid of their tormentors, or at least be granted indulgence.

T 792 T 792 426 T [669]

T 346 351 The monks of Dunkur are little experts in the art of living. Their shrine is located in a truly idyllic spot. On the slope opposite the temple buildings there is a small pine forest. The monastery is 3,100 meters above sea level, and far and wide there are to be found only willow shrubs that grow only a little more than a meter above

000 over with hoar frost. The valley of Schara khoto was enveloped in thick white clouds of fog. Only the low pass in the southwest, which separated us from the open Tibetan steppes, from Kou wei, from "outside the gates of the kingdom," it alone lay open and free. From there a stiff, cold wind blew down upon us and made the morning even more uncomfortable. Snow lay round about. It crunched under our steps. Only stones and a few grass tips rose above the white covering, for trees are entirely absent in the valley of Schara khoto and only a few bushes remained on isolated, steep northerly slopes. Even here at Schara khoto I was already surrounded by the barren, wild and magnificent spectacle of the high plateau which again and again entices me with its elemental power (Plate LVIII).

In order to spare my caravan as much as possible I had rented four additional Tibetans and forty yak oxen from the vicinity of Schara khoto for the first few days, four strong, tall chaps who leapt about with their restive, sharp-horned cattle. It was a pleasure to watch them. In a jiffy the animals were loaded. One of the men began humming some insignificant, meaningless words of four syllables and in the rapid rhythm of these syllables the packs were tied to the saddles. During their work the chaps had let their fur coats slip down over their shoulders, their tanned bodies were exposed to the icy wind and weather. They were Fan tse true of the Ts'ao ti.

701 276 Shortly after seven o'clock we set out in five large groups. Behind each group rode a few drivers with reserve horses and a few mules. The ten men belonging to the captain of Schara khoto kept to themselves. They alone went on foot and wore sandals. They carried a large red flag as well as two small donkeys shivering with cold, which were carrying their huge but ragged tent, cooking pots, a few fork guns and swords. The group of soldiers looked pitifully miserable and more like marauders than like an imperial escort just leaving its garrison. Each one of these heroes, of course, carried his opium, and all of them were so dependent on this elixir of life that they had to stop every two hours en route and lie down on the steppes in order to smoke a few puffs, otherwise their legs would have given way. Surely, all that can be expected of a troop in good fighting trim! In Kansu it was difficult to find people who did not smoke opium. A great deal of it was grown in this province and the price was extraordinarily low, so that everyone here could afford this luxury. In selecting my servants and the people accompanying my actual caravan I had the greatest difficulty finding non-smokers.

The greatest object of interest in Hsingan fu is an ancient museum, the Be ling, the forest of inscription stones, a small cypress wood with pavilions and temple-like buildings in which for many years already hundreds of stone slabs bearing inscriptions and classical paintings were gathered together for official reasons into a gold-mine for Sinology. A few months before my arrival the famous Nestorian tablet had been hastily brought there from its former place in the western part of the city by 50 coolies because it was in danger of being taken along by an American collector. It tells of the great dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in China during the eighth century. Besides that, every stranger is supposed to look at the old governor's yamen in which Emperor Kuang sü and Empress Tse hi had lived during the Boxer Rebellion. After the court left, this yamen remained unoccupied because no one else was considered worthy of dwelling in the imperial rooms. The rooms were very simply furnished. On the walls hung kakemonos, flowers and luck-bearing Chinese pictograms, many of which the Empress Dowager was said to have designed and painted herself. In the courtyard of the one-time imperial palace I was shown a walled cistern that was many meters deep. In it - my cicerone said - the unfortunate emperor attempted to commit suicide in order to escape the torments of his aunt. Much more entertaining, were two festivals which were celebrated in the city while I was waiting there. One of them was a large parade of the Manchu garrison which at that time with 3,900 families (about 15,000 souls) occupied the entire northeastern part of the city; the second festival was a pupil and student celebration that took place on the old Chinese parade ground in the northwest corner of the city. On the one hand, the class which was at that time still in control and the banner people, the mainstays of the ruling dynasty; on the other hand, Chinese youth who were celebrating the end of their annual examinations, those new educational methods which were supposed to lead the kingdom of the middle, the Chinese common people, into new paths, to new bloom. In place of the old state competitions in which calligraphy and poetry and essays, interlarded as much as possible with quotations from the classics, were the dominating factors and determined the maturity and dignity of the candidate for the highest posts in the state, /329/ and for which one prepared privately, the Manchu had set up schools in which mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and political science were taught and examined. Now a general sport festival ended the school year of the elementary schools, of the preparatory schools, and of the

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871 technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the •701 west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

205 204 The greatest change in China has been brought about by the introduction of the postal system and, in connection with that, the Chinese press which became possible only through the postal system. Whereas in Lanchow fu a Chinese seldom took a letter to the post and there were no newspapers either in Tibet or in all of Kansu and wherever I had stayed during my journey, in Hsingan fu whole cart-loads of magazines and pamphlets arrived from Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The people of the city pounced on new reading matter and all at once it had become a necessity for them. It was the post, the regular couriers introduced by the Europeans, who spread the new ideas and the changes throughout the country.

702

702 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING--induction into the armed forces (e.g., voluntary enlistment, conscription); screening (e.g., tests of fitness, medical examinations); training (e.g., instruction, drill, practice with weapons, tactical maneuvers); special elaborations (e.g., recruiting stations, manuals of arms); etc. See also:

Athletics 526
Military reviews 841
Citizenship 641
Training camps 712
Military schools and colleges 874

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ONWARD TREK

On previous expeditions our young cook, 'Welcome 702• Home,' had driven our cart, but this time the difficulties and fatigues which lay ahead required our selecting an older man, and one inured to every form of hardship. Knowing that he must quit our service when we left for furlough, the young *chef*, however, had allowed his imagination to be captured by visions of the martial glory to be afterwards won under the banner of General Feng's Christian Army.

The walls of Suchow were then posted with notices to the effect that young men of steady character and able to produce suitable guarantees of good conduct, would be given the opportunity of a military career combined with educational advantages, besides liberal pay, on joining the forces of Marshal Feng. Recruiting officers took up their residence in an inn of the east suburb, where the following scene was described to us by a looker-on. Dressed in a clean white cotton suit, his face flushed with excitement, young 'Welcome Home' presented himself, and stood at attention before the recruiting sergeant:

'I hear that you want recruits. Is this a Christian corps?'

'It is,' was the immediate answer.

'You speak of general education, but do you allow time for Bible study?'

'We do,' said the sergeant.

'Then write down my name, sir,' said 'Welcome Home'; which was forthwith done.

'If your references are good we shall accept you in ten days' time. During that period you may withdraw if you wish, but if you present yourself then, you are enrolled

•702 as a soldier, and afterwards, leaving will be desertion.'

'I am in the employ of the Lady Missionaries. They are quitting the country soon, but I must stay with them as long as they need me.'

'That is quite right,' said the sergeant. 'Go back and talk it over with them, and,' he added, 'if there are any more young Christian men in the Church who want to enlist, tell them to come along, they are the kind of men we want.'

'Welcome Home,' who had sallied forth with the bearing of a simple young farmer, returned to us an hour later with the deportment, gestures and style of an accomplished orderly. He greeted us from the back of the breakfast table with a military salute, and clicked his heels whenever we spoke to him. The joy of realising he was to be one of Feng's men endued him with an enthusiasm that transformed him. At the appointed time we released him to fulfil his engagement, and three days later, as we were driving to a farewell luncheon party, we passed the drill-ground where recruits were learning the goose-step. 'Welcome Home' caught sight of us, turned his head and smiled rapturously, whereupon the corporal's iron hand smote him on the shoulder, and he stood once more at attention. The next day he called in company with a 'centurion,' who informed us that there was every prospect of our late cook quickly securing a commission. 'In this army,' he said, 'we are like one big family, and we look to Marshal Feng as children to a father.'

35 The last few days were busy with meeting social claims. Various members of the Christian circle begged us to take one more meal with them before we left. The ladies of our landlord's family entertained us in the summer-house of a flower-garden. It was the season when the fragrant tree-peony is in bloom, and

the hour at which the midday meal is served. In 634
place of the customary fresco of the tiger endeavouring to seize the sun in its jaws, which symbolises the covetousness of the man who seeks to devour his neighbour's goods, the wall was frescoed with the 'Map of China's Shame,' showing China and her dependencies, with prominent scarlet patches indicating those portions which have been seized by foreign powers, and a similar map was exhibited in all the towns we visited in North-West China.

The business men, with whom we were friendly, 702•
seeing the group of students with us, at once seriously 167
warned us of the trouble we might certainly expect in attempting to cross the Turkestan border with them. We learnt that young men were constantly impressed at that point, and afterwards were neither allowed to continue their journey nor to turn back, as the Governor of Sinkiang was raising an army of defence, and was conscripting every man who passed that way. They consequently earnestly begged us not to risk such complications as might ensue on the attempt to take our fellow-workers with us into Turkestan. Needless to say, the students themselves, keen, enthusiastic, and ready as they were to face every emergency, felt quite confident that all would turn out well, but our wider experience caused us to spend many anxious moments as we faced this new contingency. Our attention was also drawn to the fact that the Turki merchants, who usually travelled in large numbers up and down the road, were no longer to be seen, since, by the Governor's regulation, no man from Sinkiang could enter China, neither could one from Kansu pass into Sinkiang.

For many years the atmosphere of China had been so 000
constantly disturbed by rumours, that if we had paid much attention to them our work must have come to a

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703 DISCIPLINE AND MORALE--military virtues (e.g., courage, obedience); punitive and summary judicial powers of military leaders; military rewards (e.g., medals, badges, special privileges); level of morale in the armed forces; integrating and demoralizing factors; special techniques of instilling morale; etc. See also:

Symbolic tokens of prestige 554
Ethical ideals 577
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Military offenses and sanctions 697
Courts-martial 698
Prerogatives of veterans 729

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122 I did not wish to be at the mercy of arbitrary Chinese governmental bodies, and from the beginning I counted on having to carry out my plans by means of my own efforts. For I had been told all too plainly, that anyone traveling in Tibet is completely unprotected and free as a bird. So I could not shrink from any expense for firearms and when we set out, my arsenal consisted of three Henry Martini guns, a Winchester carbine, a German military gun, model 1871, a German military gun with a magazine dating from 1884, and a modern German military rifle from the year 1889, a Japanese infantry gun, two Mauser- and one Bergmann-pistols, a heavy German three-barrelled gun, an old English musket, a Tibetan /287/ fork gun and two revolvers. Besides that, we also had two long lances and half a dozen swords. Each gun had several hundred cartridges.

It was, of course, a serious matter to have so many different types of guns and ammunition, but it never caused any unpleasant results because my men were used to it. The provincial troops of Kansu also have the most different types of weapons. The only serious matter was the loading difficulty of the old Henry-Martini guns. The guns were perfectly adequate for our purpose but the accompanying cartridges were made before the time when the cases were stamped out of one piece of metal, and were rolled into shape out of a thin metal strip. The bullets were extremely soft and so full of dents after a few days that they would no longer fit into the barrel. More than once one of us aimed at a bear or a wild yak and after the first shot had to bend the cartridge case which had become dented in the heat of the chase, in shape with his teeth in order to be able to push it into the barrel. The most exciting thing I saw in Tibet was to watch a hunter in such a predicament!

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713 My Japanese military gun was a very good weapon, although it
•703 had gone through a lot before it fell into my hands. I bought it in the Gum bum monastery from a Mongol who said he had "found" it on a battlefield in Manchuria. My German military guns I had also bought in the interior. They, too, had surely had an eventful life history. Besides their German factory and regimental stamps they also bore Chinese symbols and I have a strong suspicion that they were sold by deserters. At the end of the 1890s large lots of discarded military guns, especially from South Germany, were sold by brokers to the Chinese provinces whose troops were armed according to the preferences of whoever happened to be governor. There were thousands of old Mauser guns stored in the arsenals of Lanchow and Hsining.

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From these stores there were always some that got into the trade each 713
year. For, although every Chinese soldier who deserted and sold his 703
gun was beheaded, this capital offense is so widespread, especially on the borders, that the mandarins did not dare place these repeater guns into the hands of their troops except in special cases, and preferred to equip their regiments with old muzzle-loaders. According to their superiors, there are very few soldiers who can withstand the temptation of running away and taking their guns along when the first favorable opportunity presents itself. They could always easily get 80-100 taels for their guns, in other words, a fortune with which they could rent a small field in some remote corner and realize their ideal, namely, raise a family. This was also the reason why in the exposed garrison of Schara khoto there was not a single repeater gun to be seen.

But let us return after this digression to my departure from the 000
Schara khoto Valley, from the yellow city, the city of the green meadow.

An easy climb brought me and my yak herds up the afore-mentioned 133
saddle of the mountain, to the water shed between the Hwang Ho, or the 208 sea, and the Asiatic plateau which is without an outlet. The altitude measured 3,420 meters. It is only 6 kilometers from Schara khoto to this pass which is not more than 300 meters higher.

Suddenly I could see far into the distance. China with its loess 000
dust, its oppressively narrow valleys, its torrential brooks and streams lay behind me, had been overcome. I am at the top! A blissful feeling spreads through my whole body and with a joyful heart I see the caravan slowly cross the pass, group by group. I feel that I have reached the climax of my life. With this band I would surely succeed in getting an insight into Tibet's most hidden secrets. I could not control my emotions. I was forced to let my shouts of joy ring out into the magnificent sunny morning, so that my Tibetans looked at me in amazement and believed I was trying to invoke the god of the pass.

I stood on the roof of the world, which extended from the snows of 133
Pamir up to my flat watershed. The first yung - as the Tibetans say - lay before me, a huge wide and flat valley basin, high above the timber line, without bush or tree, with only a few rounded dunes in the middle. In a yung valley the water course is not the essential thing. These are valleys which originated in other ages, which have been produced by other forces than those in action today. Nor was it possible to say whether this yung below me sloped toward the Brahmaputra or to Lake Koko Nor or to the southeast. I was standing in a saddle of

[text continues on p. 489]

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704 GROUND COMBAT FORCES--specific organization of the army; high command; specialized combat branches (e.g., infantry, cavalry, artillery, tank corps); combat units (e.g., squads, companies, battalions, regiments, divisions); composition, organization, and special functions of each; specialized combat forces (e.g., scouts, marines, anti-aircraft defense units); etc.
See also:
Land transport . . . . . 49 Tactics 725
Military technology and equipment 71

N S 195 121 648 182 114 182 a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

N S 233 262 A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

N S 195 121 648 182 114 411 704 182

N S 182 195 121 648 182 114 411 704 233 The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads: or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

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The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

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In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

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Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

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If the superiors of the high command in the Tiwo war[2] had spoken the forceful language with which Li scheng[2] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text. / /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

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[2 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 481 — Analyst] 2 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492-4]

they always had to march in single file. Half of the troops were armed with modern repeater guns, the rest with old Mausers; 300 of each 1,000 men were equipped with long lances on which large three-cornered flags of all different colors fluttered, as they entered Tao tschou. Behind each division rode the officer in charge of it and saw to it that no man escaped. If someone for any reason had to stay behind he was first obliged to hand over his gun. The supply train was amazingly small and consisted of yak oxen, an ula from Merema and Tawa. In the endless procession the large copper cooking pots and the opium and tobacco pipes of the men, as well as the badly-packed small personal belongings of the officers were very carefully carried by soldiers. Beside their guns the troops carried only their few cotton garments and wore hemp sandals which were undoubtedly the best foot-gear what with the poor roads, the many brooks without bridges the slippery stones and the endless climbs up and down.

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Native families of rulers have maintained themselves to this day, remnants of the old Mongolian- and Tu ku hun times, in the districts of Tao tschou, Min tschou and Di dao tschou. The mightiest is the Yang tu se, the king of Dschoni. Today he rules only over Tibetans, 48 tribes of them, who annually bring him small gifts. His feudal lands reach as far as Szechwan in the south. However, among the majority of his subjects his word does not carry much weight. They rob merchants and carry on wars whenever they /Plate LXIX faces p. 305 in the original text. / /306 choose. The Dschoni tu se himself, however, in his low and easily-accessible native country, is today with all his clan subject to the general supervision of the tschou of Tao. Even weaker and smaller is the Chan tu se who lives 15 li below Dschoni in the Tao Ho Valley. The Ma tu se also has little more authority; he is already in the Min tschou district near the town of Tang tschen, 150 li south of the chief city of the district, and rules over 2,000 families. Of the fourth, the Kia tu se, I have already spoken briefly in connection with my journey through Di dao tschou. Dschoni, Tschan, Ma, Kia on the one hand and the tschou of Tao, Di dao, and Min on the other, are often referred to as the Wu hu and the country as the Land of the Five Rulers. For the "democratically"minded Chinese used to complete personal freedom and privilege, conditions in the wu hu are very foreign; they are completely baffled that here, not as elsewhere in the Kingdom of the Middle, the ruler should have a claim and levy taxes, but that the individual families and the heads of families belong to the various rulers, so that, as often happens here, subjects of all five live together

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708 AUXILIARY CORPS--organization and functions of specialized noncombat services (e.g., medical and sanitary corps, army engineers, labor battalions, signal corps, intelligence services, military police); other specialized personnel (e.g., paymasters, chaplains, judge advocates, military government officers, specialists in communications and psychological warfare); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Supply and commissary services	708
Medicine	78	Military engineering	711
Police	625	Military government	737
Peacetime espionage	648	Public health	744
Courts-martial	698		

*668 625 1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's exec-
*668 625 utive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central
647 Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

*668 625 2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central
[645] headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Govern-
[647] ment Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also
[645] has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into for-
[648] eign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

The police and spy system among the military forces can be
*668 625 divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the
• 708 726 scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

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712 MILITARY INSTALLATIONS--defensive fortifications; harbor and coast defenses (e.g., coast artillery emplacements, antisubmarine nets); radar and antiaircraft installations; military camps and posts; arsenals; naval stations and bases; military airfields; missile bases; construction, maintenance, and distribution of military installations; etc. See also:

Construction trades	33	Antiaircraft defense units	704
Settlements	98	Organization of coast guard and naval	
Civilian airport facilities	888	shore stations	706

228 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
• 712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

791 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[797] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place, and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow. An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 701 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers marched in and out, and much official business was done, for this was an important military center and the officer in command held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where, twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[525] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[296] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of blizzard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

[796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed themselves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sunrise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

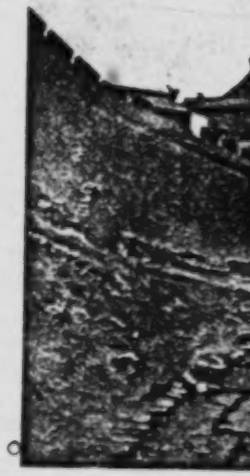
484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of knowledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

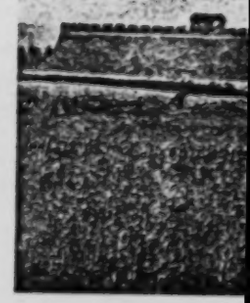
484 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her
712 wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they
[432] had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the
512 large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things,
[701] and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable cover-
[352] lets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into
[296] the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed:
443 "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the
[186] elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative.
181 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable,
436 "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained.
441 Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.



EAST GATE

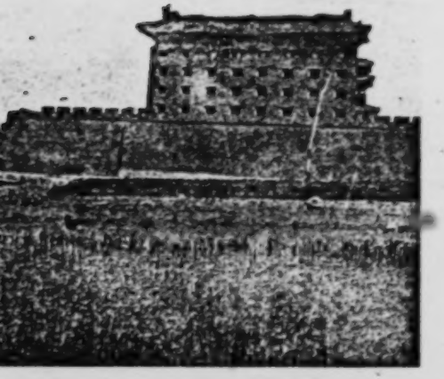


WEST GATE

PLATE I

712

OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN



OF THE FORTRESS OF T'UNGKUAN

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and not infrequently arrive at T'ungkuan in a state of collapse.

From Shen Chou to Lingpao Hsien, a distance of 45 li, the road runs through deep cuttings in the loess near the right bank, but out of sight, of the Yellow River; and from Lingpao to Wenhsiang Hsien, called 60 li, it runs across a series of bluffs high up above the river; for the first 20 li of this latter stage horsemen can follow a footpath along the river itself, which here rolls its pea-soupy waters through a gorge in the loess hills; wild fowl of all kinds abound here in the spring and can be easily shot. Lingpao and Wenhsiang lie right on the river. Round the latter the loess is much mixed with sand. The barrier range on the traveller's left hand here begins to draw in towards the Yellow River to form the famous narrows at T'ungkuan. From Wenhsiang to T'ungkuan, called 60 li, the road continues through the loess not far from the river. Finally T'ungkuan itself is approached through a deep cutting in the loess hills with gates and walls appearing at intervals after the manner of the Nank'ou Pass in the Peking mountains, with which this famous stronghold may be compared.

487 712 The narrows of T'ungkuan are formed by the Northern barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan and the Yellow River, which here approach to within a few miles of one another, the intervening space being filled by a thick layer of loess hundreds of feet deep, intersected by impassable rifts. Here the Peking road through Shansi *via* T'aiyuan Fu meets the Honan road and continues as one to Hsian Fu, where it bifurcates again, one branch leading south-west to Chengtu and Tibet, and the other north-west to Lanchow and Turkestan. The fortress of T'ungkuan commands the meeting-point of these four highways, and is now and always has been one of the most important strategical points in the interior of China. It will one day be also a considerable railway centre as trunk lines are projected along all these roads. The number of roads leading east and west, north of the Yangtzu, is extraordinarily small, and railways usually seem to find that the ancient highways of traffic and commerce offer the easiest routes through mountainous country. T'ungkuan has from time immemorial served as the gateway from China to Central and Western Asia, and has played

a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east. 712 487

As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile. 651

From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu. 804

A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type. 493

From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

From T'ungKuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

491 can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is [712] one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the 563 great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

361 Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin 788 Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

484 The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the 000 metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

487 All along this road across the eastern end of the Ch'inling ranges a large proportion of the hill tops are crowned with 712 walled strongholds called *Chai* which serve as refuges for the inhabitants of the farms and villages in the valleys in times of trouble. These fortified hill tops are a characteristic feature of S.E. Shensi and N.E. Szechuan. The better ones contain houses all ready for receiving the refugees, while others are merely walled shells inside which the owners erect mat sheds or temporary huts. Nearly all are unapproachable except by most precipitous footpaths. Six years ago, in the comparatively peaceful days of Manchu rule, these *chaitzu* were generally in ruins and fallen into disuse; nowadays they have mostly been repaired at a cost of many thousands of taels and have been in pretty constant use during the troubles which have afflicted these parts ever since the revolution of 1911. It is a regrettable but indisputable fact that public security in the interior of China has steadily deteriorated and that the ravages of brigands have everywhere increased during recent years since the establishment of the Republic.

487 Leaving Niuerhch'uan on the next day, we followed down the valley, which contracts to a gorge and is rather 133 difficult for loaded mules, for an hour's march. Here the gorge debouches on to the valley of a considerable stream, the Shêch'uan Ho (lower down called apparently the Chia Ho), flowing like most of the rivers of Shensi from N.W. to S.E. Our path turned up the valley of this stream and followed it in a westerly direction for the rest of the way to the large market village of Fenghuangtsui, 80 li from Niuerhch'uan. The valley is hemmed in by rocky jungle-clad mountains and is uncultivated till within 15 li of Fenghuangtsui, where a tributary of equal volume from the north joins the stream. From this point on there are rice 361 fields and a succession of hamlets. Fenghuangtsui is the largest village in the district and contains many more families than Chenan itself. Apart from these occasional townships there is marked absence of villages in these mountains, and one usually travels all day long without passing anything but scattered farmsteads and huts.

487 The next day's march was a long and tiring one called 133 90 li. The trail leaves the main valley of the Shêch'uan Ho

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and enters a gorge which soon ends in a stiff climb up to a pass, about 5000 feet high and two hours' scramble from Fenghuangtsui. There is a similar steep descent for a thousand feet or so down the other side into a ravine where farmsteads and rice fields reappear, and then a weary three hours' march down a stony gorge which debouches on to the narrow valley of the Ch'ienyu Ho, a considerable stream for these mountains, which takes its rise in the watershed ranges north of Hsiaoyi T'ing and flows south past Chenan to join the Han near Hsünyang Hsien. The trail continues down this stream, which has to be crossed and recrossed though barely fordable, for another hour's march through precipitous limestone gorges, and then turns up a small tributary to the west for a few li to reach the city of Chenan, a dilapidated little place lying hidden away in the mountains just round the corner from the canyon of the Ch'ienyu Ho.

We had had nine days' continuous travel over the most appalling mountain tracks since leaving T'ungkuan, and as we were well housed in the Yamen of the Chief of Police, and were informed that the trail on to Hsingan was much worse, we decided to rest in Chenan for a day. The fourteen days between T'ungkuan and Hsingan by this route constituted one of the hardest journeys we made in all our wanderings through Shensi and Kansu owing to the roughness of the mountain trail. Travelling as we were with the assistance of the local officials we did not have to sample the inns, if there were any, *en route*; without such assistance it would of course have been very much harder and more fatiguing.

Chenan has practically no city wall left, which is unusual. The explanation lies in the fact that the inhabitants own a particularly fine *chaitzu* on a neighbouring mountain top in which they prefer to take refuge, with their magistrate and his police, in times of trouble rather than defend their city. A large proportion of the population were there at the time of our visit, for at that early period of our journey our party was so formidable in size that when we descended on these small mountain towns like a swarm of locusts the people used often to fly at our approach as though from a band of brigands. Chinese officials travelling on what used to be, and often still is, called an Imperial Mission, such as

the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

487 this gorge it continues across the plateau, only to meet a
few li further on with another and still larger rift, at the
133 bottom of which there is a welcome stream and a hamlet
called Chiehtzu Ho, the boundary of Loch'uan district. The
crossing of a district boundary was always noticeable
throughout our journeys, because it entailed a welcome rest
and an exchange of civilities with a new magistrate. After
the usual five hundred foot climb out of this cañon the path
runs across the plateau northwards for an hour or so, and
then drops again into the valley of the Lo River, here con-
taining a considerably less volume of water than where
crossed on the preceding stage, the difference being due
to a large tributary from the west which joins it in between.
[311] Most of the terraced mountain sides in this neighbourhood
have gone out of cultivation, and from here north to Yenan
Fu the country becomes more and more desolate and
depopulated. Another 20 li up the winding valley brings
one to Fu Chou.

361 Fu Chou, now Fu Hsien, a second class district city,
is a fortress of great antiquity guarding this highway into
712 the heart of ancient China against the invasions of the hordes
of barbarians from the North. It fills up most of the valley
with its walls climbing up the hillside. Since the Mongol
ceased to threaten Fu Chou has entirely lost its former
importance and is now in a most miserable and decayed
condition. A walk on the wall shows the usual dilapidated
little city, but a stroll through the streets reveals the fact
that it is practically empty, *k'ung ch'eng*, as a Chinese
[166] remarked to me. The explanation of this lay in the fact
that it had been sacked four times by brigands during
the preceding year, and the inhabitants, having given up
residence there as hopeless, had emigrated to other parts or
634 provinces. We afterwards passed through many other cities
and villages in Northern Shensi in the same condition. The
625 post of magistrate in these districts is an exceedingly
unenviable one, and it appears to be difficult to get men
579 to take them up. If the brigands come, the *ching pei
tui* (police) are helpless, and the magistrate is lucky if
he can save his life by escaping into the mountains. The
official of one of these cities informed me that it was in-
advisable to arm the local police with modern rifles, as, the

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place having long been swept bare of all its valuables, there would be nothing to attract another raid provided there were no modern arms and ammunition in the place. Silver, opium, rifles, and ammunition are what the brigands go for. The only thing that was not utterly decayed in Fu Chou was a brand new *chai* (hill fort) on the top of the mountain behind the town, built by the magistrate and the few remaining inhabitants as a refuge against the next raid. In the centre of the town is an old tower containing an ancient bronze bell of fine workmanship dating from the T'ang Dynasty, the only object of value which survives the periodical raids. From Fu Chou a track leads westwards to Ch'ingyang Fu in Kansu, one of the very few east to west trails in these parts.

From Fu Chou to Kanch'uan Hsien, a distance of 85 to 90 li, the trail runs up the valley of the Lo River through poor-looking crops of maize, millet, hemp, and wheat. The loess hills on either side are mostly uncultivated and the whole region gives the impression of turning into desert. Several miserable hamlets are passed, consisting mostly of caves or cave houses, the latter queer-looking square huts built of earth and stones with tunnel-like interiors. Scarcity of wood for roofing purposes is said to be the reason for constructing these remarkable artificial caves, but probably the people are so used to living in caves that they do not feel at home in anything else. A good cave in the loess is not to be despised as a dwelling, being rain proof, warm in winter and cool in summer. Owing to the vertical cleavage which is always going on in the loess these caves are constantly collapsing, but the owners seem to know by instinct when it is necessary to remove to a new abode. Kanch'uan is a smaller replica of Fu Chou, a ruined empty shell of a city.

Here the trail to Yenan, distant 85 li, leaves the Lo River and follows up a side valley to the N.E. which leads after three to four hours' march by an easy ascent to the pass (4100 feet) in the divide between the Lo Ho and the Yen Shui. This divide is entirely covered by loess, but curiously enough there is a complete change of scenery, and the ascent and descent is through jungle clad ravines and over grassy downs. These mountains are uncultivated and uninhabited,

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the P'ingfan River a few li south of Hung Ch'engtzu, a small walled town and the end of the second stage from Lanchou. 487 133

From Hung Ch'engtzu to the district city of P'ingfan is a pleasant march of 70 li up the fertile valley, past several villages, including the township of Nan Tatung about half-way. A mile before getting in the old Manchu garrison town of Chuang-lang T'ing is passed, imposing in appearance with its well-built walls, but nowadays an empty shell. The remnants of these old Manchu garrisons in Western Kansu are now, as elsewhere, in extreme poverty. But their existence at any rate gives the province the distinction of being, so far as I know, the only one of the eighteen provinces which contains a resident population of the five races, symbolised by the new five coloured national flag, which go to make up the Republic, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mahomedans. The Union of Races represented by this flag has hardly become a reality yet; and is perhaps not likely to materialise until the Chinese cease fighting the Tibetans and grant them autonomy as a self-governing dominion of the Chinese commonwealth on the lines of the relationship between Canada or Australia and the rest of the British Empire. P'ingfan is a prosperous little place, the centre of a rich irrigated valley, and is of some importance as the junction of roads to Lanchou, Hsining, Liangchou, and Ninghsia, the four largest towns of Western Kansu. 712 563 [361]

From P'ingfan the road continues up the valley with the ruins of the Great Wall on the right hand, the scenery becoming wilder and cultivation and habitations less as one proceeds. Thirty li out the mountains close in on the valley to form a gorge, and shortly afterwards the river is forded to reach the village and former posting stage of Wusheng Yi, 40 li from P'ingfan. Beyond this place the valley becomes flat and open and assumes a plateau-like character, with patches of cultivation here and there. Another 40 li brings one to the village and ruined fort of Ch'ak'ou Yi, the end of a stage of 80 li. General desolation and ruins are the features of this part of Kansu, intensified to us perhaps by the fact that we rode during the afternoon through a succession of bitterly cold hailstorms, the elevation being close on 9000 feet. The remains of the Great Wall, the ruins of farms, villages, and forts, the abandoned fields in the marshy valley, 487 133 [491]

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canny Mahomedan innkeeper, seeing such a large party of officials and soldiers (everywhere unwelcome guests owing to their custom of helping themselves to what they want and not always paying for it), assured us it was only 30 or 40 li to Tatung Hsien by a good road; so we took the road again after a rest, and had another weary six hours' march before getting in. The road lies down a narrow picturesque valley, in which trees, farms, and cultivation make their appearance again, and finally debouches on to a broad and fertile valley, closely cultivated and thickly populated, which is crossed to reach Tatung Hsien. I have but the vaguest idea of the latter part of this long march, which was finished by the light of lanterns in the dark, beyond remembering that we forded a stream running in various branches just before getting in, and narrowly missed taking an evening bath on more than one occasion.

Tatung Hsien is a prosperous city, the centre of a fertile corn-growing valley populated largely by Mahomedans. The elevation is about 8000 feet and the wheat was ripening for harvest during the middle of August. It reminded us somewhat of Ho Chou. Being comfortably quartered here in an old military yamen, we enjoyed a welcome day's rest. Tatung Hsien is also known locally by its old name of Maopeisheng, and usually appears on foreign maps under that name in various guises. If a traveller in China, unacquainted with Chinese characters and their usual romanisation, writes down the names of places as they sound to his ear, the results are often unrecognizable; further confusion is entailed by the varying forms of romanisation in use in different European languages. There are several townships called Tatung in Western Kansu; they are sometimes distinguished by being referred to as Tatung Hsien, Nan Tatung, Pei Tatung, and Hsi Tatung, but confusion often results.

From Tatung to Hsining is a distance of 110 li by a good cart track down a fertile and well-cultivated valley past numerous farms and villages. The march may be divided into two by halting at the walled township of Hsin Ch'eng, 40 li out, where the valley narrows to a defile and is barred by an old wall with a gate and the inevitable likin barrier. This is considered by some to be a branch of the Great

712 Wall; if this is so, the old gate and wall at T'ungmen Kuan, between Labrang and Ho Chou, is probably a portion of the same loop, which must have been constructed to protect the Hsining region against the incursions of Tibetans or Mongols from the Kokonor, and the course and history of 133 which it would be interesting to trace. The road eventually debouches on to the city of Hsining, lying in a small cultivated 487 plain of loess formed by the junction of three valleys, the Pei Ch'uan from Tatung Hsien, the Hsi Ch'uan from Tanko T'ing, and the Nan Ch'uan from T'a-erh Ssu (Kumbum), the combined streams going to make up the Hsining River.

[361] Hsining is one of the chief cities of Kansu, being the [241] centre of a region of fertile corn-growing valleys, producing wheat, barley, and particularly beans. Its commercial 439 importance arises from its position near the Kokonor border, and together with Tanko T'ing, a day's journey 648 further west, it commands the bulk of the valuable Kokonor trade in skins, furs, deer horns, musk, gold, and particularly wool. A state of passive hostility has reigned between China and Tibet since the collapse of Chinese power in Lassa consequent on the revolution, and the Szechuan-Tibetan trade through Tachienlu has suffered greatly thereby; the Hsining and Tanko trade, on the other hand, has continued uninterruptedly throughout these troubles, and has perhaps even increased. As elsewhere on this border this trade is largely in the hands of the Mahomedans. 487 Before the Mahomedan rebellion of 1860–70 the Hsining-Kokonor road to Lassa was the most frequented route between China and Tibet, but was then replaced by the Szechuan road through Tachienlu; now it is coming into 361 its own again. The interior of the city is fairly prosperous in appearance as far as Kansu towns go, but by no means indicative of the commercial and political importance of the place. The east suburb, the former Mahomedan quarter, is still completely in ruins, a relic of the last Mahomedan rebellion in 1895, when the city successfully withstood a siege by the rebels. The walls are particularly formidable and well built.

131 Hsining, as well as being the seat of a Taoyin and a Mahomedan General, has always been the residence of the high Chinese official controlling the immense territory of

these two faithful friends we had also two earnest Evangelists, who never lost an opportunity of recommending the Good News which we were there to proclaim.

CHAPTER XIII

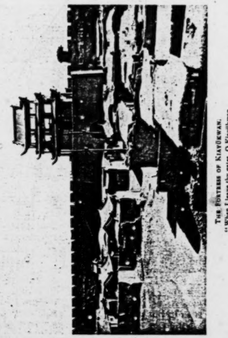
THE CITY OF TEMPLES

WHEN not busy with village classes we made an opportunity to see the sights of Kanchow, which is a very remarkable town. The city wall is three miles in length, and from it a fine view of the well-irrigated, fertile land around can be obtained. This was sown with wheat, barley, millet, and more especially with rice, for which this district is famous, as well as with the opium poppy, and also peas and beans for animal fodder. Nearer the town were numerous fruit-orchards —pears, apricots, and apples—with vineyards which supply the market with both black and white grapes. The amount of water which floods this district from the melting snows is so great that many of the country roads become shallow rivers during the summer months. Looking down into the city from the wall, one's first impression is the beauty of the reed-filled lakes, and the number of splendid trees. From the midst of these the gay, glazed-tiled roofs of numerous temples appear, and a high pagoda built in Indian style catches the eye, but the dwelling-houses are low and insignificant. The roofs are flat and made of mud, and the houses are all very lightly built and obviously crooked, owing to the boggy nature of the soil which does not allow of a sure foundation. The largest temples and the Mission Compound stand on the higher ground of the city,

through which the ordinary traveller is glad to pass quickly.

The aspect of the country was very different from that which we had met south of Kanchow. On the Tibetan side the snow-covered Richthofen Range came closer and closer, while the Mongolian hills gradually diminished in size until they became mere sand-dunes, and then drifted off into the flat expanse of the Gobi Desert. The style of the country presented a good deal of variety, and lay in clearly defined sections running from north to south in narrow strips. Shaho, the first town of importance, was on a fertile band, and lay in the midst of orchards, in which the trees were then laden with ripe pears. Leaving these one mile behind us, we entered an area of loose sandhills, where we found it necessary to descend from our carts to lighten the weight for the animals. We plodded through the fine, dry slopes with a delightful sense of illusion that just over the horizon the sea must surely appear. A number of small sand-coloured lizards sunned themselves by the way; and raising their heads at our approach, they then made off at a great pace pursued by the carter, who derived much enjoyment from catching them by the tail. Our part in the sport was to sing and whistle, which immediately brought the little creatures to a standstill, and kept them spellbound for as long as we continued our tunes. About ten miles further on we passed a clearly-defined line of swamp, through which we approached the city of Fuyi. Here the water-wagtails kept pace with the cart, and a beautiful crocus-yellow-breasted variety flitted in and out of the rushes.

Fuyi was the smallest walled city we had seen, but stands surrounded by well-watered and prosperous farmsteads, owned by wealthy families. The hand of a



THE FIFTEEN OR KIAYÜKWAN.
"Fifteen days' journey from Kanchow."
By Courtesy of Mr. Percy Horne.

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we began to view the incoming winter, under present conditions, with a certain amount of anxiety. Seeing therefore that our life must necessarily be somewhat rigorous, we added a layer of camel's hair to our already wadded Chinese garments, and thus equipped we were subsequently enabled to meet temperatures registering fifteen degrees Fahrenheit below zero.

During this first winter we were fortunate in securing from a Moslem farmer excellent milk, but food supplies in these localities are very variable, not only from city to city, but from year to year; and after a few months, cattle disease carried off most of the cows, so our dairy supply failed completely. Mutton, yak beef and pork could be bought, but all were of a poor quality. Vegetables, however, were excellent and eggs plentiful. Our daily dinner was a Chinese meal of rice or macaroni, but for several months of each year no fat of any kind was obtainable for cooking purposes, with the exception of linseed-oil, which is commonly used by Kansu people; unfortunately, in spite of every effort, we were never able to accustom ourselves to the strong taste, nor eat it without revulsion. Our winter preparations also included a large quantity of wheat, which we ourselves ground as needed, and which gave us a good store of bran with which to fill large baskets of eggs, this being the only way to prevent their freezing.

Our first expedition was taken before the winter closed in, when travelling would be too hard. It was the form of a trip to the fortress of Kiayükwan, which was only twenty miles distant. The road was over a barren and stony waste, leading slightly uphill, so that the journey took six and a half hours to perform. It was a dismal landscape, though the Richthofen Range looked magnificent with snow to its very base, and we also crossed a good many beautifully clear streams on

the way. At a distance of about two miles a high gate-tower of many storeys came in sight, flanked on either side by a clay wall, which on the south stretched for seven miles to the foot of the Tibetan mountains. On this side lay green meadows richly watered by springs, and for this reason the name Kiayükwan has been given, meaning 'The Barrier of the Pleasant Valley.' The position of the fortress has indeed been well chosen in view of excluding invaders from the west, this being the narrowest point between naked hills on the north and south. Under the shadow of the walls a stream is crossed by a wooden bridge, and from here the path mounts steeply to the door of the southern quarter, where all the inns are situated. We passed through two great vaulted gates into the first enclosure, which holds within it the ruins of a small town, now mostly uninhabited. The splendid outer walls, with their loophole battlements and towers, and the Yamen and military barracks, still occupied, give an impression of mediaeval importance to a place which otherwise would be only a tumbledown village.

A most imposing gate led out on the north side, and beyond this, as far as eye could reach, was an undulating desert over which the wintry wind was blowing. A hundred yards from the gate a stone tablet proclaims this to be 'Earth's Greatest Barrier.' The scene was desolate beyond words, and if ever human sorrow has left an impress on the atmosphere of a place, it is surely at Kiayükwan, through whose portals for centuries past a never-ending stream of despairing humanity has defiled. Disgraced officials, condemned criminals, homeless prodigals, terrified outlaws, the steps of all these have converged to that one sombre portal, and through it have for ever left the land of their birth. The arched walls are covered with poems wrung from

we were however, obliged the next night at 1 a.m. to pass the same spot—one lonely shed inhabited by an old man, who provides boiling water for passers-by. But on this occasion he would not permit us a moment's delay, and urged us to proceed to our destination with all possible speed; which, needless to say, we did.

CHAPTER XXII

JADE GATE TO TUNHWANG

FIVE days' journey from Kiayükwan the traveller sees on the farthest horizon a light, elegant tower rising high above the city wall. This is Yümen—'Jade Gate'—through which he passes to Central Asia, and which being visible from a very great distance, is the one dominant feature of the beautiful little town of the same name.

Ancient records dating back to 104 B.C. speak of Yümenkwan—'Jade Barrier'—as terminating the line of guard-houses which were planted at intervals from Chiuchüan—Ancient Suchow—in a north-westerly direction on the Kansu border. A great deal of research has been made by Sir Aurel Stein as well as by other *savants* to elucidate the exact position held by this particular fort. Sir Aurel Stein places it beyond Tunhwang, one hundred and thirty miles west of the little town which now bears its name, while others believe this elusive gate to have been no other than the original structure of Kiayükwan which is, all agree, the modern equivalent of the ancient Barrier. Local opinion, however, confirms Breitshneider's assertion that the modern Yümen is built on the site of the ancient Jade Gate.

1 [outside the village of Chikimpu--Analyst]

wonder why this weak-looking work of man did not cause un damage annually with the very swift river current. On sever the large iron posts that looked like cannon bores and were r into the earth along the bank in order to hold the large rope chains of the bridge, I found an inscription which revealed t bridge had been put together in this manner long ago under t Ming emperors (in the fifth year of Emperor Hung Wu, 1372 and was thus an arrangement that was centuries old. The go was obliged to pay out 10,000 taels (30,000 marks) each ye keep it in repair. And the cost of repair was actually said t consumed a few thousand taels each summer. A hemp rope of the kind necessary to give added support during the summ floods, cost about 100 taels in our money. But from the taels the officials who in the eyes of the people represented and mother, must have been able to pocket a tidy little sum

1. After negotiations lasting one-half year - for a lo time the "parents of the people" would not hear of a change - a German firm succeeded in getting a cont to build a narrow iron bridge across the river a year my arrival. This was built during the years 1908-19

Thus Lanchow fu is a bridgehead, a fortress, which defe convenient Hwang Ho crossing. From time immemorial the was regarded as important and was occupied by troops. Long fore the beginning of our era, during the Ts'in and Han dyn we find mention of a fortified encampment here. (2) The

2. In the feudal age in China, during the Tschou dy (1122-255 B.C.) the boundary of present-day Lanch bordered on the territory of the Hsi Kiang (Chinese), one superb, were Tibetan nomads. At times the g was also entirely inundated with Hsi Kiang. At the of the Ts'in dynasty (255-206 B.C.) and of the Han B.C. -220 A.D.) the district became more and mor But the chief city of the district lay somewhat farth The present-day settlement was begun by Emperor V the founder of the Sui dynasty (589-605). In the ye during the Tang dynasty everything was again lost t Tibetans and remained in their hands, with some in ruptions, until, after the year 1000, the Hsi Hsia ki

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gained control. Finally around 1081 Lanchow fu was again conquered by the Chinese under their brave eunuch general Li hsien, with the help of the Tibetans who, insofar as they were farmers, were subject to the Sung dynasty. (Tsing yuan, too, was snatched from the Hsi Hsia kingdom in the same year.) Since then the city has remained united with the kingdom. But the importance of the place may be seen from its earlier changeful fate. 712

The Yellow River which is of any visible use to the land and its people only insofar as it flows outside the Great Wall, cannot be easily crossed anywhere; certainly not on the Great Chinese Plain where the inhabitants call it their sorrow and affliction on account of its destructiveness. It once took me a full day on a ferry to get through at Kaifeng fu between the countless mud banks which are always in motion and constantly changing. Along the railroad line Peking-Hankow in Honan it forms an almost insurmountable obstacle even for our modern technical resources, because of its insecure mud bottom. Even though it does not contain a great deal of water, it is never easy to cope with at Lung men and in its entire middle course as far up as Lanchow fu. Finally, in Lanchow fu, almost where its Tibetan upper course begins there is a place where not only can the two banks be connected by a bridge without great difficulty, /149/ but where roads also lead down to it. The highway which connected Chinese culture with the Western world here crosses the Yellow River. Inasmuch as roads, to say nothing of highways, in China have, up to now, depended more on the accidents of nature than on the will and skill of man, and Kansu, which is by no means a flat country, possesses very few highways, it follows that every place where this natural road could push through was of particularly outstanding importance. This road, the ancient "silk road," leads out from the original sites of Chinese culture, out of the Wei Ho Valley and the Fen Ho Valley basin from Hsingan fu by way of Ping liang fu to the northwest, to Lanchow fu. It anxiously avoids large rivers which, as for example the upper Wei Ho, have cut deep ravines into the mountains and which only bridle paths and mule tracks can follow. It leads across loess country devoid of stones, past a few loess brooks and often for long distances on high ridges. Each year the summer rains tear up great holes in the road and interrupt traffic, but in the dry winter months trade and traffic flow cheaply and easily. Roughly, this road follows the watersheds between 487

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frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and Dsungari (Ili). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsün fu for Shensi. 631

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso t'ung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China. 721

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an imposing obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1) 712

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Potanin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

5: Tafel--262 T-3 (1905-1908)

Plate XXXVI.

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The prior of Hsiang wi[illegible] his bro[illegible]

712

On the city wall of Ho tschou. (C[illegible] the towers of two mosq[illegible]

/facing 161/

...and ton.

Outside the wall may be seen
...ues.)

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the subject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today. 624 651

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate. 563

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon. 701 [782]

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect, 701 712

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

701 712 In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

[714] Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu da tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always 361 [344]

5: Tafel--344 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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The crumbled loam walls and the old roofless yamen and temple 361
buildings lay bleak and desolate when we passed through. We were 631
still merely crawling along at a snail's pace. In the interior of the city, in a corner of an old ruin, we brewed our tea once more before we traveled on into the night. In spite of our weariness, none of us wanted to spend the night here. The cold which set in anew after sundown was too intense. We preferred to fumble along across the barren steppes. Even though we were now going along a well-traveled caravan road, we had difficulty in finding our way in the dark to Schara khoto. We did not reach it until morning. We had covered 140 kilometers on our flight. All of us had sore feet from the solidly frozen riding boots, and the three rescued ponies were also near exhaustion because they were too heavily loaded.

Schara khoto (1) is today the farthest Chinese military outpost 701 712

1. A Mongolian name meaning "yellow city." The Chinese call the town Scha la ku to and say that this means "city of the green meadow." [103]

from Kansu. The Chinese government had stationed here a schu be (first lieutenant), a lieutenant and a few sergeants with 30-40 men (belonging to the green banner). They were armed with swords and matchlocks and a few old German drums and French horns. Thus, the detachment does not play a very important role. The soldiers even have difficulty defending themselves against the attacks of marauding Tibetans. There is an old wall but it is so large that it would take at least a regiment to defend it. There is also a large old parade ground. Between this and the city which is empty today there live about thirty Chinese families who cultivate a few small acres in the vicinity, raising barley and wild oats. Nothing else grows here. It is an unspeakably miserable spot. 241

One of the Chinese immediately received us very hospitably in 574
his mud hut, and turned over his large warm kang to us. Without 276
wasting any words he immediately prepared a few opium pipes for us, for the Chinese say this is the best restorative if one is over-tired. I was the only one who did not smoke and I did not wake up until the next night, whereas my companions, all of whom had smoked, walked about vigorously early in the day.

Two days later I traveled back to Dankar. On this stretch I was 000
accompanied by fifteen armed men and half way to the city I was

T 122 pass through everywhere. By means of it even the road to Lhasa was open to me. But from the very first moment I was worried for fear my treasure, the passport, might be taken away from me, could be revoked or might even be a forgery.

I now urged our rapid departure and I set out as soon as I had received the notice that the military escort which the amban had promised at the time of the Chinese New Year would be sent after me to the border.

T 121 My task was now to finish the exploration of the Hwang Ho within the boundaries of Tibet and then to push on ever farther through unexplored territory, through the wide white spots on our maps of Tibet, to the southeast until I should be stopped by the Lhasa government or until I had reached the Valley of the Brahmaputra.

C 487 With this end in view I left Hsining fu and followed the most southerly of the three valleys which converge near the west gate of the city, upward, spending the first night in Schang bsin tschuan (meaning, roughly, "upper new town"), a small loess town with a bu tse or fort made of loam and a /261/ small garrison. Half the populace consist of Chinese, the other half are Tu fan, that is, Tibetan farmers, and it lies only a few kilometers south of the Gum bum monastery with which my readers became acquainted in Chapter Six. The loess ends here and this is also the end of the Chinese wagon road. From here one can travel on only with beasts of burden.

C 712 Just beyond this place, at sunrise the next morning, we passed by a low wall and small guard house containing a few ragged soldiers and herewith we crossed the boundary of the land containing the most industrious farmers of our planet: the Middle Kingdom, and entered the kingdom of steppes and mountains. This is where Tibet begins.

C 487 Even directly beyond the little wall the land seemed uncultivated, wild and unclaimed. Soon we climbed steeply up a narrow rock ravine and often labored over slippery masses of ice which filled the entire valley floor like a glacier. Often men had to be sent ahead to cut steps into the ice for the animals and spread earth and sand. In spite of this, many of the animals fell, slid helplessly down the ice slopes on their knees, broke their saddles on the rocky crags and corners on either side of the valley, or had to be laboriously unloaded and re-loaded. Here, already, one of the yak bullocks fell with a wrenched shoulder and had to be

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C 487 slaughtered. The little brook which runs through this valley ravine had, in the long winter months, prepared this obstacle for us. It had refused to let itself be bound by the winter's cold, but had, a violent fellow, again and again broken through the ice formations, flooded them, thickened them and piled them up until the result of its labors resembled a glacier.

And yet by noon already my caravan climbed up the steep and narrow pass of the La tsche Mountains, the Lao ye Shan as the Chinese call it, at an altitude of over 3,800 meters.

C 133 487 The mountain range which I herewith crossed is part of the long chain emerging at Koko Nor from the mountain masses which have been leveled off into a sort of high plateau and coming to an end in the Lan chow fu region among the pliocene clays and the loess of North China. Altogether I crossed this range at six different places. Like several other ranges which emerge from the northern part of the East Tibetan highland, it gradually decreases in height toward the east. Like all the other mountain ranges north of the 32° north latitude, it contradicts Richthofen's theory of a sharp drop in the Tibetan plateau, a Landstaffel, on the Chinese side. Below Hsün hua ting Shan the chain of the Lao ye is broken through by the Hwang Ho. Farther up it forms the watershed between the Hsining River and the Hwang Ho.

The path across this pass was poor. The animals gasped pitifully under their burdens and we made very little headway. Every few minutes the beasts would stop, panting for breath. Our progress was fitful.

For the first few days of our journey I had rented an additional three dozen mules or so; thus my eye fell upon an imposing file climbing up the steep slope. The caravan moved up toward the pass like a giant worm, winding its way laboriously, desperately twisting to the right and left, /262/ contracting and expanding, but nevertheless making headway and steadfastly striving toward its goal. Amid much shouting and the never-ending "aoaoao" of the Chinese drivers, we finally passed through a tight notch of a narrow ridge and arrived at the top, and from there we climbed down again on the south slope which was much steeper than the northern one, into a narrow rocky valley.

C [712] We passed near a Chinese wall (Ts'ien bu tsch'eng) in which a lieutenant with a small squad of men guards a frontier outpost. Soon after, we again saw a few fields, passed Tibetan farm houses, and saw Garang, the seat of a Tibetan prince of Ts'ien bu (rank). Long 361 792

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belong to it on the right Hwang Ho bank as far as 180 kilometers (aerial distance) or eight to ten travel-days south of the city of Ting. In the east it borders the sphere of influence of the hsün hwang ting and farther south that of the tao tschou. The greatest Tibetan prince is the ts'ien hu of Lutsang, Lubungko, who gets an annual salary if he is not guilty of any major crime. After the last war in which at the end he played the part of mediator, he was awarded the red button and was given about 900 bushels of grain annually. After the Lutsang chief, the Dantschie ts'ien hu with the two tribes of Wanschgoro and Tschoch'ru (altogether 1,000 families) is the most powerful ruler. Other nomad tribes are west of Kue de the Ts'aner, Tschebts'a and Rengan south and southeast between the city and Lutsang: the Wulang, Ats'o, Dschesa, Nerts, Kamba, Bara, Baa-Mongra (800 families) and Gonts'a. Many nomad tribes pay an annual tax in lamb skins instead of the horse tax which was instituted in the Ming period. Each nomad family is supposed to pay a tschü lin (lamb) skin worth 0.5-0.6 tael. In this way 9,000-10,000 skins are received annually. But the ting taxes the farmers around Kue de after each harvest for the amount of the seed that was sown in the fields in spring. The ting, in turn, is required to give gifts to the 24 monasteries in his district.

C 361 631 [112] An earth wall ten meters high, with a rectangular ground plan, with very few gates through which a horseman can just about squeeze himself on horseback (that is to say, if he stoops down), gives us here an exact picture of the old Roman frontier camps on the former Limes germanicus. The wall encloses the official buildings and the chief shrines of the Chinese patron saints, besides a few dozen miserable Chinese shacks in which the soldiers and the officials with their families live. On the town wall I saw large piles of stones the size of a fist, which had been gathered together to be used for defense. The actual life and bustle of the city, buying and selling, is carried on in front of the south gate. There are a number of streets there along which Tibetans, Mongols, Mohammedans, as well as Chinese merchants have their shops and dwellings. This section is extremely picturesque. Countless lamas in their attractive costumes idly fingering their beads, lounge about there during the day around the open bazaars, the upper part of their gowns slun

C 563 631 T 101

disappear without a trace if we had walked into the trap. 000

At eleven that evening we were in the inn at Kue de. The newly /278/ bought yaks had suffered considerably. They were all overtaxed and two of them were lame.

Thus the proposed journey from Kue de south through the territory of the Ts'aner and that of the Lutsang-Tibetans and on to the Aru Rardscha monastery and thence across the Hwang Ho, was not advisable. My yak purchase, so fraught with adventure, had convinced me that I could only have fought my way through in bloody combat. As a single European and with my few native companions I would have endangered the newly-equipped caravan. The advantages did not seem worth the price. Besides, it was extremely doubtful whether the Tibetans would even permit me on the Aru Rardschan gomba ferry across the great river.

Thus I had no choice but to ride back the old way. On the next day I crossed over to the left bank of the Hwang Ho and at the southern foot of the Lao ye Shan at the Chinese military station of Ts'ien hu tsch'eng I gathered together my entire caravan. Meanwhile the large yak herd had been able to graze there undisturbed. During this time the animals had stored up a great deal of surplus energy.

As I mentioned earlier, the Chinese have guarded the Tibetan part [712] of the road from Hsining fu to the oasis city of Kue de by means of two 487 military posts, Ts'ien hu tsch'eng and I ts'a sche. West and northwest of the former post there spreads out an uninhabited mountain region with peaks of 4,000-4,500 meters. Only on the south side of these mountains, that is, west of the station of I ts'a sche which I first visited there are pastures which are visited by nomads for certain periods. B from Ts'ien hu tsch'eng northwest into the mountains there extends a longitudinal fissure with old moraine remnants and along this leads a "caravan road" which, however, is seldom used because the region is regarded as unsafe and thus for long stretches there is not a trace of this "road." Nevertheless, it conveniently connects with Schara khoto, that important military station which had served me as a refuge after my defeat at Koko Nor the preceding January. In 1904 Lieutenant Filchner and I had also set out from there, and Prschewalski, Rockhill, Kozlov had already passed through there. After all that had happened, I finally had to make up my mind to go through the very same gate. The only consolation I had was that the road I used this time to reach the town, had not been traveled by any European before me.

It took us three days to get through the mountains between Ts'ien 000

133 part of this mighty chain which I was now crossing with my caravan had been indicated on our maps as the Siansibel chain since the time of General Prschewalski's journeys. Up to now it was not clear whether this chain discovered by Prschewalski had any connection with the Semenov Mountains. Now as a matter of fact, in the eyes of the natives, Siansibel is only a pass which I myself crossed on the following day and which I discovered to be 3,800 meters high. The mountain range around the pass does not have any particular name for the natives, they give names to peaks and passes only. Thus, it is possible in Tibet to proceed after the fashion of recent Russian explorers and introduce foreign, if possible proper names for the individual ranges. These foreign names have the advantage of showing immediately that they are not local designations, but that they have been introduced by individual travelers in their explorations and in their effort to untangle the knotty problem of Tibetan Mountains. If, as our knowledge grows, we realize that the demarcation of individual mountains has been wrong, we have found that European designations of mountain ranges are easier to change than ostensibly local names.

487 Up on the top of the Siansibel Pass we came upon the large
485 caravan road that leads from Bayan Nor and Kabatalen across the
712 tala to the south and along which - as I now noticed for the first time - there stand loam fortresses every 25 - 30 kilometers, as a protection for travelers against nocturnal attacks. We continued to follow this road and set up Camp 17 within such a loam fortress. The loam walls had been erected probably half a century before by Chinese soldiers. Now they stood empty and partly in ruins but within them we felt infinitely relaxed and safe. I slept like a god between the three walls that still stood upright, in spite of snow and hail which were accompanied by an icy westwind.

133 The descent south from the Siansibel Pass is extremely gentle.
316 Already at an altitude of 3,600 meters one leaves the Semenov Mountain range and thereupon has a wide view across a new steppe which slopes toward the southeast, and once more looks down on a longitudinal valley covered with rubble. A few brooks have cut a bed 200 meters deep into this rubble, and far in the southeast a long, dark crevice with vertical walls stood out sharply against the pale yellow gleam of the steppe. "In that flows the Hwang Ho," my H'an said immediately. He had formerly often come through this region in search of gold and had even, on his way home, gone down the Hwang Ho on a raft. The river flows so deep down that one can see its waters only when one steps close to the edge of the fissure.

Formerly as many as 2,000 gold washers traveled to the Gorgi Ravines summer after summer and into the mountains which bordered the southern part of the steppe that lay before us. Most of these gold washers were, like my H'an, people from the so-called "Small Society" (Hsian /308/ kiao), that is, Mohammedans. Meanwhile thousands of them have perished, losing their lives in the Mohammedan rebellion. But at that time, when the gold-washing regions were visited in the greatest numbers - around the 1870s - the government kept ten soldiers in each of the loam fortresses on the road, for their protection, and from each gold washer the mandarins collected two mace per season for licenses. Hundreds of small employers instigated these expeditions and came here with people from their village and their neighborhood. The region is considered one of the richest in gold in the entire Hsining district. But one day - it must have been in the year 1889 - Ngolok-Tibetans came riding up in great numbers from the south, fell upon the unarmed gold washers, took their food supplies which they had laboriously dragged up from their home in the Hsining Valley, and thus forced them to beat a hasty retreat along with the Chinese soldiers. Since that time the soldiers have never again taken up their posts here and only small bands of particularly audacious gold seekers dare to work the Gorgi Ravines, and for this they pay high taxes to the Tibetan tribes living in the vicinity.

At the time of my visit the local landowners, two tribes who have their pastures on the southern edge of the steppe and at the mouth of the Gorgi ravines - in the northern part of the steppe there are few good pastures - were bitter enemies. Disputes over a matter of inheritance had resulted in wars that had been going on for years and cost a great deal of blood-shed. A young Tibetan who had been adopted by a childless couple, had lost his step-father in a smallpox epidemic when he was still a boy. His step-mother took another man into her tent soon after the death of her husband, and when the step-mother died this man refused to give up the property. Meanwhile the young man had reached the age of 20, and when he had in vain brought suit before the chieftain, he resorted to self-defense, attacked the man's tent with the help of some of his contemporaries and some blood relations, drove away the man's herds and took possession of the tent and its contents. Since that time the tribe has been divided into two factions. The two hostile territories are separated by the Da ho ba (Chinese) or the Hongan Chu (Tibetan), a torrential mountain brook which flows through the steppe in a deep channel. Most of the battles took place in its narrow ravine. On the steep slope along the road we saw the

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713 ORDNANCE--specialized military weapons; description of complex weapons (e.g., small arms, artillery, poison gas, flamethrowers, torpedoes, mines, bombs, rockets); description of accessory equipment (e.g., cavalry gear, gun mounts and carriages, armor, range finders, ammunition); ordnance stocks; etc. See also:

Atomic energy	278	Riding gear	692
Unspecialized weapons	411	Ordnance manufacture	719

I did not wish to be at the mercy of arbitrary Chinese governmental bodies, and from the beginning I counted on having to carry out my plans by means of my own efforts. For I had been told all too plainly, that anyone traveling in Tibet is completely unprotected and free as a bird. So I could not shrink from any expense for firearms and when we set out, my arsenal consisted of three Henry Martini guns, a Winchester carbine, a German military gun, model 1871, a German military gun with a magazine dating from 1884, and a modern German military rifle from the year 1889, a Japanese infantry gun, two Mauser- and one Bergmann-pistols, a heavy German three-barrelled gun, an old English musket, a Tibetan /287/ fork gun and two revolvers. Besides that, we also had two long lances and half a dozen swords. Each gun had several hundred cartridges.

It was, of course, a serious matter to have so many different types of guns and ammunition, but it never caused any unpleasant results because my men were used to it. The provincial troops of Kansu also have the most different types of weapons. The only serious matter was the loading difficulty of the old Henry-Martini guns. The guns were perfectly adequate for our purpose but the accompanying cartridges were made before the time when the cases were stamped out of one piece of metal, and were rolled into shape out of a thin metal strip. The bullets were extremely soft and so full of dents after a few days that they would no longer fit into the barrel. More than once one of us aimed at a bear or a wild yak and after the first shot had to bend the cartridge case which had become dented in the heat of the chase, in shape with his teeth in order to be able to push it into the barrel. The most exciting thing I saw in Tibet was to watch a hunter in such a predicament!

My Japanese military gun was a very good weapon, although it had gone through a lot before it fell into my hands. I bought it in the Gum bum monastery from a Mongol who said he had "found" it on a battlefield in Manchuria. My German military guns I had also bought in the interior. They, too, had surely had an eventful life history. Besides their German factory and regimental stamps they also bore Chinese symbols and I have a strong suspicion that they were sold by deserters. At the end of the 1890s large lots of discarded military guns, especially from South Germany, were sold by brokers to the Chinese provinces whose troops were armed according to the preferences of whoever happened to be governor. There were thousands of old Mauser guns stored in the arsenals of Lanchow and Hsining.

From these stores there were always some that got into the trade each year. For, although every Chinese soldier who deserted and sold his gun was beheaded, this capital offense is so widespread, especially on the borders, that the mandarins did not dare place these repeater guns into the hands of their troops except in special cases, and preferred to equip their regiments with old muzzle-loaders. According to their superiors, there are very few soldiers who can withstand the temptation of running away and taking their guns along when the first favorable opportunity presents itself. They could always easily get 80-100 taels for their guns, in other words, a fortune with which they could rent a small field in some remote corner and realize their ideal, namely, raise a family. This was also the reason why in the exposed garrison of Schara khoto there was not a single repeater gun to be seen.

But let us return after this digression to my departure from the Schara khoto Valley, from the yellow city, the city of the green meadow.

An easy climb brought me and my yak herds up the afore-mentioned saddle of the mountain, to the water shed between the Hwang Ho, or the Sea, and the Asiatic plateau which is without an outlet. The saddle measured 3,420 meters. It is only 6 kilometers from Schara khoto to this pass which is not more than 300 meters higher.

Suddenly I could see far into the distance. China with its loess dust, its oppressively narrow valleys, its torrential brooks and streams lay behind me, had been overcome. I am at the top! A blissful feeling spreads through my whole body and with a joyful heart I see the caravan slowly cross the pass, group by group. I feel that I have reached the climax of my life. With this land I would surely succeed in getting an insight into Tibet's most hidden secrets. I could not control my emotions. I was forced to let my shouts of joy ring out into the magnificent sunny morning, so that my Tibetans looked at me in amazement and believed I was trying to invoke the god of the pass.

I stood on the roof of the world, which extended from the snows of Pamir up to my flat watershed. The first yung - as the Tibetans say - lay before me, a huge wide and flat valley basin, high above the timber line, without bush or tree, with only a few rounded dunes in the middle. In a yung valley the water course is not the essential thing. These are valleys which originated in other ages, which have been produced by other forces than those in action today. It was not possible to say whether this yung below me sloped toward the west to Lake Koko Nor or to the southeast. I was standing in a valley of

[text continues on p. 689]

714

714 UNIFORM AND ACCOUTERMENT--military garb (e.g., hair style, body armor, body painting, amulets and charms, uniform); description of personal equipment (e.g., canteen, haversack, helmet, gas mask, first-aid kit, shields); distinctions (e.g., according to rank, between different corps and services, between parade and field uniforms and equipment); etc. See also:

Clothing and accessories	29	Military medals and badges	703
Adornment	30		

487 the south, runs for two hours' march across the flat-topped
133 hills, descending finally by precipitous zigzags to reach the city of Yich'uan lying in the narrow valley of a stream flowing east to join the Yellow River. The country crossed on this march is again pure loess, very sparsely populated, and with innumerable grass-grown terraces which have gone out of cultivation and render evident the depopulation of the region.

361 Yich'uan Hsien, lying at the junction of two narrow valleys in the loess, is the capital of a second class district, and was evidently a comparatively large and prosperous city in the past. At the time of our visit it was practically empty, and lying in the heart of that wild and little frequented region which contains the chief haunts of the brigand bands of Northern Shensi, it is at the present time uninhabitable by any but the poorest classes. Northern Shensi, depopulated
669 by the Mahomedan rebellion fifty years ago, and now
162 probably undergoing a process of desiccation, is losing its few remaining inhabitants of the better class through the devastations of the brigands, many having moved across the Yellow River into Shansi, where conditions are much better. Recently a large band of brigands, perhaps finding that Northern Shensi was getting rather bare, also moved across the river; but prompt military measures were taken by the Shansi authorities and they were soon driven back to their original haunts with great loss. The question naturally arises, why should these brigands be left apparently unmolested by the authorities of their own province?

701 The answer is provided by the history of events in Shensi during the years since the revolution of 1911, which
579 is outlined in another chapter. The brigands of Northern Shensi are mostly ex-soldiers and Ko Lao Hui men, and are composed of the same material as the provincial troops, with whom they exchange rôles from time to time. It is therefore not possible to use the latter against them. Further, they constitute in a way the reserves of the provincial army, which are thus maintained without cost to the provincial
• [714] Government. The Shensi soldier usually owns his own Mauser and as much ammunition as he can carry wound round and round his body in a cloth bandolier, acquired in the course of some previous rebellion or brigand raid,

5: Tafel--282 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet

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701 712 In Haining fu there was a "middle," "left," "right," "front," and "rear" ying, each of which was under a du se, or more often under schu be. They were very poorly armed. The troops almost never drilled. Each month the soldiers were given a goodly ration of wheat and four marks pay. By far the majority of them were married.

• [714] Outside the city there was a fortified encampment of so-called bu tui (allegedly modern drilled infantrymen) which was under the direct command of the general, and these men had better uniforms and were armed with muzzle-loaders. As long as I was in Hsining fu the officers did not hand out modern guns from the arsenals, partly for reasons of economy, partly for safety's sake, for often the soldiers deserted taking their guns with them and then selling them to the secret societies or to the Mohammedans.

the dao tai and also the highest official in the city, the ts'ing tsch'ai da tsch'en, that is the imperial minister in residence /172/ or, in short, the amban to whom North Tibet is subject (1), - all of these

1. The official title of this official is: tsung li tsch'ing hai sche wu dá tsch'en, that is, minister and military attaché of the entire Koko Nor district. He was always a Manchu and had a position equal in rank with that of the viceroy of Lanchow. He is always given the title of amban or Seling amban, i.e., Hsining minister, by the Tibetans and Mongols. The office was created in 1723 for the Mongolian banners. The Tibetans call Hsining "Seling" or "Siling mkar."

have a separate arsenal in connection with their yamen, so that in the siege of 1895 each of them could arm his own men and send them up on the city walls. Besides that, there are a considerable
361 number of other official buildings in the city. A great deal of
[344] room is taken up by large guild houses, especially those of the Shensi merchants, and by the ordinary state temples and the schools. Since large areas within the city are not built up and consist of fields which are so extensive that several times I was able to shoot wild pheasants on them for my dinner, it will be understandable that most travelers have overrated the population of the city. Even though the Chinese live close together, they nevertheless always

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718 SPECIAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT--description of communications devices specialized for military use (e.g., field telephones, portable radio equipment, semaphore and blinker systems); special navigation and detection devices and equipment (e.g., radar, loran, special electronic gear); etc. See also:
Description of nonmilitary signaling, telephone, telegraph, radio, and radar equipment . 20
Photography 215
Manufacture of electrical equipment 393
Army signal corps 708

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

victorious army all the way from Shensi to Turkestan, their 669
method of dealing with the rebellion being to massacre the inhabitants and reduce to heaps of ruins every Mahomedan habitation they came across. As the male Mahomedans were mostly scouring the country in marauding bands, they met with little difficulty in doing so. Chinese rebellions have in the past of course always been suppressed in this manner, and indeed could probably not have been suppressed otherwise. Fifteen li from Huining the valley contracts into a
487 gorge, and the road runs down the bed of the stream, a
133 brackish trickle of water, for the rest of the way. Huining is a poor city lying in a region of arid valleys. Complaining of the hardships of life at his post, the magistrate informed us that in many parts of his district ordinary fuel was unobtainable, and the inhabitants were reduced to burning [372]
dried dung as in the deserts of Tibet and Mongolia. This arid region stretches away apparently to the north till it merges into the Ordos desert, a land of sand and camels. In addition to being such a miserably poor district, his post had the disadvantage of lying on this great road, and when an important personage, such as a Mongol prince or high Chinese functionary, passed by on his way to or from Turkestan, his passage would leave the unfortunate magistrate many hundreds of taels out of pocket, which he could ill afford. We were a very small party when travelling in Kansu and I hope we did not cost him anything; but I know that when we commenced our journeys in Shensi with a huge party we were a heavy burden on the people and officials of the districts through which we passed.

The next stage is a short one of 60 li to the walled posting stage of Hsikung Yi. The road runs down the Huining valley for 20 li, and then ascends a side ravine to the south-west for the rest of the way. The hamlets passed seemed more miserable and the country more desiccated than ever. All along this road, as on most of the bigger roads of Kansu, may be noticed groups of curious little towers every five to ten li. It was a long time before we could get a satisfactory explanation of what these towers were intended for; so far as I know they are only to be seen on the roads of Kansu. We now learned that they were beacon towers, another relic of the rebellion and its suppression, by means of which 718 •

• 718 signals could be sent great distances in a very shor of time.

487 From Hsikung Yi to Anting, another short stage the road follows up the ravine for ten li, and then c
133 long steep hill by zigzags. On reaching the summit no immediate descent the other side, but the path along a high ridge with extensive views over th
[36] mountains all around, finally dropping steeply to An a valley running north-west. Anting Hsien (now kn Tinghsi) is an important district city lying at the j of three valleys, and, commanding several roads south, east and west, was formerly an important centre. There is more water available here, and conse the country is much more fertile and the people qu off. Loess country in this rainless region is either or a garden according to the amount of water avail irrigation, and from here on to Lanchou, though become more and more sterile, the irrigated vall wonderfully green and fertile.

From Anting to Lanchou is a march of four shor of about 60 li each. The road runs down the vall several prosperous hamlets for 45 li to the village of T whence it strikes west up a side valley to the gosting of Ch'enk'ou Yi, the end of the stage. From here it a gully for a few li and then climbs a steep loess hill the summit of a ridge along which it winds for four hours' march, with finally a steep descent to th market village of Kantsao Tien, lying amongst irrigated fields at the junction of three valleys. south-west rises a high range of mountains, beyon lie Titao and the T'ao-River. From here on to Lanc irrigated valleys, bounded by desert hills, are highly tive, and the crops several weeks ahead of those in the region we had traversed since crossing the Liupan

From Kantsao Tien a good road runs down the valley for 70 li to Chinchia Yai, a large village a
[36] station, and the end of the stage. The district city Hsien lies just off the road, 25 li to the south. Chinchia Yai the valley soon contracts to a stony rav after 20 li debouches suddenly on to the gorges of the River, which here rolls its turgid waters between pre

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

c. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186, between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

"Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord, and they are supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

721 INSTIGATION OF WAR--frequency of war (e.g., common, rare, unknown); military preparedness; scale, severity, and duration of wars; small-scale military operations (e.g., raids for slaves or cattle, headhunting, privateering); conception of war (e.g., as glorious, as holy, as wrong but inevitable, as less debilitating than peace); prevalent motives for waging war (e.g., vengeance, self-defense, aggrandizement; prestige); predominance of offensive or defensive warfare; material gains through war (e.g., booty, trophies, slaves, women, mercantile advantages, territory); decision as to war (e.g., deliberations, negotiations); methods of initiating hostilities (e.g., challenges, declarations of war, attacks without warning), etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	146	Feud	628
Cannibalism	256	International relations	840
Prestige	556	Revolution	669
Rape, piracy and banditry	570		

PREFACE

The following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both of those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has actually journeyed vicisitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter xi unfortunately no longer hold good." At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

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frontier territory" and embrace all of Chinese Turkistan and Dungari (Eli). Since this time there has been only one governor in Hsingan fu, the ancient capital of the kingdom, a fu t'ai or a hsin fu for Shensi.

Thus Lanchow fu has become administratively a very important, if not the most important, city of Central Asia. It belongs to the few places which were left to the emperor in the great Mohammedan struggles of 1862-1873, when an independent Islamic-Turkish kingdom arose under the Sart Yakub Beg and when in Kansu, Hochow which lies a two-days' journey west of Lanchow fu, as well as Kin tse pu, the oasis of Tung fu hsiang mentioned in the last chapter, became centers of a large Islamic-Chinese insurrection. The fact that the Mohammedan leaders of the insurrection did not succeed in occupying this junction made it easier for Generalissimo Tso Tung tang to recapture the provinces which had for years been lost to China.

The Mohammedans succeeded only once during the struggles lasting hundreds of years in breaking through the city gates, but even then (1781, according to the chronicle of Lanchow fu) the Hui hui of Hochow and the Salars could not hold it for long. In all their battles the Mohammedans of China always lacked far-sighted leaders, and their politics always foundered because of their purposelessness and the petty egoism and greed of individuals.

The city of Lanchow fu is surrounded by what according to Chinese ideas is an only moderately strong wall which, however, to the bands of the Mohammedan mullahs, armed with short pikes and swords, may have represented an important obstacle. According to my observations, the city lies 1,520 meters above sea level. (1)

1. Michaelis 1,473 meters; Fotahin 1,495 meters; Kreitner-Loczy 1,594; Rockhill, first journey: 1,669 meters (?); second journey: 1,575 meters; Grenard 1,494 meters; Filchner 1,600 meters (?).

It lies in the upper part of a fertile alluvial plain which is many kilometers long and wide, through most of which the Hwang Ho flows as a broad stream. Red clay mountains covered over with loess rise up south and west of the city quite close to the surrounding walls, and were fortified during the Mohammedan wars of the 19th century. The photograph of the city which in Plate XLIII shows its location was taken from the northernmost point of these mountains and the outermost one in relation to the river.

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tiles of the roof beams and between the tiles the sun came in. Fortunately the weather was fair when I visited the house.

I was ushered into the same room in which during the previous year the "war of Kue de" had begun. I sat on the same wide bench, on the same cushion covered with shabby red cotton material on which His Buddhistic Holiness, the much-feared Tibetan lama, the incarnation of the black monastery had sat the year before and exchanged honeyed, false words with the then ting of Kue de. He had come at the request of the Chinaman in order to bid farewell as a friend before setting out on a long journey, and had just received a large yilan bau, a piece of silver weighing about two kilograms, from the hands of the ting for whom he was supposed to buy incense and Indian dates in Lhasa. His retinue, about 300 armed men, awaited him on the plain outside the city. The two talked for hours. The Chinaman even wanted the Tibetan to dine with him. But the erraud, the honeyed words, the invitation, all that had been merely a snare and a delusion.

The holy lama was known to be the head of a robber tribe which made life miserable for the poor city dwellers. His men had their tribal headquarters below Kue de, to the right of the Hwang Ho, behind high, steep mountains, in ravines which were accessible only by means of /266/ narrow paths and only in single file. From here they kept the whole countryside in a state of terror. No one could travel peaceably across the country. The largest caravans were plundered. The inhabitants of the city were on the point of deserting it. The city's commerce, its entire significance were destroyed. Right in front of its gates the bullocks and donkeys of the Chinese were snatched away from the ploughs. Anyone who preceded to offer resistance was shot down. Finally in 1905 a young, newly-arrived ting had the courage to defend the interests of his subjects. After giving a report of the situation to the central government, he was given the power to call the incarnation to task. He invited the great lama to his house. And when the invitation was accepted and the lama's coming announced a few days in advance, one courier after another galloped to Hsining with the request for further authority. The ting asked permission to arrest the lama. He asked for troops. But for days no answer was forthcoming. The amban lacked the courage to take over the responsibility. In fact, he was inclined to side with the Tibetans. The ting sent to Lanchowfu, and from there he telegraphed to Peking for detailed instructions. But on the miserable path to Lanchow fu it takes a rider two days, even if he can change

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51 Tafel--453 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 All Tibet

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721 horses ten times. So the ting could have waited a long time. Meanwhile everything was in readiness. His men had been secretly armed, his gates guarded. Nevertheless things would probably not have come to a show-down if the brother of the lama who was waiting down in the yamen courtyard had not grown suspicious, had he not succeeded in getting into the guest room and calling to his brother that he had been lured into a trap and that he should flee. In a flash, the incarnation grasped the situation. With the large piece of silver which he was still holding in his hands he knocked down the ting and made for the door on his brother's heels. Now, it is customary in China that during a visit the yamen attendants stand at the door. There were ten of these and they blocked the lama's escape and sought to tie him up. He was a giant of a man, splendid, muscular, built like a god - so I was told by all my informants. Armed only with the piece of silver he threw aside those men whom opium and idleness and weakened, and he would surely have escaped if the ting had not carried a small revolver concealed in his garments and, beside himself with humiliation over what had happened to him, he shot at the holy lama. That same evening the incarnation died of his wounds in the courtyard of the yamen.

726 In the general confusion, the brother had succeeded in fleeing the city and bringing news to the tribe of what was happening in the yamen. They responded like bees that have been robbed of their queen, for their all, their sacred incarnation, their god, had been killed. However, there could be no thought of storming the city. Capturing a Chinese loam fort was still a precarious matter for a tribe of horsemen. Thus, after a few wild demonstrations, they retired to their hills in order to prepare properly for the war, to grind powder and cast bullets. The rifle-makers of this tribe were known far and wide. Some of their master craftsmen had even ventured to make imitations of our modern guns. It was lucky for the Chinese that the tribe had been able to get only very little steel. /267/

At first the war had cost considerable bloodshed. Shortly after the murder of the lama a Chinese division marching from Hsining fu via the Lao ye Shan to Kue de, fell into an ambush and lost thirty men. However, a large battle never took place. In an earlier chapter I have briefly referred to the outcome of the war, that the cannons were brought from Lanchow and that the Tibetans were finally out-argued by the Chinese mediators a few months before my visit, without too much bloodshed.

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1M 69 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

635 It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that 645 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social 740 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including 521 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

645 The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry 651 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ningheia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

651 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with 740 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the 783 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ningheia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

651 The activities of the National Relief Commission included 740 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them 783 were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
[722] hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[740] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War
[783] Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association, one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

740 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
740 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 62 18 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 179 182 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese
[562] woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and sub-
[159] missiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

722 WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS--emergency adjustments (e.g., martial law); wartime restrictions; disposition and behavior of noncombatants (e.g., removal to place of security, mobilization for war industries, observance of special taboos); means of maintaining civilian morale; civilian defense activities; economic readjustments to war; etc. See also:

Rationing	436	Public finance	682
Price controls	438	Government regulation	686
Wartime extension of political authority	642	Conscription	702

724 LOGISTICS--wartime procurement of military supplies; logistic planning; organization of land, sea, and air transport; expediting of supplies; depots, dumps, and supply trains; etc. See also:

Land transport	49	Military vehicles, naval vessels, and military aircraft	71
Water and air transport	50	Organized commissariat and supply services	708

726

*195 [633] 108 years, ceased to be the leading metropolis, dropping in rank to a city of secondary importance. This decline of the Northwest had been in process since the end of the Han dynasty and had accelerated during the T'ang. The decreasing productivity of the land made it harder and harder to maintain large bodies of troops
*195 to defend the Northwest frontier. Supplies for the defense forces,
*[724] 480 780 not to say for campaigns to the Far West had to be brought up by canals from the Southeast, a tenuous system which, once obstructed, would constrain the withdrawal of Chinese troops from far-flung outposts in the Northwest and render abortive any attempt at their recovery.

000 II. The Succession of Steppe Empires

A. The Scythians

Historically, the first empire to break out of the steppes was founded by the Scythians. They are supposed to have been a North-Iranian people, who nomadized in what is today's Turkestan and Western Siberia. The Greek historian, Herodotus, has left a rather intimate description of their manners and folkways. They are mentioned also in Assyrian, Persian and Indian sources (under the name Saka). Of the three groups of Scythians who inhabited respectively the Ferghana-Kashgar area, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, and western Siberia north and northeast of the Caspian Sea, it was the last that set events in motion. In the second half of the eighth century B.C. this group fell upon the Cymmerians, a Thraco-Phrygian people settled north of the Black Sea. This conquest catalysed a migration of nations, the echo of which was heard even by the prophets of Israel. It was the first known inroad of the steppe nomads into the southern cultural world.

The Scythian Empire continued until the third century B.C. Its southward drive under the leadership of Ishpakai was stopped by the Assyrians in 678 B.C. Ishpakai's successors, Bartatua and Madyes, expanded their empire towards the south and the west. In ca. 628 B.C., however, they were repulsed by the Medes under Kyaxares. The Persians under Cyrus battled against the Scythians in the region east of Khiva in ca. 529 B.C. and 15 years later under Darius in the southern Ukraine. The Scythians finally were decimated by the Sarmathians, another North-Iranian nomadic tribe, who pushed the Scythians into the Crimea towards the end of the third century B.C.

There is abundant archeological evidence of the Scythian Empire. Their particular art style, the so-called animal style, set the pattern for subsequent craftsmen of the steppe. Its influence was felt all over Central Asia well into the confines of early Chinese dynasties.

726 WARFARE--wartime mobilization; departure of troops (e.g., public ceremonies, rituals for securing supernatural aid, exhortations to bravery); military expeditions (e.g., marching, scouts, protection of flanks and rear, camping, mounting of guards, foraging, billeting); types of combat (e.g., skirmishes, surprise attacks, assaults, pitched battles, siege operations); joining battle (e.g., choice of time and place, ritual preliminaries and precautions); deploying and coordination of forces; special characteristics of naval and air combat; military conventions and rules of war (e.g., flag of truce); personal encounters (e.g., duels between champions); termination of combat (e.g., after first casualty, after desperate last stand); tactical withdrawals; flight and pursuit, surrender; etc. See also:

Religious practices	10	International law	648
War songs	638	Organization of army or war party	701

*668 625

1. The secret service

The command of the police system on mainland China rests with the national headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. Nominally it is the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, but the real power is in the hands of the small group which forms the Political Bureau. In turn this bureau is influenced greatly by the Secretariat and the secretary-general. When the secretary-general is strong he may even dominate the bureau. It usually makes the decisions on policy. The secret police service's executive body is centered around the Social Department of the Central Committee of the Party. This Department has a direct system of organization within the Party. In large areas (such as the former northwest region) or in special areas (such as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), there is a Social Department subordinate to the Party's "Central Committee Sub-bureau." From this level down, like the Party local organization, there is a social department or social secretary at each level to take charge of the secret service in the corresponding area.

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2. Other police systems

Built around this Party secret service system, are numerous other separate, but not entirely independent, systems of police forces. The most important is the regular police. Organizationally, this is a branch of the People's government. Its central headquarters is the Ministry of Public Security under the Government Administration Council. From this level down there is a branch office of the department at every level of the People's government. This branch commands the regular police forces.

[645] [647]

The United Front Department system which extends to the provincial and municipal levels, is designed for two purposes. Negatively, it infiltrates into the organizations of the people and watches their functions. Positively, it dominates and utilizes the people's organizations to promote the Party program.

The system of People's control is similar. Here, people are used as spies for the Party. The People's Procurator system is slightly different. It is a prosecuting government organ. Since prosecution needs the investigation of facts, inevitably this sytem is involved in the police system.

The spy system under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a dual purpose. Positively, this system infiltrates into foreign territories to conspire for future conquests. Negatively, it is used to detect and prevent possible agitations which may disturb public order in mainland China.

[645] [648]

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The police and spy system among the military forces can be divided into two parts. The system of political defense is used to weed out potential political enemies inside the army, while the scout and spy system is mainly used to detect military enemies. Both of these systems have branches in the field army and the army areas.

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721 horses ten times. So the ting could have waited a long time. Meanwhile everything was in readiness. His men had been secretly armed, his gates guarded. Nevertheless things would probably not have come to a show-down if the brother of the lama who was waiting down in the yamen courtyard had not grown suspicious, had he not succeeded in getting into the guest room and calling to his brother that he had been lured into a trap and that he should flee. In a flash, the incarnation grasped the situation. With the large piece of silver which he was still holding in his hands he knocked down the ting and made for the door on his brother's heels. Now, it is customary in China that during a visit the yamen attendants stand at the door. There were ten of these and they blocked the lama's escape and sought to tie him up. He was a giant of a man, splendid, muscular, built like a god - so I was told by all my informants. Armed only with the piece of silver he threw aside those men whom opium and idleness and weakened, and he would surely have escaped if the ting had not carried a small revolver concealed in his garments and, beside himself with humiliation over what had happened to him, he shot at the holy lama. That same evening the incarnation died of his wounds in the courtyard of the yamen.

● 726 In the general confusion, the brother had succeeded in fleeing the city and bringing news to the tribe of what was happening in the yamen. They responded like bees that have been robbed of their queen, for their all, their sacred incarnation, their god, had been killed. However, there could be no thought of storming the city. Capturing a Chinese loam fort was still a precarious matter for a tribe of horsemen. Thus, after a few wild demonstrations, they retired to their hills in order to prepare properly for the war, to grind powder and cast bullets. The rifle-makers of this tribe were known far and wide. Some of their master craftsmen had even ventured to make imitations of our modern guns. It was lucky for the Chinese that the tribe had been able to get only very little steel. /267/

At first the war had cost considerable bloodshed. Shortly after the murder of the lama a Chinese division marching from Hsining fu via the Lao ye Shan to Kue de, fell into an ambush and lost thirty men. However, a large battle never took place. In an earlier chapter I have briefly referred to the outcome of the war, that the cannons were brought from Lanchow and that the Tibetans were finally out-argued by the Chinese mediators a few months be-

This war followed the pattern that had been established for 726●
millennia in China. The people from Lanchow fu set out for war without any kind of plan, and hoped for some kind of solution short of open battle, either by means of endless negotiations, orders and counter-orders from the distant throne, or primarily by the presence of an army.

The good ting, a man of action, was, of course, immediately 631
discharged, lost his position and his honors because he could not pay for the whole war himself. A few years later I saw the young, vigorous and intelligent man still waiting patiently but not very hopefully in Lanchow fu for a settlement in his favor of the long-drawn-out civil suit against his superiors. But if Ru da lao ye should ever get another post, he will surely never again help an oppressed people! To me the most characteristic aspect of the whole thing was the fact that in Kue de shop-keepers, my host and many farmers spoke in the most exalted terms of Ting Ru as their savior, but no one turned a hair for the dishonored one. Unless one had a great deal of money in Old China, one did not dare be a person of action. One had to keep strictly to wu wei, i.e., not take any action and simply let things happen.

The present ting of Kue de turned out to be a very cultivated literary man and an archaeologist. He had a great understanding for the oldest Chinese characters. He had not bought his rank. He had, already in the 'sixties, brilliantly passed his state examination, and later, too, he was famous for his classical poetry and the number of his classical quotations, so that it seems strange that he never took the higher state examinations and achieved a still higher position. But, of course, he was not a rich man's son.

An hour after my visit in the yamen, the ting called on me at 538
my inn. As a present he brought me a poem more than a square meter in size, which he had composed himself and written with his own hand, partly in Old Chinese symbols. It depicted the dangers of the Ts'ao ti, that is, of Tibet, in the blackest colors imaginable. He predicted that I would never escape if I ventured to go there. It almost seemed to me as though the amban had advised me to go to Kue de only in order to have me talk to this man. The refrain was always: Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate, as though the old mandarin had, with his opium-stained fingers, turned the leaves of Dante's Divine Comedy and as though the haughty Chinaman who disdains anything foreign had copied some of the great poet's most gruesome passages.

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and on its southern slope the priests of Rao gomba have their shabby huts of loam. The northern part of the Nima long is bordered by a long fold of chalk which, characterized by countless steep, white rocks, can be recognized hundreds of kilometers in a N 55° W direction and borders the horizon in the northern part of Tschang La. A great many unusual mountain formations has stirred the imagination of the inhabitants, has caused legends to arise and erected thrones to the gods. In the Radang country the Ani lhakang (pronounced: el hagu) is conspicuous. It lies on the border of Radang and Sare and roughly has an altitude of 4,500 meters. North of it is the beginning of the territory of the notorious Täwo kiang ts'a and the feudal state of the Dshoni tu se.

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We had just crossed the rDo ro ford and were busy putting on our boots and trousers when three horsemen, mounted on dashing steeds, came toward us, a gentleman, a priest, and a servant. The servant led a pack horse by its bridle, which carried a few blankets, as well as a tea pot, cooking pot and flour bag. The gentleman had pulled a good-looking hat made of lynx skin down over his ears and wore a blue pulo cloak with small white crosses on it and with a 20 centimeter wide border of Yün nan leopard skins; his left ear-lobe was pulled down with a heavy gold ring to such an extant that he had to have a small leather strap over the outer part of the ear to carry the weight. Tschemotscho recognized the gentleman and called to him after he had already ridden past, silently and with a sinister look. It was the bon of Chamä, and he was coming from the military encampment of Täwo Kiang ts'a. All the rulers of the 12-Bu had been summoned by the Sung pan officer to help end the war. Two days ago the men from Täwo kiang ts'a had given in and the bon was now on his way home. However, those from Radang had, after settlement of the Täwo affair, demanded 400 taels from the Lanchow hsie tai. This colonel had permitted his soldiers to tear the wood for their fires from the walls and roofs of the Radang winter houses, instead of looking for it in the woods. The hsie tai had laughed at the demand of the men from Radang and so the 280 warriors of the little tribe had set out yesterday, had attacked the 3,000 Kansu and Szechwan soldiers and had driven them behind the massive stone walls of their camp with stone slings, whips and matchlocks. After this bold attack they had taken the horses away from the cavalry. With 89 horses as booty they returned home to their tents which lay on the Nima long, east of the little lake of Mou Ts'o. However, we did not learn all these details immediately from the Bon. All we heard as we rode through the river was a call to Tschemotscho: "Are you crazy? With so few men you surely cannot think of attacking Radang? Or don't you know that there is a fight going on here? Can't you hear the shooting? Look north to the foot of the chalk mountains. See the long line, see the stone wall which the women and children of Radang are erecting at the backs of the fighters, behind the dark masses from which clouds of white smoke detach themselves. The Chinese want to get their horses back. If you let yourself be caught by Radang, they will welcome you as hostages, and if there are dead among them, they will take revenge on you." And from the opposite shore of the nDam Tschü we could hear: "And Radang is right."

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The tsung ye had scarcely had a word interpreted to him before he had torn off /297/ his beautiful red velvet coat-of-arms and stuffed it in my clothes bag. Our large red flag fared even worse. So quickly was it taken down from its long lance that it was torn to shreds, and Tschemotscho bent over deftly and pushed it into a hare's burrow by the wayside. Ma Sche tschang's, the corporal's, beautiful red uniform with the red tails was awkwardly folded and forced between the wooden strips of his large umbrella; he cursed hideously because his master had given him nothing but this weapon against the rain. Meanwhile the battle on the edge of the Nima long, at the foot of the chalk mountains, continued amid a great deal of shouting and wasting of powder. The Chinese had broken up camp while it was still night, followed the Geku Valley and had now, when we saw them, crossed a grassy pass in the chalk mountains, from which point they had a view of the high plain of Nima long and the plain in which flow the nDam Chu and the Me Chu. Through my field glasses I clearly saw their red coats, saw how they hesitated to climb down the gentle slope, how only a few courageous ones farther to the right followed the shallow bed of a dried-up seam of water, and how the Tibetans, on the other hand, with their sharp eyes espied every advantage and crept from one stone to another. We were not quite two kilometers distant from the Tibetans when we were able to turn at right angles toward the west. Very low hills hid us from the tents of Radang, which we passed at a distance of about 500 meters. The horses which had been taken from the Chinese stood tethered in the middle of a large circle of black tents. But the herds of yak and sheep the Radang people had left to graze on the heights through which we rode, as though nothing had happened. We saw only two old men and two priests who were tending them.

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

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On the first day one reaches the land of the Samsa who are supposed to be very bad robbers; on the second day one gets to the Laringo or Larungo hsi tsang who once plundered the Holderer-Futterer expedition; from there in /299/ another three days one reaches the headwaters of the Tao Ho or Lö Chu and the Da ts'ang Mongols and without effort reaches the Tsei Chu along which live the Horsun Tibetans with their 800 families. After another two days one reaches Ratsong and the Ts'ien hu country of Lutsang (Tibetans) and the sphere of influence of Kue de ting. Another day's march takes one to the Wan schu tribe and two days later to the T'san and then to the city of Kue de.

TC 726

/299/ At Lhamo se the lively monastery brook which has already come far from the west from the grass lands, turns north for two kilometers and then again at right angles to the east. Not too far from the second bend lies the small monastery of Kosaniba. Behind it are the winter houses of the Radang and there, at the timber line, we came upon the encampment of Chinese troops, which consisted of rounded stone walls with poor loopholes, inside which the Chinese lived in inadequate tents and barracks. However, the officers and soldiers were still for the most part off to the "war" against the Radang, only the generalissimo of Szechwan along with 800 men had not gone into the field. Those who were left behind were angry and in an irritable mood and made me feel unmistakably that they were not at all edified by my appearance. The relationship between the two provincial contingents also left much to be desired. The plan of attack against the horse thieves was not designed to reap martial laurels. Caution is the better part of valor. The Chinese officers did not dare undertake anything independently, and always glanced helplessly sideways toward their superiors and to the wishes of the central government whose commands betrayed obvious suspicion as to the ability of their subordinates. The military rabble from Kansu had met with bitter opposition and from now on they wanted simply to feign attacks while the leader of the Sung pan soldiers who kept neutral in this new dispute, thought he would play the role of middleman. The war against Täwo kiang ts'a (written: Täo rgya mts'a) which was supposed to number 800 warriors, had also ended only by means of schang leang. The leaders were, to be sure, well advised from the very beginning and had attempted to push through from

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above, from the open, treeless steppe and not by the direct route into the ravines of Täwo. But since, at the initial advance, 15 horsemen of the front detachment had fallen into ambush and were partly cut down and partly captured, the action during the rest of the summer months consisted only of threats until finally, with the help of the neighboring chieftains, and only because of the presence of troops, it was sche tsing schuo h'au leao, i.e., it was settled with talk. The Täwo agreed to a partial disarmament and gave up 100 swords, 50 fork guns and 50 lances, but were permitted to keep the goods amounting to 12,000 ounces of silver which they had stolen from the Chinese merchants and on account of which the summons had come from Lanchow; there was not one single decisive action during the long summer on the part of an expedition that was almost as large as that of the English who marched into Lhasa in 1904. My escort had counted on getting new food supplies among their comrades. Behind my back they had traded in my supplies at Rao gomba so that only two rations were left. But the camp was itself short of rations because of the Radang incident. For everybody /300/ had thought the war was over and they would soon go home. No one had sent supplementary supplies. Thus my heroes nowhere found a merciful hand that would replace the rice and tsamba they had sold. However, because of the scant supplies I, too, unfortunately, suffered and was forced to cover the final distance at top speed. Within two hours we were again mounted and after three days in the saddle from morning till night we reached Tao tschou.

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Our first day's ride lasted until far into the night and took us over a plateau, through valley pockets and across flat passes where the waters that run eastward through the Täwo Kiang ts'a territory, separate from those that flow north to the Tao Ho. Broad areas of steeply bent gray-green sandstone and slate with an east-west strike continued to interchange with wedged-in patches of crumbled white calcium carbonate; above this in many places there was a horizontal layer of hard, red Nagelfluh. The highest point we reached shortly before twilight at a pass of 3,765 meters. The mountain ridges here have an average height of somewhat over 4,000 meters. It was all good pasture land. For the time being there was no more forest from Kosaniba and the Chinese encampment on.

C 133 487

On the second day we had to go up and down steep inclines across the source waters of the Tao Ho tributaries and again climb a watershed of 3,800 meters. But by noon we reached a narrow wood ravine and entered the valley of the Wong Chu which breaks through the

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727 AFTERMATH OF COMBAT--number and nature of casualties; treatment of own casualties (e.g., retrieving and disposal of dead, care of wounded); treatment of enemy casualties (e.g., despoiling, mutilation, killing); taking of trophies; treatment of captives and prisoners (e.g., slaughter, torture, mutilation, release, exchange, holding for ransom, adoption, enslavement, sacrifice); punishment of enemy leaders; military occupation and military government; homecoming after war (e.g., return trip, reception of returning warriors); home reactions to victory and defeat; victory celebrations (e.g., dances, feasts, memorials); demobilization; resumption of normal life; reconstruction of war damage; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments 211
Cannibalism 266
Mutilation 304
War dances 535
Slavery 567
Colonial administration 636
Prisons 697
Mortuary practices 784

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361 also in Dzungaria. There a large expanse of pasture land
233 prevails more in the south along the northern foothill slope
311 of the Tien-shan than the north along the southern side of the Altai.

N
161 C. Population Trend and Its Significance

1. The Changing Trend of the Northwest in Comparison with Other Major Regions.

The population of the Northwest as in the rest of the country has been on the increase in spite of the limited arable and irrigable land resulting from inadequate rainfall, and the mountainous terrain, as well as the frequent earthquakes in Kansu and repeated Moslem disturbances. It was reported that N [731] more than 246,000 people were killed by the great earthquake [165] of Hai-yüan, Ching-ning, and Tung-wei in eastern Kansu in [669] December, 1920, and the Moslem uprisings of 1861-1874, 1895, and 1944. Long before the 1953 census was taken, there has been an incessant influx of people in large numbers. A gradual increase is marked by various estimates and reports. For example, in regard to the population estimation of S [161] Sinkiang Province, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1910 gave the figure of 2,670,000 and 2,519,579 in 1923; the record taken from "Le Temps" of April 5, 1934, is around 5,000,000. According to a nation-wide regional survey taken by the Agricultural College of Nanking University in the period from 1928-1933, the annual rate of natural increase of the Northwest was at 11.5 per thousand which was exceeded only by the North China Plain, as illustrated by Table XII.[2]

N According to the 1953 census report for the nation as a
163 whole, the average birth rate is thirty-seven per thousand,
165 average death rate, seventeen, and average annual natural increase, twenty.

Table XII clearly indicates that the annual natural increase rate of the Northwest is due to a smaller death rate rather than a higher birth rate as compared with other regions. This might be the result of a healthier, drier climate rather than better living conditions or medical care. The 1953 census report gives an even larger natural increase for the nation due to a higher birth rate and a lower death rate. The gradual N population increase of the Northwestern provinces is also
161 shown by Table XIII.[2] this table shows a considerable increase for the provinces of Shensi and Kansu (including Ningshsia) S especially. As for Chinghai and Sinkiang, although the increase [161] is not so pronounced, nearly one third of a million for the former and 1.1 million increase for the latter are indicated. These bring a total increase of over thirteen million (more than half the original number in seven years) for the four

1,2. [See pp. 135-136--Analyst]

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
[167] asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
[463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
*563 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
131 matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
*563 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
262 flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
* 563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

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PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period, of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

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A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

574 794 485 792 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food, shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 731 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

653 312 185 The realization grew however that with regard to natural disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

114 657 Unfortunately, there is very little information available on the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the [794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

179
*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
179 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
• 727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
179 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
[181] the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
179 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
179 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

done in public welfare. The information about the situation in the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers; organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

The activities of the National Relief Commission included care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their [562] men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open dis- [157] content. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime.

T 133 In the region of the Hsining River we again traveled between loess-covered red clay mountains to the town of Ping tschung yi and then through the so-called Hsiao hsia (small gorge), both of them places where in the last Mohammedan war there were bloody clashes.

C 797 361 On December 25, I was in the city of Hsining fu. I soon found a pretty, albeit dirty, but at any rate homey inn, and that evening I could already spend with Mr. and Mrs. Ridley, the English missionaries of the China Inland Mission, to whom so many Tibetan travelers are indebted. With two boys of five and three years and their adorable little daughter who was then six months old, the courageous couple were again living all alone among the Chinese in the rude frontier town in which they already in 1895 lived through the terrible four-month siege by the Mohammedans. The last European whom Mr. and Mrs. Ridley had seen, had come through Hsining fu a half year before. I found a large Christmas tree in their simple Chinese house, and on that evening I was even permitted to appear as "Grandfather Christmas" with a long white beard, with a stick and a rod and a well-filled sack, and help give the children the type of Christmas celebrated in their homeland. I would not have dreamed of all this on the night before when in the pitch dark I was still sitting on my pony in a temperature of 15° and in a dry, biting mountain wind, until I finally found a hut on the gates of which we had to knock for a long time before we were admitted.

C 727 Of course, nothing had changed in Hsining fu since I had left it in November 1904 together with Mr. and Mrs. Filchner. Chinese cities probably do not change much anyway. There was meantime only the small war that was taking place on the Hwang Ho below the city of Kue de ting and the city had not yet calmed down during the first few days after my arrival. An anxiously-awaited execution order had just arrived from Peking and, at the imperial command, a few leaders of the hostile party, an aristocratic Salar and a few Tibetan chiefs and lamas were now being beheaded just outside the west gate. This was a big event because of the importance of the persons. Many people had gathered from far and near for this performance and the soldiers who were in charge of the execution were very frightened. They purposely walked back and forth excitedly while the preparations were going on and meanwhile one of them on whom the executioner's sword had heretofore not been seen, knocked off all the heads in such a way that no one could tell who actually did it.

C 175 361

Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

T C 727

If the superiors of the high command in the Two war[2] had spoken the forceful language with which Li sheng[3] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text. / /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

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[1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 481 — Analyst] 2 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492-A]

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731 DISASTERS--prevalence and major types of disasters (e.g., earthquakes, epidemics, conflagrations, typhoons, tornadoes, floods, droughts, famines, insect plagues); explanations and rationalizations; incidence of disastrous accidents (e.g., train wrecks); reactions to disasters; organization of relief (e.g., private, public); role of special relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross); emergency measures; reconstruction; preventive measures (e.g., flood control); etc. See also:

Relief agencies	74	Adjustments to famine	281
Cyclonic storms	132	Water supply	312
Areas of volcanic and seismic activity	133	Municipal fire-fighting services	368
Occurrence of epidemics	164	Reconstruction of war damage	727

*175 to the southeast, were interested in the recovery of Turkestan. They had a purely defensive policy for the northwest land frontier. They fortified the passes in the Kansu Corridor and conciliated the Uighur inhabitants of Turkestan by granting them honors and privileges and not interfering with their governments.

The Ming court was more concerned with the Mongols in the north. The strongest of these were the Oirats who at first submitted and then rebelled. The Yung-lo emperor personally led a series of expeditions into Mongolia and succeeded in holding them in check. But as the military strength of Ming China ebbed after his death, their power increased. In 1449, one of their chiefs, Esen, inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ming forces and took the Ming emperor as prisoner. At the height of their power, the Oirats controlled an area as far west as the northern portion of Tienshan, as far south as Kansu and as far east as Chahar.

Throughout the Ming period, there were incessant encroachments by the Oirat, but the most serious were those led by Altan Khan in the 16th century. In his three major invasions of China, his horsemen despoiled the provinces of Shansi, Ninghsia and Kansu and extended the orbit of his power from Uriangghai in the north to Chinghai and Tibet in the south. He built a vast, though evanescent Mongol empire. Finally, in his old age he accepted a title from the Ming court and halted his raids on China.

Thus, for about eight hundred years from the latter part of the T'ang to the beginning of the Ch'ing, the extent of the Chinese empire did not go beyond the Kansu Corridor and the vast region of the Northwest was free of Chinese rule. During this long period, the Chinese were not only unable to recover Turkestan but they were also uninterested in its recovery. The advance of [167] the border peoples into China's North and Northwest pushed the Chinese to the South and Southeast. Gradually, with the rise of the southeastern coastlands as the cultural and economic centers of China and with the development of maritime travel, there was greater intercourse between China and the outside world by sea. The nation turned towards the Southeast to face the sea and the importance of the Kansu Corridor declined to that of the backdoor of China.

*175 13 487 Another reason for the reorientation was economic. Climatic changes resulting in increased aridity led to the shrinkage of the chain of oases that formed the caravan routes. This made travel difficult, and the desiccation of the soil reduced the fertility of the Wei River valley, once the home of Chinese civilization and *175 731 166 the base for China's imperialist expansion. Natural calamities, such as floods, droughts, pestilence, and famine, and the devastation of wars added to the impoverishment of the area and quickened the shift of population centers from the Northwest to the *175 633 Southeast. Sian (Ch'ang-an) the capital of China for two thousand

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241 433 Oil seed bearing crops are also raised but in small quantities compared with the output from other parts of China. One reason for this is the lack of markets with a resultant slight incentive to expand and promote the planting of oil seed bearing crops. The following figures are in 1,000 metric tons and 1,000 hectares and are an average for the years 1931-1939. (T.H. Shen. pp. 248-249.)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	1
Chinghai	-	-	-	-	21
Kansu	38	negligible	negligible	9	25
Shensi	46	12	17	86	51

Acreage in 1,000 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres)

Province	Soybean	Peanuts	Sesame	Cottonseed	Rapeseed
Ninghsia	2	-	negligible	-	31
Chinghai	2	-	-	-	34
Kansu	38	negligible	1	13	54
Shensi	56	9	38	267	141

Besides the geographical and climatic limitations to farming, insects, diseases, and rodents seriously limit crop production. The black smut of wheat, barley, millet, proso-millet, and kaoliang is reported to cause losses of from twenty to eighty per cent of the crops. Yellow rust of wheat causes a loss of twenty per cent. Leaf cur of tobacco at Lanchow in Kansu decreases the yield and affects the quality of the crop. A kind of marmot, locally [136] called the "yellow rat" was a great menace during the drought [931] years 1928-1931.

241 731 The region is frequently subject to earthquakes, droughts, and famines which make farming extremely precarious. Calamities destroyed twenty per cent or more of the crop on the average annually during the period 1904-1929 and in 1930 a great famine swept through the region. Yet according to the population statistics and the total land area, there is no problem of population pressure, at least relatively. In addition, there is the possibility of increasing returns from the land under cultivation if existent farming techniques were improved and innovations introduced, i.e., use of fertilizer, better irrigation facilities, better seeds, etc.

241 489 48 But the biggest factors preventing increased returns in the Northwest have been the absence of transport facilities and financial assistance; e.g., the inability of the Nationalist Government to provide extensive loans at low interest rates. J.L. Buck points out that the absence of transport and communications to link the Northwest with other parts of China has accounted for the very small quantities of livestock and agricultural produce which have been exported and has hindered the development of local markets. With the growth of transportation, communications, better market facilities, etc., the possibility of increasing returns to agri-

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of breaking through into the water below. On these occasions the driver is always compelled to leave the litter-side, and controls his beasts from a distance by means of shouted directions, enforced by skilfully-thrown stones. A pebble alighting on the mule's nose warns him to back, while one hitting him in the hind-quarters is equivalent to an order to move on. In spite of the undoubted understanding existing between man and beast, there is a moment of extreme nervous tension on the part of the occupant of a litter, when the ice collapses and the startled animal crashes into water of quite uncertain depth. From the moment, however, that we took the well-made road leading over the mountain, the anxieties of the valley were (temporarily) at an end, and we were free to enjoy the fine views which every turn of the road revealed to us. The short-cut downhill was less pleasant, for the road was so steep as to be only just negotiable.

The next few days brought us near to the centre of devastation by the great earthquake of January 1921. The face of the land had been completely altered by the mighty upheaval, and its surface still suggested the semblance of boiling mud suddenly petrified. In one place a mountain had been removed, in another a large lake of brackish water had suddenly appeared. Scarcely a human habitation was to be seen, for the cliffs had overwhelmed all the cave-dwellings which formerly the industry of man had hollowed out. Nevertheless, the road over which we travelled was newly-made, while huts had already begun to appear at intervals. They were poor little places, composed of four mud walls, a mud roof, a mud bed, and a mud trough at the back where a few sheep could be fed, and the children we met were almost naked, in spite of the then extreme cold. A missionary in charge of the relief works assured us

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that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

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733 ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION--incidence of excessive or chronic use of alcohol or narcotics; social problems arising therefrom (e.g., poverty, delinquency, broken homes); care and treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts (e.g., neglect, attempts at restraint and cure); special institutions for the treatment and cure of alcoholics and addicts; temperance movements; etc.
See also:

Use of alcoholic beverages and narcotics 27
Psychiatric aspects of alcoholism and drug addiction 158
Organized vice 548
Political movements 688
Relief of dependents 736

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Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloudbursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures. 491

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets [363] of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by 797 foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more.

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of 733 Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is

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733 simultaneously lit, the pipe produced, and the pillows spread for the wretched feast. This town might easily [443] be one of the most prosperous of Kansu, being the [237] centre of the lamb-skin trade, and at mid-January the merchants come from all quarters to buy the tiny, soft skins of the lambs, killed on the fourteenth day of their existence. Large sums of money change hands in Yungchang, yet all is consumed in smoke, and spent upon that which satisfieth not. The men are gaunt and [567] dishevelled, the women keep indoors for lack of decent clothing, and Yungchang supplies the slave market with its required commodity of little girls for the great cities.

167 We were leaving our inn one morning, when some Chinese called our attention to the fact that a foreigner, 'one of your own people,' was begging at the door. We found a crowd collected round a ragged Russian, who was begging his way to Peking. The road over which we were travelling was the *Via Dolorosa* of the Russian refugees, who, driven forth by poverty or unwillingness to register their acceptance of the Soviet rule, find themselves homeless exiles on the face of the globe. For some months before our arrival a great stream of suffering humanity poured down this highway, in every stage of poverty and utter destitution. Until the great war of 1914, the peoples of the East were under the delusion that race-solidarity, which in them supersedes the instinct of individual nationality (strong though that be), was also impregnable in the West. From this time, however, European prestige was entirely shattered; and the sight of homeless, penniless whites swelling the ranks of Chinese beggars, and of helpless women becoming the concubines of Chinese men, was a violation of their sense of fitness: nor have the common people ever recovered from the shock caused by these unthought-of proceedings.

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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 797
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

317 distant. We made a détour to visit this, and questioned a band of workmen we found on its border, raking the white crust into glittering mounds. They informed us that every year, in the month of April, the water wells up to its highest level, gradually retreating during the summer, and leaving behind the crystals, which are so clean and pure as to require no further process than that 312 of being exposed to the sun's rays. Strange to say, however, the spring of drinking-water used by the villagers is perfectly sweet.

651 The inhabitants of Salt Lake village possess the right to a certain tax on every cartload of salt exported, but 733 as usual opium has killed all initiative, and these unhappy people are reduced to an abject state of 342 poverty. The miserable houses, however, are constructed of very endurable material, the blocks being of sun-dried, bituminous clay dug from the borders of the lake, and which are much harder than the kiln-burnt bricks commonly used in Kansu.

624 It had been reported to us that a Christian Chinese couple resided here, the husband being the official recently appointed by the Chinese Government to receive the salt tax. This lady and gentleman hearing we were there, invited us to their house and we were cordially welcomed into a delightful Christian home. It was indeed pleasant to sit down at a well-served table, and to enjoy once again Christian fellowship and intercourse. These refined people were living under 437 conditions of the utmost isolation, where all food-supplies had to be brought from Kaotai, as it is impos-511 sible to grow any grain or vegetables; indeed, the neighbourhood produces no commodity of any description whatever except salt.

133 And now at length we finally touched the extreme southern border of our objective, and passed, without

bid her farewell, before she would permit the sacred words to pass her lips she washed her face and combed her thin hair, feeling it to be disrespectful to the One True God to address Him unprepared. Such a soul as this, met with on the road of life, one can never forget. She was ripe for the Call; and she heard it, and was glad.

361 The next city is Ansi, which also bids fair to dis-133 appear under the encroaching sands, as these have already drifted round it as high as the top of the wall. It is a cold, storm-swept place, exposed on every side, and with neither coal nor wood obtainable. The wind 132 is said to blow every day in the year, but in the winter 512 it is so fiercely terrible that all shops are closed, and 733 everything is at a standstill. Every household then lives, eats, and sleeps on its dung-warmed *kang*, nor is it surprising that so many while away the weary hours 487 with the fumes of the opium-pipe. Ansi lies at the cross-roads, where the great track from Suchow turns off towards Hami and Eastern Turkestan, meeting also the main road to the Oasis of Tunhwang, four stages to the south-west. The fame of Tunhwang had already 172 reached us. We had entertained at Suchow a party of American archaeologists from Harvard University, who had recently been there for the purpose of seeing its art treasures. Not being able, however, to fulfil their purpose, they were returning to Peking, carrying away a rather unfortunate impression of the Tunhwang population, and they warned us that we should find them turbulent and somewhat rough-spoken. This did not alarm us, however, as our search was for treasure of a different kind, which called for excavation of another, and less obvious nature.

The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does 487 where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South 494 Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, 175 under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

Of the original city nothing now remains but a 361 ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by 563 market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason 733 for this change in the population is not far to seek, 563 opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

733 513 of the place are on the downward grade, being unable any more to hold their own with the Moslems, who are forbidden by the laws of their religion to indulge in this vice, and so easily get its victims into their hands. Nevertheless, the memories of past prosperity, and the present post of importance held by the Military Commander, impart a certain consciousness of self-respect to the inhabitants of Tunhwang, so that the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the dignified bearing of the populace in this isolated spot.

Among our first visitors were two women from Kashgar. They were remarkably picturesque, and with splendid physique and deportment. They wore long, straight gowns of brilliant-coloured cloth, and a finely-woven veil falling below the waist, which softened the strong, handsome features, and gave them a most attractive appearance. They immediately mounted the *kang* barefoot, and it was a sight to see the face of Mrs. Liu—a model of Chinese propriety—as they slipped off their shoes, and the shapely feet were exposed. However, as they spoke Chinese fluently, she was soon in happy conversation with them. These ladies insisted that we should come that very afternoon to return their visit in their own home, and in an hour's time sent two charming children, wearing miniature Wellington boots, to escort us there. They led us safely past several ferocious dogs, through a spacious courtyard, to a living-room, where the whole family was assembled, the patriarch of the group being an Ahung, which corresponds to a Levite among the Israelites. After we had been seated for about half-an-hour, during which time they all listened attentively to the Gospel Story, a woman-servant appeared bearing a large dish of boiled lamb, the joints of which, being of the minutest size, were easily handled. The hostess,

is dreary beyond words. The visit of a traveller is 494 their only touch with the outer world, and though in ordinary times and at certain seasons the caravans pass to and fro in large numbers, yet there are many months of wintry weather when there is scarcely a human being on the road. No wonder, then, that their most valued 733 possession is the harvest reaped from their field of opium, which supplies them with their sole luxury of life. Here, as in every other place, we visited each family, 494 with them, talked with them, proclaimed Christ as Saviour and King, and on leaving each Moslem family had now some Christian literature, which we hoped would be read during the long and dreary Gobi winter days and nights. Also before we left Tunhwang we had an interesting interview with the man whose life we had saved. We found him to be only twenty-eight years of age, a native of Hangchow in Shensi, very well educated, and also well-to-do, with him sufficient money for all his expenses, having come to 'Kow Wai 'hoping to secure a good post. His gratitude to our party knew no bounds, and the villagers kept reiterating in their own lusty lungs the story of his pick-up, as during these weeks when the roads were almost deserted, already several pedestrians had been found dead from thirst.

We left at sunset for the next stage, which was to 133 Hunghuiyian—' The Park of Tamarisks '—a charm- 491 ing though deceptive name, and we reached it over ground which by night could have been mistaken for snowfields, the alkali deposit lying in a thick crust on the surface and making it soft and spongy. There 361 were only four souls in Hunghuiyian, namely, one man employed as courier by the post-office, and a woman and her two sons. Of the three inns, two had been 485 abandoned by their owners, who found they could make

[Residents of Petuntze--Analysis]

/Chinese Moslems/ (Dungans)/

religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the tax collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travellers.

During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, but at present at these times, severe should be said and the ritual observed by every believer—wherever he may be. By prescribed ceremonies they should be performed, congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imaam. The imaam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, a place specified in the Koran which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (hutba) is delivered, usually by the imaam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

Taharu, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and the ritual is defined in Sura v. v. 9: "When you rise up to pray, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is required in case of a bodily wound, after a pollution, before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (including the uncleanliness are defined specifically).

3. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a free-will offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix. v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy, those employed in the collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

/Chinese Moslems/

are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) falling to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at sayiranah, fajr (two rak'ahs), noon, asr (four rak'ahs), maghrib (three rak'ahs), and the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer—wherever he may be. By prescribed ceremonies they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imaam. The imaam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, a place specified in the Koran which is toward Mecca.

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PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The second category, however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of the Handbook, the maintenance of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other parts of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the succeeding dynasties and strongmen to disaster. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which caused the deaths of 1900/00 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of calamities in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the one of 1932 in the Kuchu district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellious and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provides for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a system of government institutions that the needy were taken care of, but through the religious regulations of Islam. The concept of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear conception of the separation of state and religious institutions. The functions in both political and religious realms are merged and interwoven, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

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792 charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be
793 given in charity. Those who give secretly are praised more
794 highly than those who publicize their gifts.

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particularly in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. Only a part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all 'cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer: it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9.60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help, (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund, and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

795 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
796 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
797 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
798 is that connected with Id ul-Adiha, on which occasion the poorer
799 members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of these animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen, the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was manifested differently among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Alms-giving (dana) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, of course, is the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practiced charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisattva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and overdramatic motivation joined for the sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

•735

A CHINESE BEGGAR.
"All too familiar is the sight of the corpse of a man frozen to death on the side path."

To face page 10.

[FACING p. 10]

10 THROUGH JADE GATE

276 conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at
all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and
moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel
grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of
Fact.

•735 The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose footsteps he sought shelter and died. The gathering which we
735 witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars'
515 Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each household, house to house, in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself responsible only toward the Union, he always supports a few dependents and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurt. In them I saw pelts from Shigatse, lambskins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stagantlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the courtyard of the dasnak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dasnak who already had a number of Russian 544
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became chilled and I hurried on my leave. /300/

The Barun dasnak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulasata Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurk, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in handmills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735 •
the dasnak's courtyard. They exhibited their deformities and hung 644
and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dasnak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the rest Tibetans show very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his seat in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of prostration. Besides that, the dasnak owns his entire country, he annually appointments the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form 423
651
773

736 DEPENDENCY—incidence of dependency (e.g., orphans, widows, deserted and divorced wives, families of defectives and alcoholics, families of invalids and criminals); attitudes toward dependency; care and support of dependents (e.g., adoption, support by relatives, private charity, public relief); special institutions for dependents (e.g., orphanages) etc. See also:

Social insurance, public assistance, and private welfare agencies	76	Adoption	180
Insurance	436	Treatment of unfortunate infants	846
Leprosy	587		

797 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
798 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored
799 welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more
active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which
came to China in 1941 should be mentioned. Catholic missionary
organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
792 standing welfare institution of the Catholics is their maintenan-
793 ce of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed
794 three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchow (Kan-
su) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans
were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew
to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu, including Ninghsia and one
each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether
1,800 orphans found refuge and relief. Under the Communists
these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks.
No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events
in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed
that new institutions have arrived. In addition eleven homes
for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the
Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic
Relief Campaign (Hsing Shang Shenn) must be mentioned.

As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend
to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

From the information that we get from the Communist press
and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched
an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular
to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It
is no wonder that this regime emphasizes the working
classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological
bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs,
better working conditions in factories and construction jobs,
and the rights of working people are included in the
Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness
(including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of
absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to
sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their
jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special pro-
vision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid
vacation and their jobs were held for them when they left the
Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the
future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the
workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of
how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government
is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the
benefit of this law.

Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests
on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive
child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Com-
munist society demands that women participate in industrial
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time. Government orphanages were established as well, supplementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however,
do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since
they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

737

737 **OLD AGE DEPENDENCY**--incidence of dependency for the aged of both sexes; care and support of the aged (e.g., support by relatives, private charity, public relief, institutionalization); special institutions for the aged (e.g., old people's homes); support of institutions (e.g., private, municipal, fraternal, ecclesiastical); etc. See also:

Age distribution of the population	162	Pensions and social insurance	745
Savings	454	Public assistance	746
Annuities	456	Status and treatment of the aged	888

245 If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the
*668 workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of
177 how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

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74

74 **HEALTH AND WELFARE**--general statements covering several aspects of the more highly institutionalized adjustments to social problems and disease.

747 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
749 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary
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248 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

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177 and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
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741

741 **PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS**--private endowments for relief of distress, social welfare, health, and education; church endowments for philanthropic and educational purposes; corporate foundations for the promotion of health, welfare, science, and education; special philanthropic organizations (e.g., community trusts); organization, administration, and policies of foundations; finance (e.g., gifts, investments, tax exemption); fund-raising methods; distribution of funds; etc. See also:

Institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents	73	Gift giving	431
Science and the humanities	81	Investment	454
Education	87	Taxation	651
Trusts	420	Church organizations	794

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had also been constructed with famine relief funds, and which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose between this man and the others, on the subject of the choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

743

743 HOSPITALS AND CLINICS--number and availability of special institutions for medical care; organization and operation of clinics and hospitals; personnel (e.g., administrative and medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, technicians); equipment; special services; charges and fees; sources of financial support (e.g., governmental, ecclesiastical, private); ambulatory clinics. See also:

Physicians, nurses, and medical care 76
Hospital buildings 344
Care of war veterans 729
Institutions for the care of defectives 732
Care of alcoholics and drug addicts 733
Sanatoriums, convalescent homes, mental institutions, and leprosaries 734

The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of var ous nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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177 as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
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Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
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According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

744

744 PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION--organized measures for the prevention and control of infectious diseases and epidemics; degree of development and adequacy of public health services; specialized personnel (e.g., sanitary engineers, quarantine officers, inspectors); public health laboratories; public health activities (e.g., milk and meat inspection, imposition and enforcement of quarantines, control and extermination of disease vectors, sanitation); special control programs (e.g., yellow fever, venereal disease); public health legislation (e.g., pure food and drug acts); etc. See also:

Malnutrition	148	Public welfare	657
Incidence of disease	164	Army sanitary corps	708
Municipal sanitation	366	Immunization and unspecified preventive medicine	781
Hygienic conditions in industry	468		
Disposal of human excreta	514		

/The Chinese/
N 563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
* 164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
366 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
524 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry their water up."

S Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description
N brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of
145 a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities
312 for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
N are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
* 563 and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
164 and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
165 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
0694 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
563 wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
165 child.
1694

Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
N deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under
165 control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year
in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases."
(China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
N and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
753 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
* 563 go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
753 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S E. Efforts of the Government
N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
* 744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

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745

745 SOCIAL INSURANCE--prevalent types of social insurance (e.g., retirement pensions, old age pensions, sickness and maternity benefits, unemployment benefits); contributions (e.g., from employers, beneficiaries, government); administration of funds; premiums and payments; industrial and business pension and benefit systems; social insurance legislation; systems sponsored and operated by the state (e.g., socialized medicine); etc. See also:

Annuities, individual insurance, and mutual benefit societies	456	Government expenditures for public welfare and pensions to government employees	657
Labor relations	680	Pensions to war veterans	720
		General data on medical care	780

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747 747 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored
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747

747 PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES--private fund-raising organizations (e.g., community chests); private, semi-private, fraternal, and ecclesiastical operating relief agencies (e.g., Red Cross, Salvation Army, family welfare organizations); welfare institutions not elsewhere described (e.g., settlement houses, city missions, day nurseries, church community houses); organization, administration, (financial support, and activities of each type; etc. See also:

Institutions caring for specific types of defective, dependents, and delinquents. . . . 72 Church welfare work. 706

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available
to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies
in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with
the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

635 It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
645 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
651 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, or-
phans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

645 The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
650 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly ex-
perimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety
of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained,
in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest;
57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia,
which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37)
and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several
dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the
Northwest during the war.

650 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
*748 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the
78 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission
was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations
were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and
1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of
Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of
and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of
Shensi as well as of Honan province.

650 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
748 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
722 were sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Ching-
722 hai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War
Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
747 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

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future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

75

75 SICKNESS--general statements covering several aspects of sickness. Ideas of the causation of sickness, with methods of cure, and with specialists in the treatment of disease, including bodily injuries and functional or neurotic ailments will be filed below in the appropriate three digit category.

/Tibetans of Chingahi/

N
• 75 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not
*563 standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a
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751 PREVENTIVE MEDICINE--conception of health and hygiene; health regimen; protective measures (e.g., sun tan lotion, amulets, charms, spells, prophylaxis, immunization); etc. See also:

Incidence of disease	164	Health insurance	456
Diet	262	Personal hygiene	515
Exercise	526	Magic	789
Public health and sanitation	744	Infant care	854
Fetishes	778	Child care	855
Taboos	784	Prescriptions for longevity	886

/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

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852 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between
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764 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
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HEALTH AND SANITATION

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I. Introduction

For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

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Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

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A. The Diet of the Turkic People

The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

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The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

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The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, [273] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

*563 B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

164 The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, [758] this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infections. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

/Tibetans of Chingahi/

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/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their *563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs. 751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human [772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin. S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The 563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the 751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun [772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The *563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is 753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and 772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A 826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin S when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and 563 753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases. 772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases 826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two S N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since [278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis- *563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth. 751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture 753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five 772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis- S turbed, disease follows. 563 751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu- 753 -lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population. 772 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of N the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic [184] facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases. S Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region N than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs [212] are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

S N Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death 114 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given 163 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China 165 Handbook.

N *563 C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are 164 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot, 364 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this S 563 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this 164 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani- 364 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

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753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs	77	Development of biological science	815
Incidence of disease	164	Knowledge and beliefs concerning human physiology	827
Medical research	742	Interpretation of mental disorders	839
Conception of the causes of death	761		

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 164 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).

[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
*563 164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
753 776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

757 "...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest.". (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the
*563 whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

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755 MAGICAL AND MENTAL THERAPY--individual therapeutic efforts (e.g., acts of faith, self-analysis); resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., divination, interpretation of symptoms); therapeutic procedure (e.g., shamanistic seances, analytic couch); methods (e.g., interpretation of dreams, countermagic, exorcism, recapture of soul, sucking out of intrusive object, resort to spirit helpers); prescriptions (e.g., medication, purification, expiation, imposition of taboos); prognosis; ritual banishment of disease (e.g., scapegoat); faith healing; scientific systems of psychotherapy (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychiatry, mental hygiene); evidence as to the effectiveness of magical and mental therapy; etc. See also:

Behavior processes and personality 18
Shamanistic dances 535
Soul concepts 774
Spirit possession and dream interpretation . . 787

/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets 585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

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/The Tibetans/

N *563 764 are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the [534] procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 765 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is [716] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 781 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

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Fig. 13. A Yidam, one of the tutelary gods, holding a prayer bell and Dordyi (bronze). The figure is placed upon the mouth of a sick person who takes his medicines through the mouth of the god.

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756 PSYCHOTHERAPISTS--prevalent types of psychotherapists (e.g., shamans, faith healers, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists); physical, mental, and social characteristics; source of power (e.g., inheritance, spirit helpers, specialized knowledge); training and initiation; prerogatives and disabilities; special paraphernalia and behavior; source of support (e.g., gifts, fees); penalties for failure; relations between practitioners (e.g., rivalry, organization); shamanism as a religious complex; special organizations (e.g., medicine societies, psychoanalytic societies); etc. See also:

Sorcery	764	Nonherapeutic functions of psychotherapists	799
Familiar spirits	776	Magicians and diviners	791
Revelation and divination	787	Transvestitism	836

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

791 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among 795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yogtr and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

791 A. Shamanism

756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving [787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-[776] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, [158] and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the [428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods [787] of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which [242] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and 77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his 791 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic 776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

791 776 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic 791 steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared 795 among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idol- 77 izing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'ueh of the [756] sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and 776 good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially 791 fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became 791 legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

791 This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars 795 and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the prac- 791 tices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinina historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

791 More precise information about the Mongols' religious con- 795 cepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in 791 later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged 756 and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

791 Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there im-
175 plored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov,
171 the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggiz, the
756 god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous
756 Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration,
171 Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

757

757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology	82	Medical research	742
Obstetrics	84	Public health and sanitation	744
Materia medica and pharmacology	278	Surgery	782

*563 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps
164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
*563 the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
753 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

759 C. The Local Doctors

"...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means
• 757 an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

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*563 subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

758

758 MEDICAL CARE--regimen and care of sick persons (e.g., diet, rest, isolation); apparatus and paraphernalia of medical care (e.g., clinical thermometers, bed pans); general availability of medical advice, treatment, and care (e.g., organization, finance, services); etc. This category is intended for general information on medical care. For specialized data see relevant categories in 73, 74 and 75. See also:

Gift giving . . . . . 431 Visiting 874

*563 262 on special occasions, enjoy many Chinese dishes, or Tibetan adaptations of them. One of the most popular dishes is a sort of steamed dumpling stuffed with meat. Another is whole mutton, [273] semi-raw or roasted and eaten off the bone. A favorite beverage is a mildly fermented beer of barley or other grain. A more spirituous liquor is also widely appreciated.

Vegetables are scarce and usually are purchased from the Chinese or Chinese Moslems on the Sino-Tibetan border. At that they are limited mostly to potatoes and onions. The nomadic Tibetans have little fondness for green vegetables and accept them to a lesser extent than do the sedentary groups.

*563 164 B. The Predominant Diseases Among the Tibetans

The most common diseases include the venereal diseases, stomach and intestinal disorders, rheumatism, eye and skin diseases and tuberculosis. Perhaps because of the cold climate, the high altitude and the consequent absence of flies, and the use of animal manure instead of night-soil for fertilizing the fields, cholera, typhoid and similar excrement-borne diseases are rare.

The incidence of some diseases seems correlated to whether the people are nomadic or sedentary. For example, Ekvall (1939) reports a higher incidence of syphillis among the agricultural Tibetans, and a somewhat higher gonorrhea rate among the nomads. Leprosy is practically unknown among the nomads but is very common among the farmers. One can infer that rheumatism would be more frequent among the nomads than among the farmers because of the former's greater exposure to chills and dampness. In common with other Tibetans and peoples of the inland areas whose supply of salt is from Tibet's salt lakes, goiters are prevalent. The digestive ailments may be attributed to the frequent inclusion of foreign matter, such as sheep wool or yak hair, in the food, and also to some of the methods used in food preparation. The eye ailments, can be traced in part to the venereal disease rates, in part to the hazards of wind, dust, smoke, and snow-glare on the high plateaus. The skin troubles may be traceable to the customs of rarely washing more than the hands and face, of never completely removing one's clothes, and the numerous population that shares the sheepskin garment with its human host.

Other health hazards among the Tibetans include infections of accidental and non-accidental wounds (many a child has suffered severe burns) incurred in raids. The Tibetans seem to have an extremely low resistance to epidemic diseases such as smallpox, scarlet fever and influenza. Ekvall reports that the Tibetans even [751] suffered violent reactions to vaccination, quite out of proportion to their neighbors, the Chinese and Chinese Moslems. However, this low resistance is accompanied by a high fear of these infec- * [758] tions. The tradition of strict quarantine, even to the point of

*563 164 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).

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759

759 **MEDICAL PERSONNEL**--prevalent types of medical specialists (e.g., herbalists, diagnosticians, physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, technicians, midwives); qualifications, training, status, and activities of each type; prerogatives and disabilities of medical personnel; special garb, paraphernalia, and behavior; remuneration (e.g., fees, salaries); penalties for failure; medical organizations; professional ethics; medical cults (e.g., acupuncture, osteopathy); examination and licensing of medical practitioners; etc. See also:

Medical personnel in institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents 73
Public health, hospital, and research personnel . 74
Psychiatrists, shamans, and medicine societies . 756
Role of midwives at childbirth 844
Medical and nursing schools 874

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846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The [609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

●763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved 764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money 775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

764

764 FUNERAL--attitude toward the corpse; mortuary toilet (e.g., dressing and decorating the body); laying out in state; preservative techniques (e.g., embalming, desiccation, mummification); determination of time, place, and mode of burial; interval between death and burial (e.g., duration, measures to prevent further deaths, manifestations of grief); vigils and wakes; place of disposal of corpse (e.g., cemetery, ossuary); receptacles (e.g., coffin, canoe, urn, tomb); method of disposal (e.g., abandonment, inhumation, cremation, sea burial, cave burial, tree or scaffold burial); preparation of grave, pyre, or scaffold; transport of corpse to place of disposal; procession to grave; disposition of corpse (e.g., posture, orientation); funerary mounds, monuments, and memorials; burial rites; mortuary sacrifices; disposition of grave goods; roles of relatives at funerals; economic obligations of participants (e.g., fees, contributions); precautions against return of the soul (e.g., silence, disguise, doors of the dead); return from the funeral; purification of participants; etc. See also:

Commemorative statues and monuments	211	Blood vengeance	638
Dirges and laments	633	Eschatology	775
Posthumous marriages	688	Purification rites	783

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village 621 units would not have been so important in the local administrative 631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, *563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which 361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market 632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here 443 as they do in other parts of the country.

In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem *563 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The 621 first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu- [443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a [632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. 621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the 791 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for [794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. 545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The 621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very *563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the 621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. 769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the [764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity." Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/The Chinese/

N
*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
364 place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
S
563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
[312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N
*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165] and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
[844] and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
S
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844] child.

S
N Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
[165] deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases." (China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
• 759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

E. Efforts of the Government

S
N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the 1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health Department under the National Economic Council, which also had an office in the Northwest.

N 744 *668 177 Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

N [759] The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

N 743 *668 177 The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

S 743 744 668 177 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

762

762 SUICIDE--incidence of suicide; motives (e.g., humiliation, thwarted love); common methods (e.g., jumping, drowning, shooting, poison); stereotyped methods (e.g., suttee, hara-kiri); justifications; attitude toward suicides; etc. See also:

Personality disorders . . . . . 158 Punishment of attempted suicide. 882

876 *668 177 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, • [762] facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi 871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms *668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by 177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. [875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 *668 177 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with- [562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor- *[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

873 *668 170 874 *[563] Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

763

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions about dying; recognising the approach of death; settlement of affairs; assembling of relatives; attempts to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (e.g., removal from dwelling, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); preparing the funeral equipment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last favors; criteria of death (e.g., coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempts at revival; reaction to the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mutilation); announcement of death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:

Deathbed testaments . . . . . 428 Omens 787
Capital punishment 681

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 583 [791] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 583 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 *763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 764

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 179 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

*563 585 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 844 852 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity [562] of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein [751] of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the [853] same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 553 852 The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their [793] own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 764 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 [755] [793] When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 763 764 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 764 562 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

N
+563 /The Tibetans/
• 764 are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and
[534] relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N
+563 4. Popular beliefs
755 When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is
N written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is
[776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died.
N He will then leave the patient in peace.
+563 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to
789 learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N
+563 5. Recreation
533 The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S H. The Western Mongols or Torguts
563 Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the
181 same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac-
• 000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

346 (eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It
778 gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

778 The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past
[764] emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

778 Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of
823 China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only
[788] depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most
[346] of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li, still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period, /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business. For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The [609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved 764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money 775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

city, and making a fiendish racket. Behind the priests came a sedan chair on the seat of which was a board with the name of the deceased. The sedan chair was followed by a table with all kinds of offerings and behind this tottered the son and the grandson in a stooped position, dressed in coarse white hemp mourning clothes and supported by friends and hired servants. They were still obliged to look for the gui, i.e., the soul of the deceased. For this purpose they halted at all corners and crossroads, called his name and searched the ground industriously. For the Chinese imagine that death sets in because the soul has left the body, and that the body would be able to go on living if only the soul or gui would or could find its way back. The gui is politely invited to return. (1) 764 775

1. It is doubtful whether gui (kwei) can be translated "soul" in our sense, for the ordinary folk-philosophy of Kansu teaches that a human being has three gui and seven schen (spirits). The three gui are thought of as having substance and belonging to the Yin principle (see page 33, footnote 1), whereas the seven schen are without substance and belong to the Yang principle. One of the three gui stays with the bones after death while the second, with the help of the Taoist priests, clings to the death tablet bearing the name of the deceased. In time these two vanish. /243/ The third gui is the only one that is immortal. It is also used by the Chinese in a Buddhistic way, it must pass through hell and is later, on occasion, reborn. But because many Chinese do not know anything about Buddhistic teachings of reincarnation, it is often said that this third soul lives on unseen with the family; it "haunts" the living and can bring them harm or be useful to them.

/243/ On the third day the corpse was placed in the coffin which was over 2 meters long and constructed of beams 2 1/2 inches thick. Like the shroud, the coffin had been bought many years before and stored in a corner of the house. The feet of the corpse were tied together and its head placed on a brick. Every day after sunrise the relatives with their wives now gathered together in the death chamber around the coffin for half an hour and wailed so loud that all the neighbors heard it. At the same time tea and sweets were laid out on a table covered with a white cloth in front of the coffin, liquor was poured out and candles and incense burned. When the half hour 764

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

[793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775

2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese folk psychology. 775

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invocations lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground. 764 [533]

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and followed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure, service to the spirits, kowtow, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden hang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were handed by being given food.

Thus, the funeral cost the family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

764 day after the death of his father, the son asked me for a small loan and for an advance on my rent.

000 Then, just after the coffin had been carried out of the yard gate amid a large display of fireworks, the twenty-five soldiers of the amban who had left twelve days before for the Koko Nor in order to pursue the Tibetan robbers, arrived and drove my stolen horses and yaks into my courtyard. Even the old bitch I had bought two days before the attack was returned to me. But of my equipment only a few broken saddles and a battered tea kettle and half an ice skate were returned, the rest of the things had found other homes. The soldiers refused to tell me who the robbers had been. All they said was that the culprits were "wild Tibetans from the south." They said that three days before the attack on me a band of about 30 or 40 robbers had attacked and robbed a Tibetan tribe of Koko Nor and stolen 150 horses, but that the tribe pursued and defeated them and the robbers lost their entire booty as well as three men. "You ran into this robber band, sir; they spied on you for two days before they attacked. But your /245/ defense made such an impression on them that they later released the stolen animals. We found your ponies about 10 kilometers from the place where you were attacked, and they were quietly grazing in a valley. We also found three dead men there, unclothed and frozen stiff."

On that same evening the amban sent me a message saying that it was evident the robbers were not men of his tribe, that this winter an unusual number of robbers had come to the lake from the south, and that therefore he could not pursue the matter further.

It is no small matter to keep eight yaks in a large Chinese city. And everyone who knows China will understand that I was not a little frightened when the animals were driven into my dwelling. Many of the citizens had never seen these clumsy black ruminants and so they besieged my inn all day long. It was out of the question for me to keep the animals in the city and when I wanted to sell them the butchers offered me one tael apiece (three marks) because they believed that I would have to get rid of the animals at any price. I therefore hired a man to drive the animals a good day's journey south of Hsining fu and pasture them there in the mountains. The ponies, however, I did not allow out of my sight and took them all with me on my next excursions.

361 I first went to a large fair that is given every year during the [543] first ten days of the second Chinese month in the vicinity of Wei yüan bu.

767

767 MORTUARY SPECIALISTS--burial associations; gravediggers; cemetery guards and caretakers; hired mourners; embalmers and undertakers; funeral parlors; status and remuneration of mortuary specialists; etc. See also:
Coroners 693

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

000 cartload of loess soil, and at last proceed with the putting of our house in order. A fireplace built entirely of mud-bricks, into which a grating of half-a-dozen iron bars was fixed, made a very satisfactory cooking-stove, and a paraffin-oil tin let into the back served as a boiler. We also set up an iron stove we had brought with us, at great labour and expense, but which proved to be not only an immense comfort but an absolutely vital necessity, when the real depth of winter came upon us.

322 We visited several carpenters' shops in the hope of finding ready-made furniture, such as a table, bench, or • 767 stool, but the only articles for sale were, in every case, nothing but coffins. Red, black, blue, varnished or unvarnished coffins were temptingly ranged before us, but for the living, nought! Fortunately, however, our kind landlord came to the rescue by lending us a table and three stools, while the coffin-shop supplied us with as many planks as we required. These, supported on bricks and packing-cases, made the dresser, bookcase, writing-table and beds. A side-shelter was next transformed into a sleeping apartment for our women students, and thus, all being in order, we fondly imagined ourselves comfortably settled, but the neighbours shook their heads sagely, saying: 'Wait till the winds come!'

132 Our happy illusions were soon dispelled, for one night, not long after, we were suddenly awakened by the alarming roar of a tremendous gale, shaking the boughs of the poplar-trees and stripping off every leaf that remained. This preliminary onslaught was then quickly followed by an unearthly yell as the whole force of the tempest descended upon the city, carrying with it volumes of sand that whipped and cut against our pavilion like a volley of musketry. Without a moment's interruption the gusts swept in through the

768

768 SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance 428
Guardianship and administration 429
Insurance 456
Heirlooms 523
Remarriage 587
Status of widows 589
Rule of residence 591
Adoption 597
Rules of succession 59, 61, 63, 632, 643
Relief of widows and orphans 736
Social Insurance 748

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Mongour AE9

N *563 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.
62 241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of
N *563 the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the
592 [595] family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the
N [768] herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 C. The Mongours
M 193 565 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Mongour social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which
M 565 [701] he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese
M [614] and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan
M 614 554 chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his
M [428] "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

769

769 CULT OF THE DEAD--avoidance of graves and cemeteries; propitiation of ghosts and ancestors; recurrent feasts of the dead; maintaining relations with the long dead; ancestor worship; household cults; hero worship; etc. See also:

Family organization 69
Religious practices 78
Idea of filial piety 677
Eschatology 775

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 1779 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. SN 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced 771 it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true [769] religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village 62 units would not have been so important in the local administrative 631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper, *563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which 361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market 632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here 443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem 621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu- [443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a [632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways. 621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the 771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for [794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity. 545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The 621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very *563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the 621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities. 769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the [764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
• 769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.

[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"

[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no

[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and

[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S
563 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents
585 lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S
563 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning
586 the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

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121 Little information is available on the family structure and
59 relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations,
[779] as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese

N
• 769 Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such
*563 an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they
778 possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N
*563 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems oc-
582 curs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is
797 not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N
*563 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems
585 appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Mos-
586 lem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In
793 addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will
184 recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N
*563 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common
184 with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the shung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

"The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These proxouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts.

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns.

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying march through the loess. The track follows down the valley to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids.

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of

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Sinkiang AI1

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Italy combined, but the population of the whole Northwest Region is only about thirty-five million.

Northwest China is an area of 1,232,159 square miles, one third the size of all China, with a population only 5.8 percent of the nation's total. It represents, however, a great complexity both geographically, culturally, and ethnically.

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The region is characterized, even more than the nation as a whole, as a unity with diversity. Its entity is partially cultural with a predominant religion of Islam and a common historical as well as political background. While climatic conditions are relatively uniform, ranging from semi-arid to arid of the extreme temperate continental type, its physiographic features very considerably. In addition to the thickly peopled humid and mild Han-chung Basin in Southern Shensi, there are large low-lying rich fertile riverine plains along the Wei-ho, Huang-shui, and some parts of the main Yellow River, as around Lanchou of Kansu and near Yin-chuan (Ninghsia) plus the Ili valley of Sinkiang and numerous small oases scattered along the foot of the snow-capped high mountain ranges of Nan-shan or Chi-lien, Kunlun, and Tien-shan. They are thickly populated areas either in large stretches or isolated pockets. Next come the vast plateaus and deserts of Alashan, Khara Gobi, Takla Makan, and Northeastern Dzungaria forming an extension of the Great Gobi of the Mongolian plateau. Each of them is enormous, e.g., Takla Makan desert occupies half of the Tarim Basin (910,000 square kilimeters). They are practically uninhabited except for a few small oases scattered here and there. Next are the arid and semi-arid upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor in the province of Chinghai and Southern Dzungaria of northern Sinkiang. The semi-arid steppes are occupied by pastoral nomads, while the ared portion is either inhospitable or very thinly populated. Last come the lofty mountains. Some of them are snow-capped with alpine pastures and forests like Tien-shan, Nan-shan and the Altai mountains. Some of them are barren and rugged like the Kunlun, Bayan Khara, and Altyn-tagh. The former provide natural bases for the development of transhumance and lumbering, while the latter precludes any permanent human settlement, except for a few high mountain passes which are occasionally traversed by traders and travelers, such as across the mountains of Kunlun, Bayan Khara and the Pamir.

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As to historical and political relations with China, there are two distinct parts. Shensi and Kansu (excluding Ninghsia) are the sites of ancient Chinese culture - the archaeological finds of the "Oracle Bones" of the Shang Dynasty and the Yang-sha pottery in Shensi and Kansu date back at least to one to two millennia B.C. The Wei-ho valley plain is the cradle of Chinese civilization.

*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Ha-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: [illegible])
9) Khalkha Dzasak, [illegible] families (Tafel: [illegible])
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: [illegible]ably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [190] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Koko-nor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. *563 791 795 Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 241 233 C. Economic Activities

The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769 •
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper 782
folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

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77 RELIGIOUS BELIEFS--general statements about several types of religious beliefs and ideologies. The behavioral and organizational aspects of religion are treated, respectively, under 78 and 79.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
775 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

771 A. Shamanism
756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[187] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[292] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[296] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods
[187] of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
• 77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
171 776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

171 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.
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This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic
171 steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared
195 among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idol-
• 77 izing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the
[156] sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and
776 good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially
171 fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became
771 legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars
771 and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the prac-
756 tices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a
171 Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

More precise information about the Mongols' religious con-
771 cepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in
175 later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged
171 and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it.
756 Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

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771 GENERAL CHARACTER OF RELIGION--conception of what constitutes religion; differentiation of the sacred and the profane; distinctions drawn between religion and superstition; relation of religion to the unknown and the unpredictable; relative prominence of magical and anthropomorphic elements; evidence of the expression of projective mechanisms in religious beliefs; primary orientation of the religious system (e.g., ancestor worship, nature worship, totemism, ritualism, mysticism, redemptive religion); social and individual role of religion (e.g., services and disservices); incidence of faith, indifference, and skepticism; existence of nonsupernatural ideologies supported with a faith akin to that in religion (e.g., ethical systems, political philosophies); etc. See also:

Personality 15
Integration of religion with other aspects of culture 192
Ethical ideals 877
Ancestor worship 789
Extended discussions of theological systems . . 779
Magic 789
Religious sects 796
Philosophy 812
Ideas about the social role of religion 920
Inculcation of religious beliefs 869

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

S N 131 635 161 S N 144 563

I. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six-million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin.
N 563 Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

S N 563 771

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

S N 563 233 24

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

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SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. SN 181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced 771 it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true [769] religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
SN but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
SN government, can be described as the average conception of
342 the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
35 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
SN caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
SN frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
668 became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
SN inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N 563 233 [521] [554] [422] depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determine l by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

S N [342] [352] [353] The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most S N [621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir, S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq) [614] [426] [476] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 771 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad [792] [794] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas, invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century.

S 563 181

Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

S N 563 153 779 155 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal social stability of family and community at the expense of personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

S N 563 153 185 [158] If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one certainly should not forget that there has been still room for romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

S N 563 538 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamarlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

S N 563 775 771 [829] The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

S N 563 771 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

S N 563 771 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

N 181 [829] While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] [162] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 166 167 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed

N [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

N [668] The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

I. The Physical Setting

A. Location and Importance.

13 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu, is the geographic center of China. If one draws a horizontal line from west to east and a vertical line from south to north, he finds that the northwest quarter of China just covers the whole area of Sinkiang, Kansu, and Chinghai or Koko Nor. Owing to scanty rainfall, a great part of the area is a vast desert, dotted with oases and strips of cultivation. It is generally classified as the interior continental desert and steppe region of China.

771 184 From the viewpoint of geographic location, Northwest China, especially Kansu Province, is a transitional zone of cultural variations. Religions, for example, are different. From Kansu northwestward to Sinkiang, the majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Contrarily, southeastward to China proper, there is more Buddhism and Christianity.

241 233 182 Again, Kansu furnishes a natural boundary for economies. From the eastern end of Kansu southeastward the area is mainly agricultural, while the area northwest from Kansu is largely a pastoral region. People there are adapted to a nomadic life with a relatively self-sufficient economy. As a result, the trading activity is small. It is limited to a small village or an isolated oasis.

131 The area is adjacent to the Mongolian People's Republic on the north and northwest and the Tibetan Plateau on the southwest. Moreover, it lies in the path of direct communication with Soviet Russia through the narrow plain of the Kansu Corridor by way of Sinkiang in the extreme northwest. It is an important part of China as a strategic pivot linking Asia and Europe and it is the great joint between Inner Asia and the Pacific coast.

133 B. Surface Features.

The physical features of northwest China generally may be classified as plateaus. However, viewed in terms of the present relief of Kansu, the high lands are all located along the southern border of the province. They are generally called the Ch'i-lien-shan, the Nan-shan, or the Southern Mountains. This mountain range forms the natural boundary between Kansu to the north and Chinghai to the south. There are a few passes situated in this mountain range with an average height of 12,900 feet. The length of the Chi-lien-shan is roughly estimated at 570 miles. Its east end is dissected by the streams of the upper Yellow River into a few isolated

V. The Chinese Moslems

A. Population

*563 795 [162] According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses. *563 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 771 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Suflsm (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
28 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
31 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by
*563 farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
361 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
632 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
443 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
62 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past.
• 771 At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for
[794] the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
645 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
62 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

• 771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
785 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yogirs and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

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756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[189] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[202] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[756] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the
[428] position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[187] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shouiderblade of a sheep which
[242] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his super-natural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
771 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

771
[196] one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic
171 steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared
195 among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idol-
[158] lising heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and
776 good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially
171 fountains and mountains, holy places (ildug). This cult became
• 771 legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin (inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogony and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

771 This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars
785 and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the prac-
171 tices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

771 More precise information about the Mongols' religious con-
175 cepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in
171 later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged
756 and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it.
756 Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

6

• 771 Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there im-
175 plored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov,
171 the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggis, the
756 god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökchu, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökchu, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous
756 Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration,
171 Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

L

778 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
776 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of
776 the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

• 771 B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions," Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

777 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated
[210] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had re
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

• 771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

[592] "This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[614] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
riskety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

N
• 771 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relation-
182 ships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle
living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the
N family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act ac-
[769] cording to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is
so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the
spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi
Desert, 165-166.)

S Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious
771 characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who
795 came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society
[575] tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin,
almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its
adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N
795 A. Islam
*668 When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the
years following World War II and when they first came to power
177 in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom
to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support.
Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated
in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall
have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to pre-
serve or reform their traditions, customs and religious be-
liefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and
Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950,
which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral
shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools,
provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the
wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win
over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government
Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive
permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban
and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for
celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres,
soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading
companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Mos-
lems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the
propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of
N benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given
[798] tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer
and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in
the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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N
795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
795 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
• 771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
N
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
S book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to
563 understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one
excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her
life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an
entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just
stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in
these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are
for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
S
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
127 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669] population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the
succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's
son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urum-
chi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and
Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him.
This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word
came from the capital that the young prince had been made a
prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many
changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars re-
turned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company
with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business
and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the
administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

C 641 668 771 829 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C 641 668 771 The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

N 641 642 *668 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tse-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

C 641 642 828

E. Practices

N *668 423 578 803 Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsueh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

S 668 708 208 545 4. Cultural corps

In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army) in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21 acts before the audience in the capital.

S [563] [484] [648] The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd members to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13 after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou, seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than 439,000 people.

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N *668 208 IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives, circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meeting is another form. No matter what the main target of a particular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A., the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day, whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as well as for denouncing germ warfare.

S [668] [208]

N *668 796 *[563] 771 [651] A. Festivals

Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propaganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist government. For instance, during their celebration of the three major Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

159 614 635 under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with [648] Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

159 [701] Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, [635] was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

159 635 185 For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the [206] purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he [871] conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that [499] province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

159 771 641 635 Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

159 669 When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

in the Lumi kingdom. (5) In this, they say, perfect happiness is to 771

5. Lumi or "Rumi guo" to the Chinese Mohammedans means Turkey, the Oriental Rome.

to be found even on earth and from there you can without effort ascend to heaven. In the Lumi kingdom a great emperor reigns, they say, who is emperor of all Mohammedans; pillage and murder never occur there and, neither the emperor and his subjects nor the officials there are ever guilty of injustice. "The emperor of Lumi is our emperor, too," say all the Hui hui in Kansu, and they began their countless uprisings so that they might really belong to him.

In the year 1895, at the instigation of a few wealthy Mohammedans, there was no fighting carried on around the city of Ho tschou. 563 [346] Thus, there are still a great many mosques preserved here; the oldest and largest of them were, however, already destroyed after the uprising in the '70s. But in the territory of the Salar a little farther to the northwest, through which I came on my further journey, there was a good deal of fighting in 1895. These Salar, remnants of a /162/ Turkish group which last emigrated to China from the West - in the Ming period, it seems - allegedly under the leadership of a mullah who is buried west of the city of Hsün hoa, are said to come from what is today Russian Turkistan. The center of their country and the place from which their eight gun (1) into which 631

1. Community or district. This gun is a word that I heard only the Salar use. It is said to be Chinese (?). Besides the eight chief gun of Hsün hoa, there are a few wai (outer) gun. Altogether there are only two or three dozen Salar villages. Probably gun means "aggregate of a thousand" (see also p. 165). The names of the eight chief gun are: Keitse (Geitse) gun, Tsa tscha gun, Su dsche gun, Tsaghan gun, which lie west of Hsün hoa; and Tsching schui gun, Man da gun, Nei man gun, Tschang ga gun, east of Hsün hoa.

from ancient times they have been divided, are ruled by the Chinese, is the city of Hsün hoa, the residence of a ting. (2)

2. To the Hsün hoa ting also belong large Tibetan territories and the large Tibetan monastery of Labrang with its large district which reaches a distance of a many-days' journey

772

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
#563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
75 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
772 body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
75 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
772 and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive and negative, strong and weak.

In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
N exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
#563 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
S disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
75 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
772 the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
#563 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
75 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed, disease follows.

These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
563 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
75 In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
772 the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
N facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
#84 Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
S than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
772 are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into the larger part of the population.

N Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
75 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
164 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
165 Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
#563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. André Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
S problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
164 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day"

772 COSMOLOGY--conception of the universe; cosmological systems (e.g., heavens and hells); universal categories (e.g., dualism of nature); etc. See also:
Realm of the dead . . . . . 776 Ideas about cosmic phenomena 921
Conception of a moral order of the universe . . 812

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood.

772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we
775 entered[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of
532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1] [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 779
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper 782
folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

773 MYTHOLOGY--cosmogony (e.g., theories and accounts of the creation of the world and of man); mythical epochs (e.g., golden age, age of the gods, age of animals); cataclysms (e.g., mythical floods and conflagrations); culture myths (e.g., accounts of a culture hero, mythical explanations of culture traits); myths about the origin of evil and death; nature myths; totemic myths; theogonic myths; ancestor myths; etc. For texts of myths see 539. See also:
Historical traditions 173

773

492 the muleteers now came to the rescue ; and in a short time all was in order, so that, apart from the fact that the feet and legs of man and beast were encased in a sheath of thick mud, which gradually hardened to the consistency of plaster of Paris, no damage was done.

241 The Sian plain is a fertile land, with vast wheat-fields, where in late autumn the persimmon groves make a beautiful picture. The widespreading foliage of dark glossy leaves, symmetric in form, together with the golden fruit hanging in profusion from the bending boughs, are very distinctive features. The wayside food, also, was the best we had met with in China, and before long we entered the pear-growing district around Pinchow, where extensive orchards stretch for miles on all sides. Here, besides filling every chink of our luggage with the pears, we considerably added to that elastic quantity known as 'hand-baggage,' and for several days we pillowed our heads on lumpy sacks of the fruit.

322 A few hours before entering the border of Kansu, we [448] passed a number of booths in which were sold numerous small articles carved from the wood of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which supplies a fine quality of dark, red wood pleasing to the eye, and so hard as to be almost indestructible. A plantation of these trees 386 surrounds a temple backed by enormous rock, on which has been carved the figure of a gigantic sitting Buddha. After wandering around and between its huge feet, we climbed the many flights of steps leading to a gallery on a level with the prodigious face. This Buddha 773 forms one of a group of three colossal images, the chief of which, within Tibetan fastnesses, stands—with foot thrust forward—waiting for the appointed hour when he must move towards his sleeping brother, reposing outstretched, in a temple of distant Kansu. Him he must

rouse, and together they will then join the Shensi 773 sitter, when, their band being complete, they will accomplish their long-appointed mission of raising mankind.

At nightfall we passed the Kansu border. The first 491 incident which made us aware of this fact was an official proclamation with the two Chinese ideographs, meaning Kansu, heading it. Simultaneously the character of the road changed, and we found ourselves moving in the darkness through an avenue of stately trees, our hearts beating high, for we had now reached the Province indicated on our 'Sealed Orders,' although we knew not as yet the locality to which we were going.

That night, our first in Kansu, our bed was in a stable. 485 Merely a cave hollowed out of the loess-cliff, it held a little mud *kang*,[1] on which the travelling carter was wont to sleep while the mules fed at his side. The walls were black with the dirt of generations, the floor was littered with damp stable-manure, and our hand-luggage was laid in the manger. The door was a low, irregular aperture ; no opening had been left for a window ; the flicker of the linseed-oil lamp filled the cave with heavy shadows, and though the night was very cold the *kang* had not been warmed.

We had often tried to picture the real conditions of the inn at Bethlehem, and it seemed to us that night that we had come much nearer to their realisation.

By the side of our cave, raised three feet from the 276 ground, was a small hollowed recess, about the size of a large baker's oven. The opening was screened by a filthy, hanging rag, and within lay three men, tasting the sensuous enjoyment of the opium pipe. The space was so small that the feet of the smokers were thrust outside, and though the night was bitter and their

[1] A brick or mud bed heated with a fire.

Here the Akkas live and pray, and communicate with the rest of the world only in winter when the lake is frozen over. It is an island that rises up in rock formations with hills that are covered with grass pastures. In the clear winter air the island seemed very near and it seemed to me I could see everything that was on it from the road I was on. It is supposed to be eight li around. C 133

Nine kilometers from the south shore of the lake and 18 kilometers to the west of the large island of Ts'o ning there are still more cliffs rising up over the surface of the lake. They are white in color and are called Tsaghan khada by the Mongols. Among them is the rock which, according to the legend, one of the bad spirits, named Tscheger sämo, threw toward Ts'o ning in order to destroy the island or at least move it from the spot. K 713

It was, so the story goes, around the time when unsuccessful attempts were made to erect temples and monasteries in Lhasa. The buildings always collapsed and the Tibetan king therefore sent his vassals all over the world in order to discover the reason for this misfortune. One of the lamas that had been sent out met an old, blind holy man in the plain now covered by the Koko Nor. The old man, in senile loquacity, said that at the spot where the king was trying to erect his temples there was a large subterranean sea. The latter would flow from Lhasa over into this direction as soon as an emissary of the king would find out about it. Scarcely was the secret revealed when the two heard the surging of the water and the emissary of the king could barely escape on his horse, while the old man was swallowed up by the waves. The water would even have flooded all the mountains if some divinity had not had mercy and taken a huge rock and stopped up the hole out of which the water was flowing. This rock is the sacred island Ts'o ning. However, the bad Titan was angry /81/ that the water did not cause more destruction and he wanted to throw stones to move Ts'o ning and re-open the hole. Fortunately for all mankind he did not hit Ts'o ning. The stones which he threw toward Ts'o ning from the shore, all fell into the water half way to the island and there they can still be seen.

According to a Chinese version a woman once wanted to fetch water from a well where the island is today and forgot to put the lid on the well. So the water rose up and covered the entire plain. A god, Wo fo (Buddha), finally had mercy and threw a slab, the island, onto the magic spring. C 713

There were magnificent grass pastures covering the entire south shore of the lake from the water's edge up to the rounded peaks that C 17

775

775 ESCHATOLOGY--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, spectres, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves.	154	Communication with spirits	787
Cult of the dead	769	Means of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies	881

563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
773 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeresdienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
158 romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
773 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
773 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[824] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rooted romantic conception.

563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
773 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

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Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai
795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
(648) turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
(795) tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
(669) Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

city, and making a fiendish racket. Behind the priests came a sedan chair on the seat of which was a board with the name of the deceased. The sedan chair was followed by a table with all kinds of offerings and behind this tottered the son and the grandson in a stooped position, dressed in coarse white hemp mourning clothes and supported by friends and hired servants. They were still obliged to look for the gui, i.e., the soul of the deceased. For this purpose they halted at all corners and crossroads, called his name and searched the ground industriously. For the Chinese imagine that death sets in because the soul has left the body, and that the body would be able to go on living if only the soul or gui would or could find its way back. The gui is politely invited to return. (1) 764 775

1. It is doubtful whether gui (kwei) can be translated "soul" in our sense, for the ordinary folk-philosophy of Kansu teaches that a human being has three gui and seven schen (spirits). The three gui are thought of as having substance and belonging to the Yin principle (see page 33, footnote 1), whereas the seven schen are without substance and belong to the Yang principle. One of the three gui stays with the bones after death while the second, with the help of the Taoist priests, clings to the death tablet bearing the name of the deceased. In time these two vanish. /243/ The third gui is the only one that is immortal. It is also used by the Chinese in a Buddhistic way, it must pass through hell and is later, on occasion, reborn. But because many Chinese do not know anything about Buddhistic teachings of reincarnation, it is often said that this third soul lives on unseen with the family; it "haunts" the living and can bring them harm or be useful to them.

/243/ On the third day the corpse was placed in the coffin which was over 2 meters long and constructed of beams 2 1/2 inches thick. Like the shroud, the coffin had been bought many years before and stored in a corner of the house. The feet of the corpse were tied together and its head placed on a brick. Every day after sunrise the relatives with their wives now gathered together in the death chamber around the coffin for half an hour and wailed so loud that all the neighbors heard it. At the same time tea and sweets were laid out on a table covered with a white cloth in front of the coffin, liquor was poured out and candles and incense burned. When the half hour 764

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

[793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775

2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

conception enables us to get an insight into Chinese folk psychology. 775

The monotonous sing-song and reciting of prayers and invocations lasted three days, and with each word the leading priest who appeared in a yellow gown embroidered with blue dragons, beat upon a "fish head," a hollow wooden globe with a slit in it, while his companions produced an ear-splitting noise with gongs, bells and drums, /244/ which was far inferior to the lamaistic music of the Tibetan monasteries and compared more nearly with caterwauling or with the noise accompanying the Upper Bavarian practice of meting out to offenders of the public morals summary punishment by masked private citizens. Under the supervision of the priests there were more gifts placed on a table in front of the coffin which stood in the open door of the house. Food was also placed on the table, a whole slaughtered pig, a cock, a jug of liquor, loaves of bread filled with vegetables and sweets. Later the priests ordered the tea and liquor to be poured on the ground. 764 [533]

It would lead me too far afield if I were to give a detailed description of the circumstantial ceremony which lasted three days. In the main, funerals are very much alike in the various parts of the Chinese kingdom. One of the souls of the deceased was conjured by the priest into a piece of wood about 1/2 meter long and very narrow and then the coffin was closed. A great many people appeared, acquaintances and strangers, and kowtowed before the coffin while lay musicians with one-string fiddles and small trumpets produced a different kind of racket, if possible even more woeful. The members of the family dressed in white coarse mourning clothes made of sacking and in mourning hats with their bare feet in sandals, knelt on either side of the coffin and each time a kowtow was offered in condolence they acknowledged it by touching their foreheads to the ground. Each person who expressed his sympathy by a kowtow and a small present was handed food and liquor by the relatives of the deceased, and the whole procedure: service to the spirits, kowtows, lay music and the partaking of food, took place in the court in front of the door of my room. All the street beggars, even the convicts from the yamen with their heavy iron chains and stakes and their wide, collar-like wooden kang came into the courtyard, made their kowtow and were thanked by being given food.

Thus, the funeral cost the family much more than they had in cash. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when on the very first

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776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 769
Religious practices 78

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
621 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[292] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
• [776] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/The Tibetans/

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*563 are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and
764 relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the
[534] procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N
*563 4. Popular beliefs
755 When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is
• [776] believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N
*563 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to
789 learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N
*563 5. Recreation
533 The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S
563 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts
181 Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike charac-
000 ter, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yögür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771
756 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[273] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[296] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such mani-
[428] festations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

171 776 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

171 175 77 [156]

Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

776 171 771

This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Ghazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinian historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

771 756 171

More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

771 175 171 756

779 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic
67 foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising
• 776 monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

799 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
796 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

799 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
796 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
792 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

799 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
795 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

799 C. The Rituals of Islam
788 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
782 peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties. Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood. It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we entered[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1] [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of worshippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suitable to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

846 The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, custom forces him to close his shop during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, to hire a substitute for this period /242/ but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business For this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the suspicion of uncleanness.

764 Only a few days after my return from the Gum bum monastery my landlord in whose spacious buildings I had rented the third and last courtyard with its adjoining small house, died. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and there all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The [609] family of the deceased had immigrated only a few generations before from Shensi, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Hsining say. Thus, there were not many relatives and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, according to our conceptions the ceremoniousness was tremendous.

763 The man had reached a ripe old age and had then died very quickly. But his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his shroud, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also in moving him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved 764 themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money 775 was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when reborn, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during the day was the man's name being called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, bearing many lanterns, and gongs, triangles and drums through the streets of the

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

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Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam

a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

728 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
• 716 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

791 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes
[211] in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

*563 abandonment of the sick, is very strong, and to some extent helps
164 limit the spread of contagious disease. (Cf. also Rijnhart, 1902).
[758] The Tibetans are apt to attribute diseases to spirits, such as
*563 the sa-ndre, (earth-spirits), demons and wrongdoing in this or
164 previous lives. The sa-ndre are especially feared, because they
753 afflict those who disturb the ground with leprosy; hence, the high
• 776 incidence of that dread disease among the farmers and its absence among the nomads. Demons or devils are the sources of the epidemic diseases and the reason for the imposition of the strict quarantine of their victims. Like their diseases the devils are highly contagious. But, except for these ailments that have known
[759] causes, the Tibetan will consult a doctor or someone whose home remedies have proved successful. Under the latter category would be included the various Christian missionaries and explorers, traders, etc., who frequented Chinghai.

C. The Local Doctors

759 "...the treatment given by the native doctors generally means
797 an increase of agony to the sufferer. For headaches large sticking
*563 plaster are applied to the patient's head and forehead; for rheumatics often a needle is buried in the arm or shoulder; a tooth is extracted by tying a rope to it and jerking it out...; a sufferer with stomach-ache may be subjected to a good pounding, or to the application of a piece of wick soaked in burning butter grease; or if medicine is to be taken internally it will consist probably of a piece of paper on which a prayer is written, rolled up into the form of a pellet, and if this fails to produce the desired effect another pellet is administered, composed of the bones of some pious priest." (Rijnhart, 1902, p. 34).

75 Actually, Tibetan medical science is one of the ten major
*563 subjects that, according to Buddhist classification, constitute the whole of human knowledge. One of the nation's main medical schools is located near Lhasa. Some of the major academic monasteries also have medical schools and the person with the title of manpa (sman-pa, doctor) is respected as highly learned. The medical lore that is studied is that of ancient India. It is primarily scientific, in that it is based on rational explanations of physiology and pathology. The religious aspects are superficial additions that do not affect too seriously the basically scientific approach. There are different categories of disease apportioned according to whether the sickness is the result of something wrong in this life, in the previous life, or a combination of previous lives and the present; whether the patient is male, female, child or desexed. Then there are afflictions common to all regardless of sex or age. These number 404 categories, 101 being attributed to each of the four major elements, organs or vices, depending upon the interpretation. (The original Brahmanical medicine had only 101 cate-

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China 000
the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally 142
from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans 291
are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by 797
the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again 162
as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of 186
North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign 797
missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious 776 •
questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The 797
early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

1 T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- E Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

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The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

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other hand, am under the power of these influences, and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

Our new home was situated in the best residential quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is: 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

5: Tafel--348 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776 ●
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles, into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked incessantly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men. We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsiê dia did not take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along. I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

777

777 LUCK AND CHANCE--concept of good and bad luck; ideas about chance and probability; things associated with good or bad luck (e.g., lucky objects, luck-bringing formulas, lucky and unlucky numbers, propitious and unlucky days); techniques for controlling luck (e.g., wearing of luck amulets, reciting of lucky formulas); conception of fate; etc. See also:

Insurance	456	Divination	787
Gambling	525	Pattern numbers	801
Protective amulets	781	Calendar	805
Theory of accidental injuries	782	Scientific theory of chance	813

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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ably become detached, and had then fallen down. 000
Such an incident would, of necessity, be viewed by the Chinese with dismay, the only possible course open, in order to avoid calamity, being to spread a feast before the gods, and then restore the tablet to its place of honour. The gentleman had, however, in the meantime become a Christian, and on making enquiry found that the day on which he first entered the Mission premises at Suchow was the self-same day on which the tablet had fallen. His answer, therefore, to the priest was as follows: 'You may act as you please with your own temple, but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'

On the evening of our departure from Chikinpu, so 484
as to shorten the journey, we decided to follow a side- 777 ●
path leading over rough ground, and also across a river, before rejoining the main, desert track. When we had gone about three miles our servant suddenly discovered the loss of a large packet of books, which had, apparently, fallen from the back of the cart. Ineffectual search was made until sunset, by which time the carters became reluctant to pursue a strange path by the fading light, so they suggested that, by adding five miles to the journey, we could follow another route which was more frequented than the shorter one. We, however, decided to return to the inn, although we knew that by so doing we should violate every Chinese instinct, the popular idea being, that to retrace one's steps is to court ill-luck. But the next day, both 579
Christians and heathen alike recognised the fact that we had been protected by a Divine Power, for we then learnt, that had we proceeded on our way we must inevitably have arrived at a certain spot just when a band of brigands, sweeping down from the hills, had attacked the caravans travelling that night. We were 000

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 574 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes 527 777 his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

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778

778 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:

Churches and temples	346	Luck amulets	777
Heirlooms	623	Notions of uncleanness	783
Asylum	696	Taboos	784
Protective amulets	751	Phallic rites	786
Relics	765	Conception of magic force	789
Conception of the sacred and the profane	771	Holy men	792

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

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town) was carried into the country in a sedan-chair. Here he was required to bless the sown fields, and also to call in his subordinate demons, whom he holds in check while the grain is ripening, lest they work mischief on the peasants, but whom he again releases after all the crops are gathered in. He was escorted by a big official procession, to the sound of pipes and cymbals; but so soon as the idol was safely deposited in the village shrine, where it was to spend a few days, the whole company made a rush for the courtyard, where we were staying, and listened attentively for over an hour to our singing and preaching.

One other afternoon was spent in the house of a man whom we had first met at Suchow, at the New Year's festival. He had then heard us speak, and being much interested had bought a copy of the New Testament. On learning that we had now arrived at Kinta, he invited us to his home in order that we might meet the women of his family. We were received by them with a deference that was almost reverential, the younger members of the house, dressed in their festive garments, being ordered to kneel before us; and it was with the greatest difficulty we prevented their doing us homage as to 'Holy Women.' Mrs. Ma, the wife, was a vegetarian of the third generation; neither her grandmother not her mother having ever broken the vow of a most rigid asceticism, which forbade their tasting any condiment to relieve the insipidity of the dough-string diet, or even the refreshment of a cup of tea. We found her to be extraordinarily understanding in spiritual things, and she responded with an alert mind to the story of the suffering Saviour.

She showed her confidence in us to a remarkable degree, by consenting to take a meal with us the following day, when she returned our call, feeling sure

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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

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S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778 N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [798] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries [423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

S N 795 782 782 796 203 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 735 431 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest S N 795 788 the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different S N 795 796 Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and S N 795 262 wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems S N 795 769 has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not 177 restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Mos- 788 lems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and 778 include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the S3 Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the [199] Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of cor- [423] rupt Turkish.

N 795 The Salars live in Hsin-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found [361] on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to

N the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this re- [669] spect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against [793] the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated [199] many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not [212] burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and ad- 778 ministrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

346 (eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It 778 gained its name through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying-hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

778 The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past [264] emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

778 Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of 823 China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only [788] depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most [346] of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

778 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is 778 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical 823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary [782] records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most 712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans- 178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

N In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local [199] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated [211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

ness" of this road, and certainly what with the ravages of 487 brigands and the natural infertility of the soil, the few inhabitants were poor to the verge of starvation. Yenan seems to be the centre of the most desolate area, by far the poorest region I have traversed in China outside the actual deserts.

Chungpu, a poor little third class district city half in 361 ruins, lies on the side of a hill, with a sacred grove of very 778 ancient trees behind it, which present a remarkable sight in this treeless country. Near by is a small temple containing 769 the tomb of the Emperor Huang Ti, who reigned some 4000 years ago, which illustrates the great antiquity of these little Shensi towns.

The next day's stage to Loch'uan Hsien is a trying 487 march through the loess. The track follows down the valley 133 to the east for 20 li, and then turning north climbs up through a gully on to the plateau a few hundred feet above, across which it runs for an hour's march to the hamlet of Antzu T'ou, whence it drops into the valley of the Lo River. This stream resembles the Ching Ho, a muddy torrent twenty yards wide, and flows in a narrow valley some hundreds of feet below the level of the loess plateau. It is crossed by [491] a ferry at the hamlet of Chiaoho K'ou, and the path then climbs steeply out of the valley again and runs across the plateau in a N.E. direction for three hours' march to reach the district city of Loch'uan. The latter is the usual little 361 third class Hsien city of Northern Shensi, but appeared to be rather more prosperous than its neighbours and to show less signs of the ravages of brigands. It lies on the loess plateau, intersected as usual by colossal rifts, the heads of some of which are so close to the city that they threaten to engulf it in a few years time. These towns and villages on the loess plateau are quite unapproachable except by the existing roads owing to the rifts which open up all around, and could be held by a few men against an army; perhaps that is why Loch'uan appeared comparatively immune from brigand raids.

From Loch'uan to Fu Chou is another exhausting march 487 in the loess of 75 li. The track runs N.E. across the plateau 133 for an hour's march until it is held up by a huge cañon with the usual perpendicular walls. Climbing in and out of

000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 The town is beautifully placed and abundantly [285] watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where 788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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which permits of a more solid structure than elsewhere. 361
The collapse of these mud dwelling-houses is frequent ; 346
we ourselves were roused one morning by an ominous 342
thud, and ran out just in time to see Molly, with an injured air and covered with dust, led from the ruins of her stable which had fallen down around her.

Among the temples[1] none is so highly valued by the 346
citizens as the Hall of the Sleeping Buddha. The figure 778 •
is one hundred and twenty feet in length, about forty 532
feet high, and is firmly believed by the Kanchow populace to be the largest image of Buddha in the world. It is made of earth and plastered with a composition of lime and paper pulp. Entirely devoid of artistic merit, it is merely a colossal figure, reclining with the head resting on the right hand, and enormous, outstretched feet with huge, round toes of regular form. A gallery runs round the upper part of the hall from which a downward view can be obtained. The city also contains a Chorten (relic tomb) about one hundred and fifty feet high, which holds the remains of a noted Living Buddha who died in the locality. The Chorten is considered to symbolise the five elements into which the body is resolved at death—earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

In another temple is a brass horse and rider of great 346
antiquity. This statue is viewed with reverence, as it 778
is believed to have been miraculously conveyed to 532
Kanchow by a great flood of the Black River. Outside 776
this temple is a splendid, bubbling spring of water, called the Ih Chuan, and said to be the first spring of sweet water to the west of the Yellow River. It feeds a tank where sacred goldfish disport themselves, and has been venerated for centuries. Close to our own residence was the beautiful Temple of the Spacious Hills. We often walked there in the evening, when the

1 T.J.G. [at Kanchow -- Analyst]

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346 flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the
• 778 garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china
figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight
532 Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but
776 now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of
[777] an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

792 Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

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other hand, am under the power of these influences, 776
and it would be highly dangerous for me, or for you, to take a midway position, for then we would be removed from protection, and consequently exposed to the assaults of both forces.'

The whole time of our residence in Suchow, Chang-si-yeh's pavilion remained our home, and we became much attached to it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHALLENGE

Our new home was situated in the best residential 361
quarter of the town. Most of the neighbouring families had beautiful gardens like our own, and between us and the western city wall stood all the most important temples, to which plantations of young trees added a great charm. The neighbourhood was quiet, and free 776
from business traffic, Suchow possessing no gate on the western side. Twenty miles distant is situated the frontier fortress of Kiayükwan, where the Great Wall ends, and of which the popular saying is : 'Kiayükwan is the West Gate of Suchow.' As the deities of wind and water (Feng shui) would be deeply insulted if the wall were pierced, the inhabitants of Suchow would be terrified at such an action, fearing the destruction of the city by flood.

Our first walk was to a temple standing in large 778 •
grounds, and approached by a splendid poplar avenue. We were discussing, as we proceeded, the details of the new life ahead, when our eyes were riveted by an inscription over the temple door, hanging between two

778 colossal Warrior-Guardians, who, javelin in hand, offered defiance to any visitor that might question the supremacy of the gods within. '*What? So you have come too?*' were the words which confronted us, and which seemed even to be audible, so startling was the impression made. Yes, we had come; and we knew full well it would be a battle to the blood between the forces here represented and those for which we stood. 772 It was, therefore, with a sense of solemnity that we 775 entered,[1] to find ourselves at once in 'the Courts of 532 Hell'—for that is the name given to this shrine where the horrors of the Buddhist Place of Torment are realistically portrayed in clay-modelled figures, crudely coloured, but astonishingly vigorously done. The story begins by the spirit of a man, who having just died, finds himself divested of all fleshly covering, and must now in consequence start on his weary peregrination through the Underworld, where, for each sin committed in the body, the soul must now receive an exact retribution. In the next scene various other discarnate individuals knelt before the presiding Deity, while the doings of each one during their earth-life were weighed in accurately-adjusted scales. Around, more hapless beings underwent different tortures; some being dipped in a sea of blood, others sawn asunder between two planks, while others again were crushed like grain between upper and nether millstones. The covetous eyes were gouged out; the slanderous tongue was torn from the roots; and grappling-hooks fastened into the flesh of the lustful, peeled off the skin in ribbons. Here and there slender bridges, hanging over fearful chasms, were crossed by trembling pilgrims, whose escape from unknown consequences depended on the poise earned by former self-denials, and everywhere the minions of the merciless Judge gloatingly watched the sufferings of

[1] [a temple in Suchow -- Analyst]

we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her 000 vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the 776 Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers 782 —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while 796 mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples 788 known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'— 778 situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth 796 of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

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788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition •778 of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible, 796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

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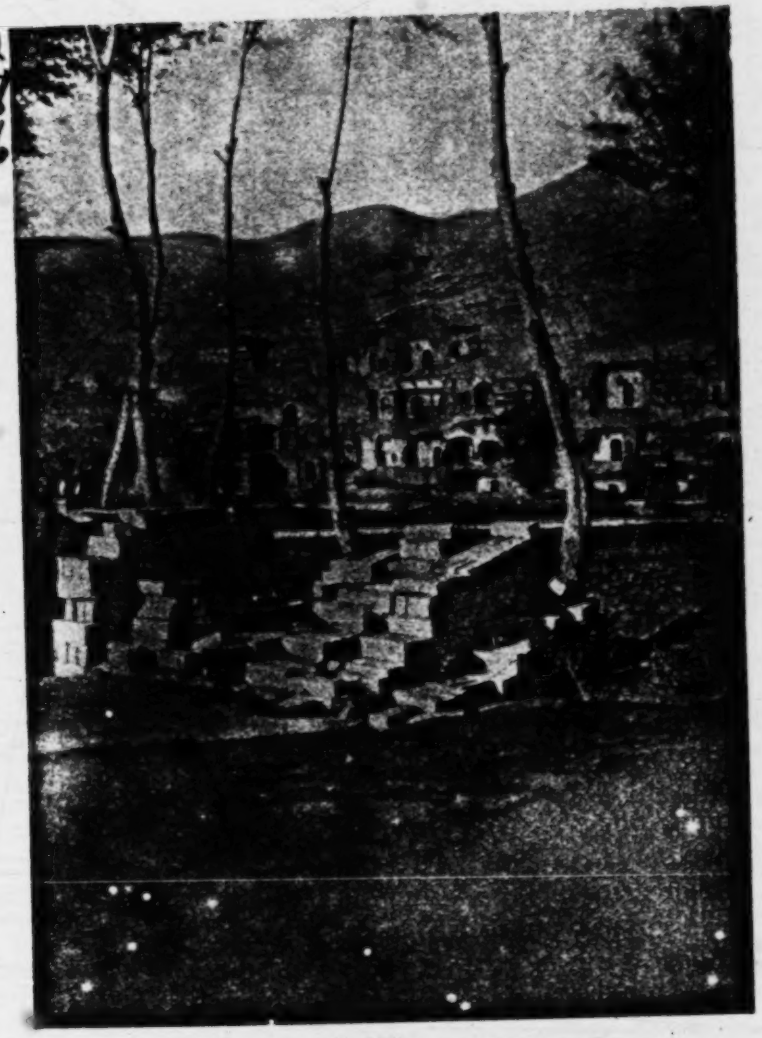

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS.
"Many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below."

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The self-appointed guardian of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas is an interesting man, who by his own unaided efforts has enormously improved the place—a Taoist priest, from the Province of Hupeh, he came twenty-eight years ago on a begging pilgrimage to Chienfutung, which in those times was nothing but a barren waste with a trickling brook losing itself in the sand. Wang-tao-shi—for that is his name—soon utilised this water for irrigation; he planted all the trees with his own hands, and sowed enough crops for his maintenance and that of his acolytes. He also erected a large, commodious rest-house, containing a lofty, cool hall surrounded by sleeping-cells, all spotlessly clean; while he himself occupied one small room adjoining a tiny kitchen. In order to repair the caves he has made frequent begging expeditions, and has also from time to time received large sums in exchange for certain old manuscripts, now in the possession of various museums; but he has never enriched himself, all being spent on the upkeep of the temples. The caves have been hollowed out by hand from the almost perpendicular cliff, which they have honeycombed, and each contains some particular representation of Buddha, by whose name it is distinguished; such as, 'The Temple of the Precious Three'; 'The Hall of the Solitary Buddha'; 'The Shrine of Sakimuni.' The walls are all frescoed, and extraordinarily well-preserved owing to the dryness of the climate; and as the façade has broken away in places, many of the upper shrines have now no frontage at all, so that they can be seen from the valley below. The atmosphere is marvellously clear, and they present an exceedingly fine effect. This breaking-away has also had the advantage of letting in the brilliant daylight to the shrines, some of which would be wholly inaccessible if it were not that small doors of communi-

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cation have been opened through a long vista of grottoes; one could, therefore, wander on almost interminably. The paintings cover a great period of time, some dating back to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 265), others to the Sung (A.D. 960–1280), and many of the best to the Tang period (A.D. 618–905).

A good number have been covered over by more recent stencil-work, the various layers of the colouring being clearly visible where the doors have been cut through. A very usual pattern for covering the walls is made by the use of innumerable small clay medallions, which viewed from a distance seem to present a geometrical design, but which on inspection are found to consist of a draped figure of Buddha sitting in an attitude of contemplation.

Most of the large idols were in raised alcoves, sometimes approached through an ante-chapel, in which were life-sized figures in flowing garments, their heads outlined against gilt haloes, or flame-bundles. The most delightful decorations represented family scenes in Paradisaic Gardens, where dainty ladies leant over lakes, or stood on camel-back bridges, watching the birds circling round the lotus tanks, while happy children ate ambrosial fruits.

Episodes from the life of Buddha recurred in many forms, as also illustrations of the delights awaiting those who attain to the joys of the Buddhist heaven. The ceilings were not arched, as one would expect in cave-dwellings, but were cut out to a square, the sides of which sloped upwards about five feet to form a smaller square. Anyone accustomed to the Chinese measure used for grain will understand that this is the shape of an inverted '*dou*.' We saw several colossal figures nearly a hundred feet high, one of which is enclosed in a roofless hall with head open to the elements, and another

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is an unusual representation of the Buddha reclining in the final state of Nirvana. A detailed account, as well as splendid pictures of these wonderful caves, can be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's record[1] of his visit to Tunhwang in 1907, when in company with the old guardian, Wang-tao-shi, he opened up a temple containing a mass of manuscripts of priceless value. These were written not only in the Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, but also in Uigur script, which is a derivative of Syriac writing, in Runic Turki, and in a peculiar form of Syriac script as employed in Manichaean writing. The variety and quantity of these manuscripts showed they must have formed part of some ancient monastic library. Specimens of hand-painted silk banners brought from Chienfutung by Sir Aurel Stein may be seen in the British Museum, and many extremely ancient and interesting records of Tunhwang find their place to-day in the King's Library of that building.

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On entering one of the larger temples, we were startled by the appearance of a Figure so totally unlike those which surrounded it as immediately to rivet our attention. It was that of a man standing by a tree, the face of which wore an expression so benign, sorrowful, and strikingly human as to cause us to remark to one another that it might have been intended to represent the Lord Jesus Christ. We were therefore particularly interested, on returning to Tunhwang, when we were asked the question by the students if we had noticed that they had given our Jesus a place in their Pantheon.

At the extreme southern end the caves contained more modern work, and the terrifying grotesques of the Chinese temple came into evidence once more. Here we entered a shrine whose deity was surrounded by a banner proclaiming it to be 'The Pitiless One.' On

[1] *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Sir Aurel Stein.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second, which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

rest-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole picture being reflected in the water, wherein numbers of little black ducks with white beaks disported themselves, dipping and reappearing continually. The little divers found the current to be so strong, that as soon as they reached the western extremity they rose above the water and trusted to their wings for the return journey rather than battle against the stream.

There is another curious phenomenon, the facts of which we were able to test. We were told to slide down the sandhill propelling ourselves by movements of our hands. This we found to be a very simple and effective way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating sound responded to our movements, resembling the twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound seemed to proceed from the very centre of the hill.

Another name for the locality is 'The Door of Thunder,' from the extraordinary sounds that sometimes are heard, when the whole valley echoes and re-echoes with a noise like that of rolling drums, and when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling, and continues to roll for hours on end. It is most amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples should not long ago have been buried under the sandhills. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind, it always carries the sand away from the surface of the water; were it otherwise one windy season must be enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

'The Side Door of Paradise' is a name frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake. Only a few hundred yards from the rest-house is a sand-choked depression, with temple buildings almost wholly submerged by drifting sand, and here was formerly a sheet of water as clear as that of the Crescent

[At the Lake of the Crescent Moon -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two women, who determined to force an entrance to Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters. Throwing aside their garments they plunged beneath the surface and were never seen again, but the lake immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great subterranean caverns, which account for all these mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it surprising that many tales are related to account for them. The whole neighbourhood is full of interest, and some day, doubtless, will be called upon to give up its secrets to scientific excavators.

Just when we were leaving the rest-house, a lama came towards us, having travelled barefoot from the sacred mountain of Shansi, prostrating himself at every few steps. It was near sunset; his red and yellow robes were soiled, and he himself weary and travel-stained, so that he was now calling in at this temple for a night's shelter. We stopped and spoke to him, and then all sat down by the wayside to talk.

'From what Province do you come, lama?' we enquired.

'From Utai Mountain, in Shansi,' he answered, 'and the road is long; it has taken me six months to reach here.'

'And where are you going?'

'To Lhasa, through those mountains,' waving his hand in the direction of the Southern Hills.

'What is the purpose of your pilgrimage?'

'To fulfil a vow made many years ago.'

We handed him a copy of St. John's Gospel, in which he at once read aloud the opening words: '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and*

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang-Al-1~~

more we prepared to enter on a stage which was completely new to us, and which we were warned held difficulties greater than any which we had already faced.

CHAPTER XXXII

VIEWING BLACK GOBI

EACH afternoon of our stay at Ansi we wandered out through the North Gate to a little bridge which spanned the irrigation canal, and looked over the limitless expanse of grey grit mixed with small black pebbles, across which the next stage of the journey must be taken. This was Black Gobi, a plain so windswept as to have lost its sandy surface, which has been carried away by the gales and deposited elsewhere. When the hour of our departure arrived and our carts rolled out by that same North Gate, leaving behind us the last city of Kansu, we knew that we must prepare ourselves for a series of arduous stages, and that we should not see another walled town until we reached Hami. It was 5.30 p.m. when we left the inn, and though we had tried to make it an easy day, the number of callers had added to the inevitable fatigue of repacking, and we were weary before we started. As soon as we were out of the oasis we realised that the black, gritty surface was not as resisting as we had hoped, and the cart-wheels dragged heavily from the first.

Three miles from the town gate we passed a temple, and as was our custom got down from the carts in order to visit it, as well as the priest in charge. To our surprise we found the door fastened from within by a heavy stone, and were unable to get an answer to our knocking and calling. Our carters refused to be balked

~~Sinkiang-Al-1~~

by a disobliging priest, and between them succeeded in dislodging the boulder. We entered a spacious and well-kept temple-court containing a well, by the side of which stood a bucket and well-rope. We passed from shrine to shrine without discovering any sign of life, but a few moments later a call from one of the men brought us to a little outhouse, where we found the guardian lying on his *kang* in the grip of raging fever, too weak to move, and being quite alone, had no means whatever of communication with the city. All that our men could do was to draw a bucket of water, which with a few loaves of bread we left within his reach, and later on, when we passed the postman, we sent a message back to the Ansi postmaster telling him of the priest's predicament, and begging for help to be sent.

We travelled all the night, and dawn found us at a landmark where a few arid mounds broke the landscape. The place was called Siyaotz—'Four Caves'—the name indicating four caverns which had been hollowed in the hillside, such as might serve to save a traveller's life in the event of high winds or blizzards. There was no point in delaying here more than a few moments to breathe the animals, which were already showing signs of fatigue, although we had accomplished little more than half our stage. But there is no possibility of delay on these hard marches, for the energy produced by the last feed soon ebbs, and consequently the Gobi roads are all marked by the bleaching bones of mules and camels, abandoned by their owners when too exhausted to keep up with the caravan.

The second half of the journey was now made doubly hard by the burning rays of the sun, added to which the grit was looser than before, so that after each short pull of twenty steps the flagging animals would stand still, needing to be urged again and again to make fresh

624 se of the so-called Tu jen (2) living in the city. Every day he places

2. A Chinese word, literally: "earth-people," meaning oldest inhabitants.

the insignia of his power in front of the door of his house, like a
685 petty Chinese official or a police officer. Everyone who passes the houses sees two kang (3) and a stick for administering bastinadoes

3. The kang. Chinese kia (popularly known as dia-dia in Kansu) is the rectangular piece of wood, weighing 20 pounds and about 60 centimeters in length, through which the head of a convict is stuck. The Chinese fear it less as a punishment than as a mark of shame, and it is used primarily in cases of petty thievery. The conviction lasts from one to two months, and this collar often may not be taken off at night. But the convicted person may go walking with it if he feels like it and if he has been granted bail or is a property owner.

which are used as punishment or to extract confessions. This represents the power which the li tu se still exercise over their subjects, the Tu jen. The yamen of these tu se is very small. But close be-
346 side it under a three-tiered roof (Plate L) sits a colossal clay Buddha
● 778 in the midst of a rambling group of buildings which have long since crumbled except for the foundation walls. In any case this structure stems from ancient times (perhaps Ming?) and was the temple of the Tu jen. A large part of the property around the temple still belongs to the Tu jen. There are many inhabitants of Hsining who maintain that the building containing the giant Buddha was not built as a temple but as a palace of the li tu se when they were still independent, around the time of the Sung Dynasty (11th
624 century). A rather large part of the city belongs to the Tu jen who
651 pay taxes to their kings and not to the Chinese officials.

The holder of the position of li tu se in Hsining was a young man in his early twenties who, in complete contrast with his father, enjoyed very little esteem. And rightly so! For, within a few years /171/ he had spent his father's entire fortune in drinking and gambling, and was now heavily in debt. Even his father had little power left over his subjects; the Chinese mandarins have now become even more the rulers. They now gather a tenth of the produce

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Fig. 13. A Yidam, one of the tutelary gods, holding a prayer bell and Dordyi (bronze). The figure is placed upon the mouth of a sick person who takes his medicines through the mouth of the god.

527 The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-
●778 size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure
788 of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

527 After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

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Kalmyk

563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
302 and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
●778 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked
563 very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[789] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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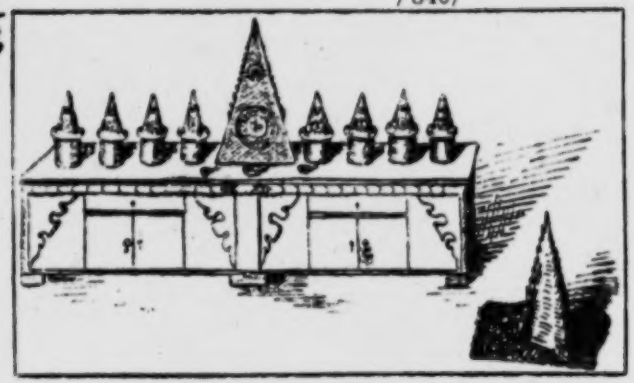

Fig. 20. Sacrificial table with Yidam, Smonlam hkor and gTorma (made of tsamba dough and butter).

C 854 not be carried off by evil spirits. There were other boys whose parents had arranged their hair like that of girls in order to deceive the evil spirits, for in China not even the devil bothers about a poor little worthless mite of a girl. The important thing for humans and therefore also for the forces of evil is the son and heir who will offer prayers and sacrifices on the future grave of his still-living father.

C T18 We passed little wooden boxes that reminded us of European mail boxes. But nobody thought of mail at that time in Dankar. The boxes bore the label: "Remember paper with writing on it!" and were set up - as everywhere in the kingdom of 18 provinces - so that people would not commit the sin of stepping on printed or written paper which is sacred, as everyone knows. There was a huge proclamation stuck to the first Chinese house we passed. It was signed by the ting of Dankar and proclaimed to the people that the Dalai Lama of Urga had moved to Gum bum. The people should willingly pay the required contributions /83/, and if the Fan tse accompanying the Lama should be impudent, they should not immediately pay them back in kind.

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T 792 Life in the city of Dankar had changed very much. It was the time when the nomads were in the habit of trading in their year's supply of grain. Besides, at the news of the arrival of the Dalai Lama, hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had arrived who were following him to Gum bum. Day by day the largest yak- and camel-caravans arrived in the suburbs and again departed from the large market place as fast as they could. Once 60 camels marched by on the way to Lhasa, bearing gifts which the high priest had received in Mongolia. Most of the gifts consisted of silver, guns and cartridges. On the backs of the animals gay yellow flags fluttered, bearing the Chinese insignia of Hsi tien (western heaven), that is to say: Central Tibet, and with that everything crossed the border duty-free. The lofty lord seemed to have made good use of his time.

The Dalai Lama lived in the Gum bum monastery, but a large part of his retinue stayed in the city of Dankar where the Lhasa government in any case always had resident commissars. It is difficult to say whether the latter represent largely commercial or political interests.

T 766 Around this time a younger brother of the Dalai Lama died in the city of Dankar. His body was cremated in a desolate mountain gorge north of the city, and everything was carried out with the greatest luxury, fit for a real prince. He was bound together in a

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563

1. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 S N [589]

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

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In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

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N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

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/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

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In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

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d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

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Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

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Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

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a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

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This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

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b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

779 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

779 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

779 671 has persisted to this day. The Koran and Hadith were the basic foundations on which the Shari'a evolved. The law was developed by Moslem jurists who, by different rational devices (e.g. analogy, consensus), adapted the principles of the Koran to fit many new situations, and supplemented the law when the Koran could not suffice.

779 B. The Principles of Islam

The whole of the religion of Islam is briefly summed up in the shahada, or the profession of faith (which is considered the primary duty of every Moslem)—La illaha illallah, i.e., there is but one God; Muhammadun rasulu-llah, i.e., Muhammad is the Apostle of God. The shahada is not found in this composite form anywhere in the Koran, but its two halves occur separately and are its constant theme. "O you who believe, believe in God and His Apostle and the Book which He has sent down formerly. Whoever denies God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostle and the Last Day has strayed far from Truth." (Sura iv, v. 135).

779 776 One of the essential elements of Islam is an uncompromising monotheism. The true belief demands ikhlas, the giving of one's whole and unmixed allegiance to God. Its opposite, which is considered the gravest sin that Moslems can commit, is shirk, the ascribing of partners to God and the worship of any other than him. Of the different forms of shirk, idolatry is denounced as the gravest.

Islam conceives of God as existing at all times and to eternity. "Call not any other God but Allah; there is no God but He. Everything shall perish except His Being. To Him belongs the rule and to Him you shall be brought back for judgment." (Sura XXVIII, v.88.) Along with the terrible and majestic aspects of God as Creator, Supreme Power, Judge and Avenger, the Koran also stresses His bounty and loving kindness.

The doctrine of angels also exists in the Koran. In the imagery of the Koran, the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like men, His creatures and servants and worship Him constantly; they bear up His Throne, descend with His decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell.

With the doctrine of angels there is also the doctrine of devils although the devils are represented as rebellious Jinn rather than fallen angels. The Jinns, like men, are created out of fire instead of earth; there are believers and infidels among them, and the unbelievers will be judged with men and condemned to Hell. The rebellious Jinns are called shaitans; they lead men astray, oppose the Prophets and try to overhear what is dis-

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563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

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563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

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563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

SN
563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[829] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

SN
563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

S N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
595 religious person will not exceed four wives.

799 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
S N loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
779 man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
829 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
S 595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
S [562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N [798]

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

S N 563 779 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 796 785 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 S N [788] Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

*563 538 779 mandment," is so called because it was translated from the ancient Indian language. The code extends to one hundred and eight volumes of about a thousand pages each. The Kah-gyur is divisible into three great sections: the Dul-va (Discipline), the Do (sermons), and the Ch'os-non-pa (metaphysics). These three sections are considered to be the antidotes for the three original sins; thus the discipline cleanses from lust, the sermons from ill will, and the wisdom from stupidity.

The Tibetan commentary or Tan-gyur is a great cyclopedic compilation of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian scholars and some learned Tibetans, in the first few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There are two hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is divided into two classes, the rGyud and mDo. The rGyud is mostly on rituals and ceremonies and the mDo on science and literature.

The indigenous works composed in Tibet are for the most part devoted to sacred subjects. The secular books exist, as a rule, in manuscript form, as the printing is in the hands of the monks. The sacred books can be divided into (a) apocryphal and (b) authentic and quasi authentic. The apocryphal works are the most numerous and most popular. Chief among them are the fictitious "revelations" or Terma books. Other common apocryphal works are the manuscripts possessed by the monasteries which gave a more or less legendary account of the history of the monastery.

The authentic books include many religious chronologies and records. Most of these biographies and records are legendary, especially those of the earlier Lamas and Indian monks. Some of the later ones dealing with more modern personages are of a somewhat more historical character, but are also overloaded with legends.

The leading ritualistic manuals of the various sects are of a more or less authentic character and small pocket editions of these prayer books and hymns are very numerous.

*563 538 By looking outside the monastic circles, little can be found: on the one hand, the elaboration of chronicles and genealogies of noble families, on the other, sacred plays, arbitrarily adapted to the people's psychology, temperament and understanding, by actors always ready to modify their literary origin. Folk songs and epics also originated by the people outside the monasteries. A collection of proverbs and drinking songs can be found in "The Precious Rosary" (rin-ch'en-p'ren-wa). The folk tales of the people (sgruns) are fabulous. The best known of these is that of Gésar. (Waddell suggests a possibility that the name may be derived from Caesar, or from Czar.)

Among the secular works of Tibetan literature, the most popular is the epos of Gesar, the national epic poem of the

Those 873 875 794 [554] students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustāḏh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bīk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 871 794 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
*[563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 794 871 [875] family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 794 872 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter

792 794 873 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[558] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 794 873 779 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[179] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations be-
[806] tween the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[954] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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779 THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS--elaborated systems of religious beliefs (e.g., totemism, pantheism); state religions; revealed religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism); sacred books; content of complex systems of dogma and theology; association of theological systems with ethics and philosophy; etc.

See also:

Totemic kin groups 61
Ethical ideals 577
Ancestor worship 769
Statements on the general character of religion. 771
Sects. 798
Theologians. 812

S N 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

S N 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the S N Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization [668] can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

S N VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances S N the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic 563 153 577 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered S N "bad" deeds.

563 153 799 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
792 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
795 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam
788 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
782 peatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties. Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to
783 prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so
[302] also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[292] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

779 [788] of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 721 798 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling [262] and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance [681] are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution [567], but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned [681], and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations. [671]

N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

779 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

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from the Chinese way, but the clothes of the men were different. 563
They preferred small octagonal blue, white or black caps and long garments which were worn like a caftan. It became more and more evident in all the faces we saw that foreign blood predominated here. The color of their skin had grown lighter. More and more often I saw red cheeks, brownish mustaches which were trimmed somewhat, hooked and somewhat narrower noses, eyelids with an at least horizontal axis and a much more pronounced arcus superciliaris than in the Mongolian type. The region around Ho tschou is densely populated; countless villages are scattered all over and in all of them [361]
the Mohammedans strongly predominate. (1) And no wonder! For I

1. Today no Mohammedans are permitted to live in and around the city of Di dao tschou; their settlements begin on the other side of the Tao Ho. On the way from Di dao to Ho tschou I saw many goiters, otherwise North China does not have many cases of it. Goiters begin to appear in the valleys of the Tsin ling, and in certain places there they are so frequent that almost every adult and especially all women carry around such an appendage.

was now nearing the stronghold of Mohammedanism in China proper. 563
What stories the Chinese soldiers who escorted me knew about the 579
towns along the way and the year 1895 when the Hui hui had rebelled! What hair-raising deeds had been committed on both sides! Whenever they fell into each other's hands, no matter what age or what sex, they killed one another. Whole communities were exterminated. The rebellious bands of Mohammedan farmers moved along from village to village. But the leading mullahs acted thoughtlessly. Their troops were so poorly armed that even smaller town walls stood firm if they were half-way decently defended.

It is astonishing that there are still so many Mohammedans in 563
existence after all the rebellions which were always quelled amid 779
rivers of blood. /161/ When I approached the city of Ho tschou itself I thought I was in a Mohammedan country. From the tops of the many minarets the muezzins were calling the hour of prayer. Well-spoken Arabic syllables reached my ear; countless old mosques /dscha mu (Arabic-Chinese)/ stood among groups of beautiful trees and many bearded mullahs without pigtails moved about in the throng.

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Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

782

782 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy 73, 74
Hymns 533
Etiquette 576
Mortuary sacrifices 764
Desecration and consecration of sacred objects and places 778
Stereotyped prayers 788

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
62 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
62 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[792] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
[796] ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[782] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S N sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
[562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
783 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
[203] food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
792 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
795 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam

779 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasised as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of
782 seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe
783 your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 796 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

228 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is
716 Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical
823 creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been con-
[782] nected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most
712 magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been trans-
178 formed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

771 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local
[177] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes
[211] in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
771 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
769 home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[592] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
771 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
796 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
592 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
782 ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only 439
makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It
evidently owes its importance to its position as the most
westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like
Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans
going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important
element in the trading community. There was no civil
official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of
soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be
expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133
hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487
distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li,
T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng
80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated
plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north.
Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have
to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known
Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having [484]
to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly
busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than
any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all 563
Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the
owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could
only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol
population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792
which from its appearance might equally well have been
situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796
very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the
accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535
Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in
Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the
Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It
represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing
of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism,
by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before
the King in the costume shown in the photographs, con-
cealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796
graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the 782
same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan
ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

devils, and the circumambulation of the monastery by the figure of the coming Buddha seated in a car drawn by an elephant, in this case a mock one. The extent of Asia covered by that curious form of Buddhism known as Tibetan Lamaism is very large, stretching as it does from the northern frontiers of India to the southern borders of Siberia, and from Ladak to the confines of Manchuria.

Kueihua Ch'eng is another busy commercial town serving a hinterland extending to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and Uliassutai. Near by lies the old Manchu garrison fortress of Suiyuan, which gives its name to the new territory of Suiyuan; the latter includes parts of Inner Mongolia and Northern Shansi, and has its counterpart further east in the territory of Chahar, comprising portions of Eastern Inner Mongolia and the Kalgan and Jehol regions of Chihli. These territories are administered on military lines. Kueihua is a good starting-point for a big-game shooting trip into the mountains further north, where remarkably fine sheep, a sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti can be secured, as well as the roe-deer and goral common in North China. With the Kalgan railway extension pushing on towards Kueihua, this is some of the best and most accessible big game ground in China nowadays.

We changed our carts at Kueihua Ch'eng and hired new ones to take us through the mountains to railhead at Feng Chen, distant four long marches. The first stage is a march of 90 li to the mountain village of Shihjen Wan, the trail continuing east across the plain for six or seven hours and then running up a shallow valley for the rest of the way. Many of the higher mountain slopes were snow-clad, though the season of the year was only late September. On the following day another long march of 90 li up a valley and over a low pass brought us to the hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying on a sort of plateau of moorland country, the beginning of the grass lands of Eastern Inner Mongolia. It snowed heavily most of the day and we arrived cold, wet, and tired to find the roughest of accommodation in a large cart inn. The third stage is still longer, called 110 li, to the village of T'iench'eng Ts'un, but the trail lying partly across grass country one can travel fast. The road descends through flat open valleys to a lake, where good wild-fowl shooting

which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled cities, the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.
796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

their victims, whose every attitude expressed the very 772
acme of agony. At last, having received its due, the 775
spirit was seen preparing for a new incarnation, as the 532
Wheel of Life revolving had now a fresh rebirth to distribute. This time the protagonist is to enter the body of a pig; and here the artist reached the highest degree of plastic talent. Though it were but to wallow in the mire, the prospect of once more breathing the fresh air, of basking in the kindly rays of the sun, and of living the familiar life of earth, filled the hunted spirit with untold joy, marvellously indicated by the glance thrown over the shoulder, as the porcine snout descended like a mask upon the features.

An old priest was superintending a party of wor- 769
shippers, who had come to burn gold and silver paper folded to represent money, this being considered suit- 782
able to be offered as votive-sacrifices for the dead. These people had lately lost a father, and picturing him as wandering through such an abode of pain, were now doing all they possibly could to come to his assistance. Leading the group was a young man, his son, who doubtless in all matters of daily life showed himself to be far-sighted and intelligent, but who now, with a mind blinded by heathenism, sought to impress upon the torturers the fact that he was in a position to buy off his father's doom by such large sums of mock-coinage as any god might be flattered to receive. The smoke rose, and the spirit-treasure passed out of sight. The gods would doubtless now see to it that part, at least, of the debtor's bill was paid!

Our immediate business was to let the people of 527
Suchow know of our arrival, and very soon, by means of posters, the news was spread, and the words: 'The Christians have come!' were on the lips of all. It was greatly to our advantage that the whole city happened

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'—situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

The geographical position of the city is such as to

779 charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be
431 given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more
735 highly than those who publicize their gifts.
744 Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particularly in this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer; it is an ordinance from Allah, and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9;60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and (3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the first heading: the poor who, on account of some physical and mental defect, are unable to earn their bread because of their deficiencies; the poor who have no resources but when given some help can earn their livelihood; new converts to Islam who are deprived of means of subsistence; those who are captives and are deprived of freedom; debtors who are unable to pay their debts; and lastly, the travellers who are stranded in a foreign country or in a distant place and who are unable to reach their homes.

The second kind of expenditure involves the maintenance of an establishment and office for the collection of zakat, and includes the salaries of those who collect the money and distribute it.

The third heading includes those in the way of Allah, which means usually those who fight a Holy War in the name of Allah against the enemies of Islam.

Besides the institution of zakat, there are two others of similar nature designed to collect obligatory charity. Both of these are connected with Moslem festivals. The idea is that whenever the Moslem is in his happiest mood, he must never forget the distress of his poorer brethren. The first of these institutions is the sadaqat-al Fitr, a charity connected with Id el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year. Every Moslem on this occasion is required to give away in charity a certain amount of food, the value of

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of inadequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled, the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society, who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and charity organizations normally available to this category are discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

657 731 The second category however, the victims of natural disasters, poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation projects than in other regions of China. During the last period of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair, thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts. Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi, and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earthquake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881 in Kansu and the ones of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang and the Hsi-ning district of Chinghai are still in everybody's memory, even though the twenties of our century have again brought two devastating earthquakes.

[669] Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without interruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 735 779

A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities

Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

794 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves
735 and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provieds
for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the
• 779 administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a
system of government institutions that the needy were taken
care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept
of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted
to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the
religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear
conception of the separation of state and religious institutions.
The functions in both political and religious realms are merged
and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an out-
standing example for such a merging of state and church funct-
ions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a
religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain
those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation,
the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an
Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A depart-
ment of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws
to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However,
since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems
of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the
state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

779 Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the
Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam
stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Bene-
volence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the
Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity
being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good),
zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq
which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed).
Benevolence to other men includes the feeding of the poor, the
emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen.
Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying
a good word are considered also as charitable.

779 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory.
431 Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory
794 charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of
735 the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver
is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of
Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach
or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or,
"Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by
injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

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and reports there the way things have gone for the family 776
throughout the year. Thus, this day is very important and 782
is called the Little New Year. On this day he is offered
sweets, rice and other things and while his picture is being
burned in the fire the entire family calls after him: "Sir
Kitchen God, Sir Kitchen God, do not report anything bad
about us!" In the real New Year's night he returns from
heaven and that is when people again paste his picture on
their walls.

a little epigram or a Chinese symbol of luck and wealth on all my 527
chests as well as my saddles, on the baskets, bags, hammers, on my 777
camera, in fact even on the broomstick which I had bought two days
before and on the shovel, in short, on everything I possessed. Even
in the rubbish heap there was a special piece of paper for the important
god of rubbish. My three horses had red ribbons braided into their
manes and wore a piece of wide red cloth on their foreheads; all this
was part of the New Year's greeting of my servants. And everyone
exchanged wishes of "Fa ts'ai ba! fa ts'ai ba! may you be rich!"

My New Year's call to the amban was undertaken together with 574
Mr. Ridley, and on this occasion I saw the old gentleman for the
first time. As is customary in China, he greeted us in the vestibule
and then led us, amid many bows and the most ingratiating smiles,
into his guest room. From the moment we arrived he talked inces-
santly and it was perfectly obvious that he made every effort not to
give us a chance to speak. He did not trust us. He was afraid of a
complaint which would have lowered him in the eyes of his men.
We were scarcely able to give him our New Year's greetings. He
avoided any kind of dialogue and kept repeating how sorry he was
that I had been attacked in his territory and that the hsië dia did not
take better care of me. It was all their fault. He would have our
guide severely punished. His soldiers were on their way to fetch
my things. (2) And he said if I were going to travel again in his

2. As a matter of fact, they did set out three days later for the Koko Nor and brought back all my animals, but unfortunately none of the irreplaceable equipment.

province I should by all means let him know in time so that he could
give me a military escort. "I shall give you soldiers to take along.
I ding wo ba ni sung. You may depend on it, I shall have you

C 782 see it?

That is where Hoang schang (emperor) burns incense and makes offerings to the mighty spirit. Five or six years ago I was there with Be tschal sche (3). At that place he lighted a few small Chinese

3. The equivalent of Bi tieh sche, commissar, a Chinese form of the Manchurian title bitheschi for the official who was sent from Hsining to Dscherkundo in Yü schu every three years, and who at the same time made an offering at the Sea of Stars in the name of the emperor.

incense candles and burned some yellow sacrificial paper. This must be done every three years at the command of the great emperor in Tsching tsch'eng. (4) Six white sheep are also dedicated to the great

4. Literally, "capital," the most common name for Peking among the Kansu people.

spirit each time, so that he will protect the great lowland in the south of China from floods. Each of us brought along a stone and added it to the obo; then we threw ourselves on the ground facing the Kuenlun Mountain and touched the earth three times with our foreheads, just like our Schu be (5) and like Be tschal sche. But the Mongol leaders

5. Probably corresponding to the officer's rank of captain of the green banner in the Manchu empire.

burned cedar twigs and rode around the obo.

Then we released the six sacrificial sheep. And on we went toward the south. After ten days we came to the first tents of "Those with the Red Hats." (6)

6. Hung mao tse- "those with the red hats" (namely, lama) is what the Hsining-Chinese call the K'am Tibetans who are under the administration of Hsining. (In the Hsining dialect tse equals te.)

T 631 C 631 /15/ "South of the obo is an old battlefield," Tschang went on to report, "and to this day the Hung mao tse (the red-hatted ones) sing of it:

The great number of stone slabs that were covered 782
all over with Tibetan writing showed that our predecessors had traveled slowly. In the lonely valley were to be seen walls 10 to 20 meters long of mani rdo mgum (mani rdo hbum, i.e., 100,000 mani stones). While their caravan animals were resting, devout monks on their pilgrimage to Lhasa once carved these prayer reliefs, with the crudest implements, but so deep and so painfully neat as though they were afterwards not to be piled one on top of another, but openly displayed for all the world to judge who could do best. Decades of snow and ice have since then continued working on them and the bright colors are almost washed out. (Plate VII)

After my Tsch'eng had seen the prayer stones, he began to look for the Yang tse kiang every day. For the custom of carving these reliefs so laboriously is not common among the Koko Nor Tibetans; they are more often found near the Yangtze River.

We were on the way to the Hsi t'ien, the heaven of the west. For many hours Tsch'eng continued to tell us the story of Tang sen and how it was through him that the mani stones came to the banks of the Yangtze.

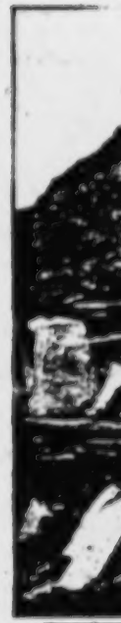
The Legend of Tang sen

During the T'ang dynasty in China there lived a petty official by 539
the name of Tsch'eng guan wei, and he had a wife whose name was Yi man t'ang (2). This man had an /24/ elder brother whose name

2. I have written the names as my people pronounced them.

was Yi k'ai Shan and who was a very important official. When the couple were transferred to another place they had to travel by boat, and after they had sailed two or three days the boatman attacked the official Tsch'eng at night, bound him, and threw him overboard. But then the rapacious boatman married the woman. She was carrying a child in her womb and for the sake of it she accepted the robber's proposal. Thus they traveled on and after a month they came to the place where the official Tsch'eng was supposed to have entered his new office. With the help of the murdered man's papers, the murderer now got the job.

Four or five months later the woman gave birth to the child of Tsch'eng, but the husband's murderer was not aware of it. Right after it was born, she bit off the child's big toe, packed the child



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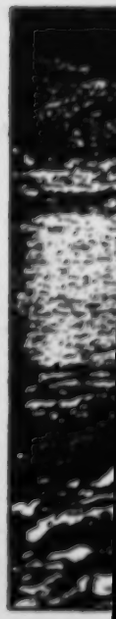

--42 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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ate VII /24 (C)/

782

one slabs with prayers and prayer formulas in the Serkoh' Chu Valley.

136

Young wild yak steer on the banks of the Serkoh' Chu.

783

783 PURIFICATION AND EXPIATION--practices reflecting a sense of contamination or guilt; concept of ritual uncleanness; things and persons considered unclean or impure; purification rites (e.g., ritual ablutions and bathing); concepts of sin, salvation, and redemption; riddance of sin (e.g., confession, remission, atonement, penance, scapegoat); etc. /See also:

Elimination 514
Personal hygiene 518
Ideas about unclean castes 564
Definitions of acts regarded as sinful 673
Punishment of ritual offenses 688
Conception of pollution, contagion, and loathsome diseases 753
Ideas about corpses 764
Ideas about sexual intercourse 833
Ideas about menstrual blood 841
Ideas about the exuviae of childbirth 844

361 701 563 Today the city of Ho (1) tschou itself consists mainly of the

1. Pronounced like H'e with a very sharp guttural sound.

southern suburb of Nan kwan. That is where the mosques and the large Mohammedan shops are. The actual city of Ho tschou, on the other hand, is pure Chinese. The Mohammedans are forbidden, under penalty of death, to live inside the city. There are always many hundreds of soldiers garrisoned on the city wall (Plate XXXVI), and one finds there stables for the horses of officers and men. The wall is kept in excellent repair. But since not very many Chinese live here, there are large areas inside the walls that are deserted. All the life goes on outside. There we find closely built-up streets, for the most part with two-story houses as in Di dao, surrounded by a wall which today is destroyed. I estimate that Ho tschou proper and its suburb has a population of 30,000 and of these over two-thirds are Mohammedans. (2) There is not another city within the 18

2. The entire district is said to have had 85,526 families, according to the census of 1831.

provinces of the Chinese empire that has a similarly strong Moham-
771 medan aspect. And yet there are many things that are entirely
[782] different here from other genuinely Mohammedan countries. In Ho tschou and environs I never saw a Hui hui who spread out his prayer rug in a courtyard or out in the open to pray when the muezzins (3)

3. The muezzins like the mullahs are always called ah'un in Kansu. The word comes from East Turkish where ahon means the scholar. Even these Ahun are not always circumcized. Most Chinese Mohammedans do not know anything about circumcision.

called out. The Ho tschou Mohammedans, like the ones that have become still more Chinese, are very superficial in their religion and can scarcely execute the prescribed ablutions without making a mistake. It seldom happens that one of them makes a pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few of them even know the name of the city. Most of them only know about "Kerbe" (4) and that this is a place

4. Kaaba, the cubiform holy of holies in the mosque at Mecca.

from the tu se fields into their barns. I shall come back to the sub- 624
ject of the Tu jen later when my journey takes me through their 651
country. In and around the city of Hsining there are only a few Tu jen living today.

The city of Hsining fu is now almost entirely Chinese. Even 563
in the erstwhile very important eastern suburb, the Tung kwan which was destroyed by the Chinese in 1895, Mohammedans are no longer permitted to live with their families; they may only conduct their businesses there. Since 1896 specific sections and valleys in the mountains have been assigned to Mohammedan families. The only thing that is waived today is the decree that was for years carried out very strictly, namely, that Mohammedans wishing to visit the inner part of the city were obliged to have a stamp put on their cheeks as they entered the city gate.

The inhabitants still vividly recalled the horrible battles with 701
the Mohammedans. Hsining was therefore also a military city. There were five ying (battalions) stationed here and the largest and most beautiful yamen was that of the general (tschen tai) who had a rather large arsenal. In it incense was lit on the first and fifteenth of every [782]
month to the deliverer of the city, an old ko lu pu pau (a Krupp cannon), and officers and soldiers fell to the ground in a kowtow before the rusty cannon. This weapon was the soul of the defense in the year 1895. Human blood was officially smeared around the mouth of the cannon in order to make it voracious and thirst after Mohammedan blood. The natives said: "It has a soul just like a human being," and they undoubtedly had a much more definite image than our native recruits do when we teach them to speak of the "soul" of the axis of a gun or cannon.

The tsch'eng schu ying, the military governor of the city who is 701
also the keeper of the keys to the city gates and commander of the 712
so-called middle battalion, (1) as well as the hsien, the prefect,

1. The Chinese provincial army consisted only of the green banners, the lü ying. In peace time one seldom heard of the larger associations, the tschen piao (brigades), the hsie (regiments), because the Chinese provincial army (I am not speaking of the troops on the coast) was used as a police troop and was garrisoned in various places. The primary important military unit is the ying camp or battalion that is under the command of a major (yu tschi) or a captain (du se or schu be).

426 then my friends, too, appeared dressed in silks and velvets and all their children, as good breeding demanded, wore new shoes. I now learned that the man had been cautious enough to store a few chests of his belongings in my little courtyard, with the help of my servants, and he had now brought them back to his apartment again. Nor was the man by any means bankrupt. All he lacked at the moment was cash to cover all his debts.

527 At the first cock's crow, long before day, my servants came back
574 from the New Year's celebration with their families and offered me their New Year's kowtow for which one's employees always receive a major gift of money. The first official callers, among them the hsien and a few officers of the city who were acquaintances of mine, also stood at my door at six in the morning just as the sun was rising. They were on their way back from the temples where they had delivered offerings and congratulations to the official state deities and the emperor. In China I learned the meaning of New Year's calls on acquaintances, and good luck wishes. Surely no Chinese would be impressed by our European manner of doing this. Beginning with the first day of the new year, the inhabitants of China are on their feet from morning till night and hasten from one to the other of their acquaintances in order to express their good wishes in the form
527 of a kowtow. On the morning of New Year's day everyone washes
777 his face and appears in holiday garb which should be new if possible, and all doors, all door posts and implements are freshly pasted with luck-bringing words and sayings. The paper which is used for this is fire-red, unless the family happens to be in mourning. (1) Thus,

1. Like the color of the Yang, see footnote to p. 33.

on New Year's in China everything looks pretty and orderly, and above all, indescribably gay. On my house, too, the servants had during the night pasted new pictures of the gate deities on the outside of all the doors, and over the hearth they had put a fresh picture of the kitchen /207/ god Ts'ao ye (1), and when I awoke there was

776 1. Also called Ts'ao wang ye. This is the chief deity of
782 the family. He is below the city god and the almighty god of heaven, the supreme Chinese deity, and of course, also below the emperor, the son of heaven. He guards the fire and the domestic hearth. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the last calendar month he ascends to heaven

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Tu ren

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan tan is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

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Tu ren

eaten throughout West China. 000

flour, the heads of slaughtered pigs which, according to ancient 527
custom, are set up by the community in front of the picture of the 563
god in the main temple of the fair ground. But there are crowds of people on the square where the eating shops and the booths for the sale of all kinds of bright-colored materials and ribbons have been erected, and where the liquor sellers and the men who rent tobacco pipes are to be found, and especially on the meadow which is several acres large where the gamblers assemble. (Plate LVI). For ten days 563
from early in the morning until late in the afternoon a Chinese 527
theater group performs on a Chinese stage. The Tu ren community 545
makes possible these performances through local assessments and through half-voluntary contributions of the wealthier populace, as is the case with Chinese festivities, and the individual spectator need not pay admission. The part of the theater where the audience gathers is not marked off specially from the rest of the fair grounds. People can come and go as they please, can set up a tent to protect themselves from the sun, or bring chairs and tables. The wives of [556]
the more well-to-do, especially the Chinese women who attend the festival view the performance from their private carriages whose large sun roofs cut off the view even more than the largest hats of ladies on European race tracks. The stage is built of tiles with an arched roof, closed on three sides and - exactly as in China proper - is next to the main temple, as though it were a part of it. The stage [782]
faces the entrance to the temple, for the Eastern Asiatic is of the opinion that theatrical performances are particularly meritorious and pleasing to the gods, and that therefore the stage must be placed so that the gods can watch the performance. For in Tibet today theatrical performances are a part of the cult - as we saw in the last chapter - and this is the way it was in former times in China. Today, however, the connection is somewhat external. The Chinese theater has for a long time also presented secular plays, pranks and love dramas, and is by no means satisfied as are present-day Tibetan plays, merely with the presentation of horrible images of the gods which, according to the priests, will punish mankind unless they are appeased with gifts and assessments of all kinds.

A Tibetan incarnation, an old cozy-looking holy man with a nice pot-belly, who came from a monastery not far from Wei yüan ou, seemed to think there was no harm in sitting for days on end in front of the theater on the open meadow where the festival was held.

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summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in 563
the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he 792
read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28 sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao 782
Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up 539
at the Tschürnong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his daily invocation:

Lama la stiapsumdschiū
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
rnam la ptscha tsalo-o
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
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If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. 782
It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

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782 he purified the animal. Then the horns and ears were sprinkled with water until the animal shook itself, a sign that the gods accepted it as a sacrifice. Then it was handed over to the Mohammedans. To complete the offering, the Fan tse Me threw clotted scraps of blood into the air with the ladle when the animal was being dismembered. If I had not had any Mohammedans with me, the men from Kue de would have killed the animal according to the Tibetan custom, they would have slowly strangled it with a rope pulled over its nostrils. When the animal was cut up, it did not take long before the sacrificial lamb was converted into blood sausages and sausages for frying.

782 264 It was dark when the meal was served. A ewer of horse-milk brandy had been bought in the neighboring yurt for the occasion. The sky had become more and more overcast, there was only a little light from the resinous cedar wood, and in numerous tents and yurts in the valley friendly fires beckoned. When we had dined Tsch'eng got up and gave a speech, using many high-flown words and similes, and saying that Sung had now paid his wether and that now no one could accuse him of having infected us with his disease up in the highlands. Then the men sang their melodious songs into the night. They sang melancholy Mongolian songs and light Tibetan couplets:

782 539

"Alächimo! Maiden!
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from yonder shore,
Like a chain of gold stretched across a river from the hither side,
Like a bridge with golden arches, heaven has united us with cords of gold." (1)

1. In the dialect of the Koko Nor Tibetans:
Tschü par re sege re
Tso tschü re sege re
Sang song be re se sa tsu tsa re
Li dyen dyi sege tenn da re.

or, a song teasing his beloved:

"Alächimo! Maiden!
I have a cap of fox fur and a cap of lamb's wool.
If I do not wear the fox fur cap but the lamb's wool cap I am just as happy.
I have a long sword and I have a short sword.
Whether I wear the long sword or the short sword in my belt,

[text continues on p. 569]

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I am equally happy.
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love, 782 539
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill of a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. 782 789
Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam (tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centimeters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Buddhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was divided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times, then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were each given a khadar and silver, according to their rank and dignity, because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p.571]

5: Tafel--570 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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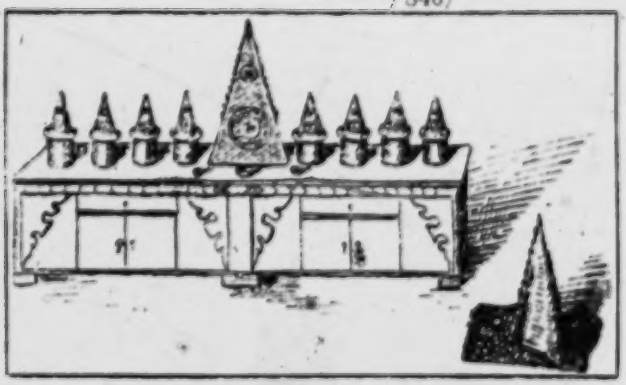

Fig. 20. Sacrificial table with Yidam, Smonlam hkor and gTorma (made of tsamba dough and butter).

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782 789 influences (in Chinese the ceremony is called: sung gui, in Tibetan: dorma p'en). (1)

1. Rockhill has already described the end of this ceremony in his Land of the Lamas, pp. 113 and 114. From wealthy Tibetans the priests /341/ demand 50 and more pounds to make the tsamba figures. This offering is carried out once a year mostly at New Year, by each family. In Southeast Tibet a bullock's head of tsamba is also usually placed beside the gtorma (probably to represent Yama). There the bullock's head and gtorma are brought to the fire amid the shooting of guns; at the Chinese frontier "crackers" are shot off. In both places cries of "Pfui" are uttered during the procession.

137 /341/ In the woods of Schang and among the Rengan Fan tse I met for the first time the green da hoang (Chinese), literally: the great yellowness, namely, rhubarb, the mother-plant of our well-known and trusty home remedy. The flower clusters were at this time, the beginning of July, more than 2 meters and in some cases 3 meters tall and covered with pinkish blossoms. The leaves which were deeply slit and tapered off into pointed lobes, had red-speckled stems. Old plants spread their thick foliage over several square meters of ground and from the tangle of leaves which was two-thirds of a meter high and often looked like a bush, arose individual slender, tall flower clusters. If one digs out these stalks one finds rhizomes up to the size of a bullock head, and in with the roots there are still clusters of young, smaller plants.

The plant grows between thickets and limestone rocks and prefers damp places of wooded areas. But I also found it in moist places of sandstone slopes covered only with grass. It is found up to 4,100 meters. The lowest border of its common habitat is 2,800 meters. (1)

1. A few days before my departure from Hsining I received a letter from Professor Tschirch from the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Bern. He called my attention to the fact that there is still uncertainty about the origin of the common medicinal plant, rhubarb, from a botanical as well as a geographical point of view. He asked me to send him bulbs and

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643 291 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Mohammedan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come through infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 342 574 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbor. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approached, the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama. [576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 437 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen. He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a [792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[i.e., of Barun.—Analyst]

are eating their mutton and kyang meat raw, and they knead their flour with cold water instead of with butter tea. Even these easily satisfied people find that such a diet lies heavy in their stomachs.

On the evening of the second day, therefore, Tsch'eng laid a huge wild-yak horn on a large pile of white quartz fragments which he had gathered, blew his shell horn and burned fragrant cedar leaves which he had carefully dried and carried with him. Everyone fell to the ground /14/ and prayed to the spirits for clear weather and dry dung that would enable them to have better food.

And behold, the local spirit recognized and delighted in the unexpected fragrance; soon after it cleared. Soon all the discomforts of the weather, all teeth-chattering during the two wet days were forgotten when, the following morning, in bright sunshine we were able to cross the last flat pass to the "sea of stars" (Plate V). My grumbling companions of the night before had again become the singing choir of old. The Kuenlun song of my Hsining people sounded gaily across the source waters of the Hwang Ho:

"Whether I stand at the source of the Hwang Ho,
Or pitch my tent on the Kuenlun,
Even to the ends of the earth
I am thine, beloved, and think of thee."

"Hayä!", an exclamation of awe came from the row of riders as we stood on the top of this pass. Tschang who had passed through here in the escort of a Manchu official who was traveling to K'am, explained the region to those who were seeing it for the first time:

"Look, down there where the sun sparkles in all those pools, that is 'skarma t'and' (the plain of stars); my East Tatar (1) master told

1. The Hsining people always referred to the Manchu as dung da da (East Tatar).

me that in our language of the middle garden (2) the place is called

2. In the Hsining dialect tschung yüan was China.

Sing su h'ai (sea of stars).

There in the southwestern part of this plain is the snow-covered mountain of Kuenlun Shan; that is where the spirit of the Yellow River lives.

On the low hill that extends from the east way into the plain of stars, the huge heap of stones, the Obo, do you see it, do you not

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be- S N [793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per- S N [562] sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N 563 779 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 782 785 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 S N [788] Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 582 582 [791] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swashed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face; (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up; (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to
783 prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

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788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[302] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the
[292] head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

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563 this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsuppo.ted by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
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582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The
356 superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731
disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491
means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741
also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731
which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797
for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583
cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, 292
white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at 533
brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485
between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563
choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783
distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
4-5 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on
272 this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
391 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
286 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In
188 every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn, or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

784

784 AVOIDANCE AND TABOO--practices reflecting impulses to escape from fear or anxiety; techniques for avoiding malevolent spirits (e.g., flight, disguise, deception, disparagement); concept of taboo; imposition and removal of taboos; prevalent types of taboos (e.g., food taboos, property taboos, status taboos, word and name taboos, totemic taboos, sex taboos, reproductive taboos, therapeutic taboos, mortuary taboos); systematization of taboos; general discussion of taboos; list of taboos; specific taboos not classifiable elsewhere; supernatural punishments for violations of taboos and other offenses; etc. Since taboos commonly represent the negative aspects of cultural norms, information on taboos may be found under many categories, only a few of which are indicated in the cross-references below.

Totemic taboos	81, 92	Rest days	527
Mortuary taboos	76	Name taboos	551
Sex taboos	93	Avoidance relationships	602
Reproductive taboos	94	Taboos surrounding a chief or king	65, 622, 642
Cultural norms	183	Legal norms	671
Euphemisms	196	Definition of acts regarded as sins	672
Food taboos	263	Social Sanctions for violations of taboos	688

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Government schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church. Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

785

785 ASCETICISM--practices reflecting tendencies of self-abasement or self-torture; mortification of the flesh (e.g., flagellation, hookswinging, bed of spikes); fasting; sexual renunciation (e.g., continence); renunciation of comforts (e.g., vows of poverty, wearing sackcloth); abandonment of worldly affairs (e.g., becoming a beggar or hermit); etc. See also:

Personality	15	Suicide	762
Control of hunger	281	Ascetics	792
Mutilation	304	Idealization of continence and chastity	831

and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt observance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems. Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese village. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

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Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing 203 and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest [184]

S N 795 /Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

203 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, S N 795 when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to 735 the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is 431 no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, 788 or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the 796 tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that 262 has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor 769 worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not 177 restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept N 795 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Mos- 788 lems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and 778 include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semi-circle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.

796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

787

787 REVELATION AND DIVINATION--practices reflecting anxiety about the future and often also a sense of inspiration; quest for visions and guardian spirits; hallucinatory revelations; communication with spirits (e.g., through spirit possession, through inspired oracles, through mediums); prophecy; clairvoyance; acquiring mystic insight through concentration and contemplation; interpretation of dreams; omens and their interpretation; divinatory practices and techniques (e.g., haruspicy, hepatoscopy, necromancy, scapulimancy, scrying, sortilege, astrology); etc. See also:

Personality disorders	158	Cult of the dead	780
Judicial oaths and ordeals	695	Guardian spirits	778
Revelation and divination in the treatment of disease	755	Diviners, seers, and mediums	791
Omens of death	783	Ideas about dreams	804

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
621 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined
together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
[792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly
nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond
that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-
t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu,
Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability
of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the
border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of
any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organiza-
tion, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual
families, but the grazing lands and forests are community
property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the
village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of
timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
62 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[787] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual
[792] fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simul-
taneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field.
And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be com-
pletely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field
to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are
too large one hires extra help. During the course of the
growing season all the villagers periodically parade through
the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These com-
munal activities have both religious and economic bases.
From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been
[787] selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the communi-
ty's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground,
[796] the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks.
From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been
plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a
community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

*563 avoid increased assessments.
592 The relationships between husband and wife have no religious
[182] basis. The Tibetan woman has a great degree of freedom: she
[562] has an opportunity to choose her mate. Women also have certain
[584] property rights, which give them a more secure position in the
household and in the society as a whole. However, a Tibetan
woman does not enjoy full equality with the men.

*563 The family is held together chiefly by economic factors. Fre-
592 quent migrations and the scarcity of sources of livelihood neces-
sitate close family cooperation. Individual opportunities are prac-
tically non-existent, except for joining the clergy. Otherwise it
[591] is very rare for a son to leave his father's household, and start
living on his own. This may occur, when a son wants to marry
against the wishes of his parents; or when a younger brother is
dissatisfied with his secondary position in the family and does not
get along with his eldest brother.

*563 Where fraternal polyandry is practiced, the relationships
595 between the brothers are naturally very close. They all are con-
593 cerned with and derive a living from a common property. They
all share the same house and the same wife.

The Tibetans are not very conscious of the existence of a clan
*563 system but they do have some regulations influencing their rela-
582 tionships within the framework of the clan. They cannot marry
[614] their blood relations of the degree of first and second cousins on
either side. A younger brother is permitted to marry the widow
of his elder brother and the father is permitted to marry the widow
of his son. The children of tribal chiefs have to conclude marriage
*563 with people from the same social level of other tribes. Allegiance
619 to the tribe is stressed. Tribal relationships involve many obliga-
tions from its individual members, as well as prerogatives derived
from belonging to this social and political grouping.

*563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs
582 The Tibetan boys marry around the age of 16-20 and usually
584 take a girl a year or two younger than they are. Marriage either
may be arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by
themselves. The first is true particularly for the children of tribal
chiefs and high officials. To find one who matches them in power
and status, marriage must be arranged with another chiefly family.
This is usually done through the parents.

Should the parents select a mate for their child, the boy's
*563 father looks for a bride for his son. When he has a girl in mind,
584 he sends a middle man to her father to discuss the matter. If
[787] her family is interested, the boy's and girl's horoscopes are given
to the lamas who decide if the two parties fit harmoniously. After
the lamas have given their approval, the next step in concluding
the marriage is taken. The bridegroom's family sends gifts to

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter
The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal.
It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave
immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the
monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on
the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put
on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments,
and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village
form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the
temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to
witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
527 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
88 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[362] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[792] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[574] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[431] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any
man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
*563 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
584 are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the
parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[575] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the
terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
*563 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
583 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
584 money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of
the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the rela-
tives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes
for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in
livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the
family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who
bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for
the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

N *563 764 (534) are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

N *563 755 4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is N (796) believed that the chuktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

N *563 789 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533 5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

S 563 181 H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion.

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

791 795 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yogur and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

791 756 A. Shamanism

Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving (789) them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-(793) induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-(216) stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer (158) from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such manifestations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the (428) position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of (787) accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which (242) has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 77 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic 171 776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

/Tibetans of Chingshi/

N 75 *563 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized. There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a N (789) scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any N (199) others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

N *563 262 A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. (272) The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton S 563 262 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef (272) for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs S N considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at (252) least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N *563 S 563 (146) B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. S N (751) The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

S who are recalcitrant in maintaining their reactionary standing and
175 military and government officials of the former Chiang government
668 still cling to the shameful and parasitical way of life without engag-
674 ing themselves in proper employment but commit various practices of thieft and swindling. Some ruffians indulge in drinking and assaulting women. Some illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers convert their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and ruffians, and into hotbeds for nourishing crimes. Some unscrupulous second-hand goods dealers and hotel keepers collude with burglarious elements to dispose of spoils and even act as chief planner of crimes. More serious still, a batch of habitual thieves who sneakily move around various places even collaborate with one another to commit theft and robbery in an organized manner, using arms to threaten people and to carry out violence. Some culprits refuse to repent during reform through labor and even escape from jails to continue their crimes. Some burglarious elements who sneaked into our province from other provinces and who also belonged to the category of counter-revolutionaries carry out their counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in the form of criminal offense or impose themselves as military and government personnel to commit extortion and blackmailing. Some ruffians even intensified their activities to rob and rape women."

N 12. "An address delivered by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, a deputy
*175 from Chinghai, at the 2nd meeting of the 1st session of the National
*668 Congress:
829 "'Recently, in some nomadic areas (in Chinghai) we discovered rumors spread by the enemies, saying, "To start cooperatives in nomadic areas is just another form of confiscation of cattle and sheep." It definitely hurt the productive morale of the people....

N "'Furthermore, there are numerous counter-revolutionary
*175 elements carrying on sabotage under the cover of religion. This
*668 is often discovered in the area of minority groups. For instance
669 in some nomadic areas in Chinghai, people rumored that a Heavenly mandate had descended, saying that the world would be de-
*563 stroyed soon. The people would suffer in great calamities, etc.
• 787 It was a disguise of the devil to disturb the common people... But a lot of those who had faith but were short of wisdom believed it.... They interrupted their productive activities and devoted their time wholly on chanting Buddhist scriptures every day, hoping that by doing so they may escape from the disasters....

"'The counter-revolutionists are so active that we cannot afford to neglect them. We must get rid of the idea that everything is in order.... We must suppress them.'" (Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 69.)

N 13. In the Hsin-hua yueh-pao, 1955, No. 8, p. 197, there
*175 appeared
669 "An address delivered by Sun Tso-ping, a deputy from Chinghai,
*668

493 entirely without iron, even to a single nail, in its whole
322 structure. The great wooden wheels, which were eight feet high, lifted it bodily over the deep rivers, and the hood, which was covered with grass-matting, reminded us of a French peasant's waggon. This distinguished vehicle only cost us about fifty shillings, and was thoroughly satisfactory. Animals to draw it
492 were more difficult to obtain. The cart-mule of Kansu seems chronically aged, lean, and sore of back. It was, consequently, a great prize to secure eventually a shaft-horse lately come from Urumchi, as it was therefore already inured to the medicinal waters of the desert oases, which are too often the cause of death to animals. On such long journeys, mules are generally much to be preferred to horses, since on arrival at the inns the former lie down in the dust immediately to roll themselves dry, and will then quietly go to their feed, requiring no further attention, whereas horses, if they are to be kept in health, demand constant care. As far as Kiayükwan the road was familiar to us, and we spent several days in that place, seeing many
• 787 acquaintances made during our last visit. Tradition exacts from every traveller a curious custom, namely, that on leaving the Barrier, pebbles should be thrown against the outer side of the Great Wall, portions of which are actually worn away by the constant shower of missiles. If the traveller is to return in safety the pebble should rebound towards the thrower, but if not, it drops into the already high heap, and the man goes his way onward with a heavy heart. Owing to some obscure acoustic property, each pebble, when it hits the Wall, produces a twittering sound, something like the cheeping of little chickens! Every one heard it distinctly, and it is said to occur nowhere else.

000 The stones thrown by our party being satisfactorily

788

788 RITUAL--practices reflecting relief of anxiety through performance of repetitive or obsessionally precise symbolic acts; compulsive gestures (e.g., sign of the cross); repetitive behavior (e.g., tolling of bells, burning of candles, sprinkling with holy water); recital of stereotyped formulas (e.g., blessings); mechanical praying (e.g., with rosary, with prayer wheel); recitation of litanies and liturgies (e.g., credos, masses); processions; making of pilgrimages; etc. See also:

Propitiation . . . . . 782 Ritual numbers 801
Elaboration of rituals into extended ceremonies 796

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 935 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 579 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a S N (998) united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

S N 563 779 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 796 783 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then S N [788]

S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [791] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N * 563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
776 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction
792 The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam

a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
• 788 peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

779 are precisely stated in the Koran, it is certain that they were
• 788 well established before Muhammad's death. Each consists of a
782 fixed number of bowings (rak'ah), the bowing itself consisting of seven movements with their appropriate recitations: (1) the recitation of the phrase "Allahu akbar" (God is most Great) with the hands open on each side of the face, (2) the recitation of the Fatihah or opening sura of the Koran followed by another passage or passages, while standing upright; (3) bowing from the hips; (4) straightening up, (5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with the face to the ground; (6) sitting back on the haunches; (7) a second prostration.

The set times are at daybreak, fajr (two rak'ahs); noon, zuhr (four rak'ahs); midafternoon, asr (four rak'ahs); after sunset, maghrib (three rak'ahs), and in the early part of the night, isha (four rak'ahs). At these times, prayers should be said and the ritual observed by every believer wherever he may be. By preference they should be performed congregationally in a masjid (mosque) under the leadership of an imam. The imam and the worshippers face toward the qibla, the prescribed direction, which is toward Mecca.

The Koran also mentions the noon prayer on Friday as the principal congregational prayer of the week, and enjoins the suspension of work during its performance. At this time a special ceremony (kutba) is delivered, usually by the imam. (The deliverer of this ceremony is called the khatib. He is not necessarily the imam, but may be one of the leaders in the community.)

779 Tahara, the ablution before prayer, is strictly enjoined and
782 the ritual is defined in Sura v, v. 9: "When you rise up to
783 prayer, wash your face, and your hands to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." This is the lesser ablution, to be performed before every prayer. The greater ablution is a complete washing of the body, which should be done before the Friday service or special holiday service, and after becoming unclean (incidents of uncleanliness are defined specifically).

779 b. Alms (Zakat). With the observance of prayer the Koran
735 regularly enjoins the giving of alms (zakat) as the outward sign
431 of piety and as a means of salvation. A distinction is made between sadaqat, which is a freewill offering, and zakat, the obligatory contribution, presumably at the rate of one-fortieth of the annual revenue in money or kind. The zakat is to be exacted form all who enter into the brotherhood of Islam; but it is not a tax. The objectives on which the revenue from zakat is to be spent are defined (in Sura ix, v. 60) as being: the poor, the needy; those employed in its collection, debtors, wayfarers, and the "Way of God."

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
• 788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[775] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so
[302] also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[292] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

779 of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to
[788] Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura ii, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last
721 day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited
and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those
798 who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obliga-
tions, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gam-
[262] bling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans,
[681] and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder
[567] as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined.
[681] Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several
[671] passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

S
N /Chinese Moslems/
795 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before
785 daybreak.
253 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan,
S
N when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to
795 the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is
735 no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The
431 only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S
N Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest
795 the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis,
788 or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S
N Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different
795 Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the
776 tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S
N In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and
795 wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that
262 has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S
N The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems
795 has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor
769 worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not
171 restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious in-
N scriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept
795 tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Mos-
788 lems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and
778 include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

346 (eighth century A.D.) and a Sung edition of the Tripitaka. It
778 gained its fame through the Buddhist monk Wei-ko (Sung times) who used to stay there overnight and was called the Sleeping Dragon.

Another one is the K'ai-yüan-ssu, built in 713 A.D., which is adorned with many famous inscriptions and also was once famed for its library. Few religious relics are left now at this place, which has become a center of high-class girl entertainers instead.

One of the landmarks of Sian is the Glazed Tile Pagoda, Hua-t'a, built during the times of the Five Dynasties. Other famous pagodas in the neighborhood are the Great Swallow Pagoda, Ta-yen-t'a, belonging to the temple Ta Tz'u-en-ssu, in which the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was active, and the Small Swallow Pagoda, Hsiao-yen-t'a, built in the beginning of the eighth century.

The best-known Taoist temple was the Ying hsiang-kuan, which was made the main center of Taoist devotion by Emperor Jui of T'ang in 708 A.D. at a period when the Imperial house of T'ang showed pride in its alleged descendence from Lao-tzu, the great patriarch of Taoist religion. In Kuomintang times the temple was converted into a school.

778 The plain around Sian is dotted with many tombs of past
[764] emperors. These artificial hills are held in great reverence by the local population and many myths have taken their origin here even though it is not known whose august remains these hills cover.

778 Shensi is also the site of one of the Five Sacred Mountains of
823 China, which formed part of the Imperial cult and to which regularly Imperial sacrifices were offered. The worship of these mountains belongs to the oldest religious traditions of China. All through historic times down to and including the last dynasty, the Emperors went there in person for regular services or at least had themselves represented by topmost officialdom. At least since T'ang times large temples were erected to the spirit of these mountains. They were, however, not only
[788] depositories of memories of this official cult, but as pilgrimage centers of organized groups and individuals, they have accumulated religious traditions and historical relics devoted to all sections of the population.

Even though the Western Peak, Hua-shan, has to cede priority to the Eastern, T'ai-shan, it always was, and still is, one of the most important centers of pious activities. Numerous temples, shrines, caves and pavillions testify to this fact. Most
[346] of them are outside institutionalized Imperial ritual, but are maintained by local religious groups or sects and by the donations of visiting pilgrims in search of delivery from some bodily or spiritual troubles.

#668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Uzbeks, Tatars,
658 and Tung-hsiang nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).
#563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the coming October 1st National Day celebrations....

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman, included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh, Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu, Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgiz), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA Peking, September 24, 1952).

#668 3. Minority group organizations

#563 Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
794 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association were organized with numerous minority and local leaders as members and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda departments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under the leadership of Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o contributed 728,750,000 for the Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of propaganda on current events. According to Hsi-jao-chia-ts'os report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep into the rural villages and nomadic regions.... In pushing the autonomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's Government." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
[788] Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
[648] organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for Red China.

#668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
648 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete figures. By September of 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association organizations had been organized in four provinces, four municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and 417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610 of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China to capture the minorities with propaganda.

can be covered in three long marches. The road, a broad tree-lined cart track, lies up the valley plain of the Wei River, with the great barrier range of the Ch'inling Shan on the left hand and the river on the right. The plain is one vast wheat-field, dotted with peculiar walled farms, each a formidable little fortress in itself; they are relics of the great Mahomedan rebellion and form a characteristic feature of the landscape in most parts of Shensi and Kansu. Nowadays the Mahomedans of Shensi are a negligible quantity, the majority having withdrawn westwards into Kansu, where they form an exceedingly important and powerful element in the population.

Forty li from T'ungkuan the district city of Huayin Hsien is reached, the inns lying in the suburb of Huayin Miao, five li east of the walled town. This latter village is the starting-point for the sacred mountain, the Hua Shan, a portion of the Ch'inling range. Seventy li further on the empty city of Hua Chou is passed, and 50 li beyond that Weinan Hsien, the centre of a particularly rich agricultural district, is reached.

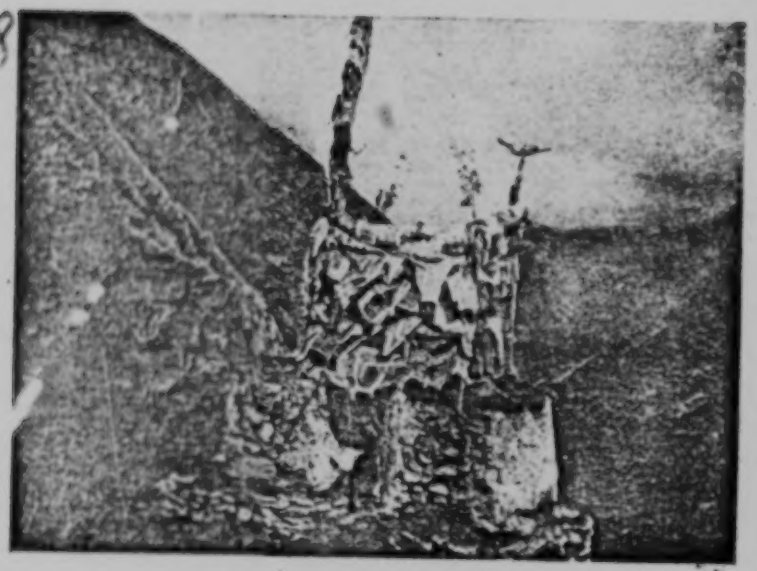
The traffic on the roads of this fertile and populous plain is very great, and it is one of the absurdities of modern China that no railway should yet connect Hsian, the metropolis of the North West, with the coast. Railway construction on the plains of Central Shensi means little more than laying the rails on the necessary embankment and building a number of small bridges across the streams which flow down from the Ch'inling Shan into the Wei River. And while these rich and populous plains in the centre of China are innocent of every vestige of railway construction, a line has been built at great difficulty and expense through the mountains north of Peking past Kalgan to end in the air beyond Tatung in Northern Shensi. The Hsian line is a section of the Belgian Lung Hai railway referred to above, which has for the moment come to a stop at Kuanyint'ang in Honan. Failing railways the construction of a few good trunk roads fit for motor traffic would be of enormous advantage to the province and could be undertaken, as far as the plains of Central Shensi are concerned, at comparatively small cost. There can scarcely be another civilized country in the world which would be

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF1.

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 187
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance. About half the few buildings inside the walls had been destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously. We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend from here along the border to their real strongholds round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms (early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque; this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told, confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

TIBETAN NOMADS ON THE KOKONOR BORDER



TIBETAN PRAYER FLAGS

water was carrying considerable ice-floes, but one day, at a narrow part of the bed some miles further down, they were arrested, and in a few hours the whole river was piled up, mass on mass, with ice. The impact was so powerful that blocks were flung wildly about in all directions, and with one mighty solidifying spasm the iron grip closed upon the waters, and the Yellow River was ice-bound for months.

CHAPTER IV

LANCHOW TO LIANGCHOW

THE journey from Lanchow to Liangchow can, under favourable conditions, be accomplished in one week. Half-way between lies the town of Pingfan, at the angle where the cross-roads leading westwards to Sining and Kokonor meet the main North-West road.

A few miles outside Lanchow we traversed the dry bed of an ancient inland-sea, circular in form. The high-water mark showed clearly far overhead near the top of the surrounding cliffs, where the stone was worn into the shape of pillars. The bed was strewn with finest sand, and all the water procurable was very salt. It was here that we met the first herd of yak, which was being driven to Lanchow for slaughter, as a large amount of the beef sold in these cities of the North-West is yak meat.

The fourth day brought us to the Pingfan valley, down which a watercourse rushed between banks of ice, supplying the power to work a number of flour mills which were grinding, even though their structure was hung with enormous icicles. Here, for the first time, we passed a prayer-wheel, erected below a basin

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which a tiny spring kept overflowing. Green mosses lined the bed of the crystalline rivulet, and the diamond drops reflected the sunshine. The wheel turned with a subdued creak, which seemed almost like the murmuring of the prayer inscribed on its lines of chamfered edges—Om mani padme hum—'Hail thou jewel in the lotus flower'—the offering of a blinded people to its undiscerned god.

A mile apart from each other stand two walled cities, the more imposing of the two being the Manchu town formerly occupied by the pensioners of the ruling dynasty, but which now consists of a great enclosure of uninhabited or ruined houses, so that in a space equal to the area of a large town, at the present hour only six or eight families are living. Of the remaining former inhabitants many have been massacred, others have fled, and the ranks of the beggars have been replenished by these truly unfortunate people. The Chinese city consists of quiet streets busy only on market days, the shops of which being so poorly provided with the necessities of life that vegetables are brought a three days' journey to be sold here. Its western wall is flanked by a suburban thoroughfare composed of inns, wheelwrights' and blacksmiths' shops, which, together with food-vendors, supply all the necessities of traveller, carter, and muleteer. Some very fine temples crown the summits of the surrounding hills, and parties of Tibetans riding to and fro on the Sining road, leave offerings of silken *khada*[1] hanging to the idols, before which their obeisance has been made.

In the first home which we visited in Pingfan we met a man who was courier to a woman-magistrate of the aboriginal tribes. Her residence was in Liencheng—Lotus City—but she constantly visited Pingfan on

[1] Votive scarves.

[Valley of Pingfan -- Analyst]

CONTINUED ON NEXT FICHE

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

000 arranged that we should spend July among them under canvas, in Tibetan territory.

CHAPTER IX

A SPRING CAMPAIGN

778 MARCO POLO wrote of the city of Kanchow, where he made long residence, and once held office as Governor, as the 'city which holds more gods than men.' This local saying is still constantly on the lips of its inhabitants, who take great pride in the fact that its temples and shrines are so numerous as never to have been accurately numbered.

133 [285] The town is beautifully placed and abundantly watered. It contains several lakes, which being overgrown with reeds supply material for an important mat-plaiting industry. Besides these larger expanses of water, there are a number of ponds fed by underground springs, dependent upon the melting snow from the Tibetan mountains. In these ponds the water rises and falls in a most unexpected way, so that sometimes their banks are surrounded by children fishing, while at others they become the highway of city traffic. The streets are bordered with fine poplar, acacia, and willow trees, which flourish splendidly, throwing their roots deep into the hidden sources.

353 As one would expect, the people are in all things superstitious and religious. All the wealthy homes have a private shrine, which is often a handsome hall, where the ancestral tablets are preserved, and where • 788 incense is burned to the family idols. At sunset each day the sound of bells rises on every side, as the woman of each household touches the rope which sets in motion

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simul- 788 •
taneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID.

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many 262
Kanchow women. Not content with being under a 785
vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day 796
sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their [536]
performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of 796
the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the 302
occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles.

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors 796
pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descrip- 265
tions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of

N.W. China AF13

527 The object of worship is as everywhere in the kingdom, a life-
778 size model of a bullock made of clay, and beside it stands the figure
788 of a woman made of paper. After the mandarins have kowtowed to this latter image, it is always driven back as quickly as possible to the hsien yamen. But people try to break the image of the bullock and every farmer tries to get a piece of it; anyone who is lucky enough to do so may be sure that his harvest will be good that year(1)

1. See in this connection: De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Vol. I, p. 90): "The reception of spring. The origin of the custom of carrying the spring ox to the fields has become lost in the night of the times."

The people of Hsining fu know almost nothing about the meaning of this ancient custom. In fact, the ordinary Chinese can tell you very little about their mythology and most of it is confused. The bullock, so the people of Hsining fu say, was formerly an emperor of China and the girl at its side, the emperor's younger sister. The emperor was carried away by his sister's charms and married her, and as a punishment for that the gods turned him into a bullock, while his sister was obliged to follow him as his driver all her life. The people seek to destroy the bullock because of the emperor's shameful behavior. But because the bullock represents an emperor, the yamen servants must guard it.

527 After this festival which, by the way, is not celebrated on the same day each year, the larger businesses again open their shutters. The Chinese like to have wealthy people as their first customers. This means good luck for the rest of the year. I was again forced to admire the Chinese on the afternoon and evening of this holiday. In spite of all the commotion of the festival, there was no excess anywhere, not a case of noisy drunkenness anywhere. Even the uncultivated Chinaman has much better manners than we usually assume, if there does not happen to be a famine or the confusion of war to make life difficult for him.

* * * * * *

789

789 MAGIC--practices reflecting confidence in the ability to manipulate supernatural forces; magical techniques of weather control (e.g., rain making); magical rites for increasing the food supply; exorcistic practices (e.g., driving off evil spirits with noise); potent formulas, incantations, and spells; curses; miracles; prevalent types of magic (e.g., imitative, contagious); concept of magical force; functions and social significance of magic; nonsupernatural magic (e.g., wonder-working, jugglery, legerdemain, fire-walking); etc. See also:

Magical rites in the food quest	22	Magic rites at funerals	784
Magic rites in agriculture	24	Luck magic	777
Magic rites in the reproductive cycle	84	Concept of mana	778
Magic as entertainment	545	Prevalence of nonlogical reasoning	811
Magic rites in warfare	726	Relation of magic to science	813
Sorcery, witchcraft, and evil eye	754	Love magic	832
Therapeutic magic	751, 755		

Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations.

In the course of the next few years a convenient dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added[1] about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children.

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce

[1] [to the Mission at Kanchow -- Analyst]

his arrival, and also his intention of sitting on this piece of land to 'bask in the sun.' A few minutes later a strange figure could be seen walking down the street, one half of the face blacked while the other was white, and with party-coloured garments covering his limbs—the whole representing one of the greatly dreaded deities acting as Judge in the Buddhist Courts of Hell.

Naturally all the neighbours flocked to see the fun.

'What do you want?' asked Dr. Kao.

'Just to sit and bask in the court,' was the answer.

'But the courtyard is mine.'

'So it is. I sold it to my loss, but what did you give me for the air and the sun? I did not sell those, they are still mine.' A bystander here whispered to Kao, 'You *must* give him money, and get rid of him. You bought the land too cheap, and he will certainly bring ill-luck. It is a Kanchow custom; but give him money and he will depart without bringing a curse on you.'

The answer to this was a front door thrown wide open, and a cordial invitation to the sun-basker to enter, for, not only were sun and air at his disposal, but the element of water also, with which the doctor was immediately prepared to wash his face!

Needless to say, the Presiding Genius of the Courts of Hell beat a hasty retreat, and never troubled the dauntless Christians again.

CHAPTER VIII

A CHINESE COMMUNITY

It is quite evident that a man of this calibre could not fail to attract kindred spirits. To see one whose qualifications placed him high in the ranks of citizenship,

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren -

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them (allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao, Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mohammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

N.W. China AFC
Kalmyk

563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
[302] and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[799] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

I am equally happy.
Once I had a lady love, and now I have a new lady love. 782 539
I love them both equally well!"

From time to time came an answering long drawn-out trill or a shrill vibration from a reed pipe from some far-off yurt. In between there was the sudden meowing lament of a /340/ wolf from up on the heights. The chorus of dogs in the valley became wild and answered with harsh barks. Nor was the answer to the strong east wind long in coming. At midnight it began to rain and that put an end to our feast to the gods.

But Sung's sacrifice of a sheep was not yet considered adequate. 782
Eight akkas of the Gelugba sect were requested to exorcise all evil 789
and remove it from us through prayer. Before they arrived eight
smonlam hkor, cone-shaped figures 10 centimeters high and a yidam
(tutelary god), a triangular pyramid, were kneaded out of tsamba
dough. Twenty pounds of tsamba were required. Three white solar
disks made of butter were stuck to the front of the yidam and the
dough for it was colored red so that it looked like bloody meat. The
smonlam were white and were finished off by being smeared with
butter. When these things were made, a dorma (gtorma) 25 centi-
meters high was fashioned from dough. It was a slender, three-sided
object with notched edges resembling flames and produced by means
of a thread (see Fig. 20 and Plate LI).

When the akkas appeared at daybreak, the smonlam hkor with
their yidam were placed on a chest to the rear of the tent. The
dorma was placed on a rush mat in a corner on the floor. The eight
priests read the smonlam prayers all day long, until twelve o'clock
at night, to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums, and my Bud-
dhists repeatedly kowtowed and threw barley and spirits over the
yidam. On the second day the white tsamba-smonlam were burned
upon the altar, together with thuja leaves. The red yidam was di-
vided up among everyone and eaten. The dorma was now carefully
lifted up and carried in solemn procession around the corner of the
nearest mountain where Sung meanwhile had lit a large fire. When
the procession arrived there everyone began to yell wildly and shoot
off their guns, and after three vigorous exclamations of "Pfui!" on
the part of the priests, Tsch'eng threw the dorma into the blazing
fire. Now all the lay people shot their guns into the fire a few times,
then everyone quickly ran back to the camp site and the monks were
each given a khadar and silver, according to their rank and dignity,
because they had rid us of all disease-bringing agents and evil

[text continues on p.571]

782 influences (in Chinese the ceremony is called: sung gui, in Tibetan:
789 dema g'en). (1)

137 /341/ In the woods of Schang and among the Rengan Fan tse I met for the first time the green da hoang (Chinese), literally: the great yellowness, namely, rhubarb, the mother-plant of our well-known and trusty home remedy. The flower clusters were at this time, the beginning of July, more than 2 meters and in some cases 3 meters tall and covered with pinkish blossoms. The leaves which were deeply slit and tapered off into pointed lobes, had red-speckled stems. Old plants spread their thick foliage over several square meters of ground and from the tangle of leaves which was two-thirds of a meter high and often looked like a bush, arose individual slender, tall flower clusters. If one digs out these stalks one finds rhizomes up to the size of a bullock head, and in with the roots there are still clusters of young, smaller plants.

The plant grows between thickets and limestone rocks and prefers damp places of wooded areas. But I also found it in moist places of sandstone slope covered only with grass. It is found up to 4,100 meters. The lowest border of its common habitat is 2,800 meters. (1)

1. A few days before my departure from Hsining I received a letter from Professor Tschirch from the Pharmacological Institute of the University of Bern. He called my attention to the fact that there is still uncertainty about the origin of the common medicinal plant, rhubarb, from a botanical as well as a geographical point of view. He asked me to send him bulbs and

1. Rockhill has already described the end of this ceremony in his Land of the Lamas, pp. 113 and 114. From wealthy Tibetans the priests receive /341/ demand 50 and more pounds to make the tsamba figures. This offering is carried out once a year mostly at New Year, by each family. In Southeast Tibet a bullock's head of tsamba is also usually placed beside the gtorma (probably to represent Yama). There the bullock's head and gtorma are brought to the fire amid the shooting of guns; at the Chinese frontier "crackers" are shot off. In both places cries of "Pfui" are uttered during the procession.

791 MAGICIANS AND DIVINERS--specialists in magic (e.g., wonder workers, exorcists, magicians, lakira); specialists in divination (e.g., astrologers, oracles, diviners, fortune tellers, seers, mediums); characteristics of each (e.g., pere nality, sex, training, garb); sources of power; prerogatives and disabilities; organization; fees; etc. See also:
Magicians as scientists . . . . . 046 Divination 787
Witches, wizards, and sorcerers . . . 784 Magic 789
Shamans and faith healers 786

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[778] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primarily
789 concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[278] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

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[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
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[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
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[651] was 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
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with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
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Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Chi, one Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
563 dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
342 hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

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tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

792 HOLY MEN--prophets and messiahs; ascetics and anchorites; monks, friars, and nuns; monastic orders (e.g., mendicant, hermit, cenobite); monasteries and convents (e.g., organization, activities); monastic rules (e.g., poverty, celibacy); characteristics, status, and means of support of holy men; etc. See also:
Celibacy . . . . . 889 Concept of sanctity 779
Divine rulers . . . . . 840 Hermits 788
Monastic movements . . . . . 688 Oracles 787
Poverty and almsgiving 738

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still show a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Ruckhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Mongole, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kombotse might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing-house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'—situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

3:Cable & French M-S (1926) 1921
AF13 Northwest China AF13

788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of
778 shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

S.Cable & French M-6 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

172 either side stood an attendant, one of which was a gaunt
778 brown shape of terror sent forth to induce men to
commit suicide by taking opium. His was a dread
346 figure indeed, but not to be compared with the second,
532 which represented the female instigator of suicide, by means of cutting the throat. She carried no emblem to make her mission clear, but every line of her insinuating face and bold, compelling eye, suggested the Power of Evil, able to break down the last hesitation in the mind which contemplated this dreadful deed; and Chinese women have since told us that many a bride has cut her throat after a visit to that shrine. The consummate horror of this representation so impressed us, that we can well believe it.

• 788 Chienfutung habitually stands solitary, but for the visit of an occasional pilgrim, except during one week of the year, when thousands of worshippers crowd its temples, and the air is heavy with burning incense. Streams of small-footed women risk their necks on the precipitous, crumbling paths leading to the upper galleries, nor will they, in spite of the utmost fatigue, leave one single temple unvisited, lest having done so much, they should fail to conciliate that last, final deity whose malice might be incurred by neglect!

CHAPTER XXV

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON

133 We returned to Tunhwang so enthusiastic about the
491 art treasures of 'The Hall of the Thousand Buddhas' that our visitors urged us to make a second expedition to another beauty spot of the locality, Yüehyachüan—'The Lake of the Crescent Moon.' 'Chienfutung is

574 escorted!" he repeated over and over again, not even giving me a chance to ask for it. Then, suddenly interrupting himself, he asked us politely but firmly to drink our tea and because we pretended not to hear him, he repeated his request. There was nothing for it but to take up the tea cup and "Tso-aa!" Departure! cried the doormen at the same instant. Throughout China the invitation to drink one's tea is only an invitation to leave, and if a guest reaches for the teapot which must always be placed beside him when he comes for a visit, then everyone knows that it is time to depart. Within less than five minutes /208/ we again found ourselves in the doorway. In spite of our doubtful reception I was blissful, for what more could I wish than a small escort for my further journeys. At that time I still had confidence in the words of the higher Manchu officials, all of whom had received me well and treated me with friendliness, and I still had the best opinion of the amban, especially because he had returned my New Year's gifts with a large, costly dinner which, however, he had had served to me at my inn. But this is not an unusual custom in China. In larger cities it is also [437] often customary to make out notes to some restaurant for a dinner of four or eight persons. These notes one may give away to someone else without embarrassment, and it sometimes happens that the tenth man into whose hands the promissory note falls really takes advantage of it, even though he may not know the first man who is actually paying for the dinner.

527 541 788 On the fifth day of the New Year shortly after sunrise the general and all the officers of the city set out to fetch the god of entertainment. A gala sedan chair which bore the written character Si (entertainment) was placed in a temple outside the east gate. In front of this letter, which was more than a meter high, the general and the men accompanying him fell on their knees in the dust of the road and kowtowed three times. Later on, the letter on his sedan chair was brought to the city in solemn procession and then placed in the general's yamen. There it remains throughout the year and is a guarantee that in the coming year there shall be no lack of entertainment and theatrical performances of all kinds in the city.

On the tenth day of the New Year the so-called spring festival was celebrated in Hsining fu. Scarcely was the sun up on that day when all the streets leading to the east gate were crowded with people. The Chinese farmers with their wives and children poured into the city from distant places. All the roofs of the main street were covered with representatives of the fair sex whose faces were

[text continues p. 354]

painted white. And the heads of families who stood below in the street offered them sweets and refreshments from time to time. This was not too difficult, for all the houses in Hsining fu are one-storied and low besides. Around eight in the morning the prefect (fu) and the sub-prefect (hsien) solemnly proceeded to a temple outside the east gate where they expressed their veneration for the dragon (1) and the

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541
788

1. De Groot, Fêtes annuelles d'Emoui (Paris 1886, Vol. I, p. 36): "The dragon is the symbol of rain, of fecundity and also of imperial dignity." - In my journey through Hu peh I saw, at the end of the first Chinese month, dragon processions moving through the fields, in order to bring about a fruitful year.

cow and the goddess of the earth. Then they returned home with equal pomp. In front marched a lion made of colored paper and cloth and a man who danced about with a sun (yang), then followed two dragons with snapping jaws (Plate XLV). Each of the dragons was represented by twelve men who walked in single file. Behind the dragon rode the amban's cavalrymen, producing dreadful sounds on their half-broken and dented trombones, which would have surely caused even Jericho's wall to fall. Twenty horsemen carried huge gaily-colored flags which almost covered horses and riders (Plate XLV). Then came /209/ infantrymen of the general, two by two, carrying German guns, model 71-84, whose sights and muzzles were decorated with new red paper cushions. In the muzzles they had the stoppers which are never lacking on Chinese guns. All the yamen secretaries followed in their best clothes, then halberdiers, yamen servants with imaginary weapons, with coats of mail containing the trident and morning star, after these came the higher town clerks in fur coats and mounted. Finally came the hsien, father and mother of the city, in an open sedan chair carried by eight men. He was dressed in a large cloak of lynx, and sat stiff and immovable like a doll or an idol. Close behind the chief personage there followed only four soldiers, then the crowd pressed up close behind in motley confusion. In similar fashion, except if possible with a larger advance procession, the Hsining fu, the prefect, also marched through the streets. The latter were a huge sable fur which was so elegant it was almost a spectacle in itself. Only these two civil officials are obliged to appear at this festival. All the officers, as well as the dao tai and the amban do not appear at all.

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching. *563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time. *563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 621 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property. *563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But *563 622 628 even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmctulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

• 792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
794 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
872 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
873 home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[876] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next [554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery [177] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

658 schools.
871 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
*175 teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
[648] front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[658] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected [874] group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

792 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong
795 strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and
175 China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

795 E. Christianity

From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role
175 in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it ex-
171 erted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's' wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalūt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

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779 cussed in Heaven. They teach men sorcery and will serve men
776 who can rule them by these devices. The leader of these evil spirits is called "The Shaitan" or Iblis. His fall from a place among the angels was due to his refusal to worship Adam on God's command; for this he was accursed till the Day of Resurrection and given authority over those of mankind whom he seduced.

779 Next to the unity of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, as the
776 shahada indicates, is the central doctrine of the Koran. Mos-
• 792 lems are required to believe in the Apostles without distinction The last of the Prophets is Muhammad, who is God's Apostle to all mankind. The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same, although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their messages toward the final and perfect revelation.

As for Muhammad himself, the Koran repeatedly disclaims on his behalf anything that is superhuman. He was but a mortal man, commissioned with the sole duty of conveying God's warning and message of salvation. He had no knowledge beyond what was revealed to him, and he had been granted no miraculous powers.

779 Faith in life after death is the last of the basic principles of
775 Islam. The word usually used to indicate it in the Koran is al-akhira. The Koran does not speak only of a life after death, but impresses on believers the importance of life on earth as a basis for the future life. The Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and Judgment, will be the time when men's future fate will be decided by God. This day will come suddenly at a time known only to God. On that day the graves will open and men will be called to account for their deeds. Each man's angel shall bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed and the left hand of the damned.

Then the blessed, the God-fearing men and women, the humble and the charitable, the forgiving, those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake, those who have fought in the way of God, shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise, where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers, praising God, reclining on silken couches, enjoying heavenly food and drink and the company of dark-eyed maidens. Those who have sinned against God and men are condemned to eternal punishment in the flames of Hell.

779 C. The Rituals of Islam
786 a. Prayer (Salat). The observance of the ritual prayers is re-
788 peatedly emphasized as one of the essential religious duties.
782 Although neither the ceremonies nor the five set times of prayer

SN 795 621 793

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

SN [554]

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

SN 795 185 [175]

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

SN 795 792 185

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 792 185 equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

S N 795 792 [669] Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

S N [578] After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

S N 795 Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
N limit the choice of possible spouses.

*563 Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
648 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
[651] ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and, though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
• 792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader, i.e., every Tibetan.

N *563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
554 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
556 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading. With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success. The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary population have been advanced to this time. However, the following hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs (or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 There is more rigidity about the village organization. The
62 sedentary Tibetans generally have a formally selected village
[622] headman. But again the council of elders has considerable
[623] authority. Groups of villages are organized into a larger unit,
[632] nor is it uncommon for villages and encampments to be joined together in such a larger unit. A monastery is more apt to
• [792] have authority over a group of villages than over the strictly nomadic people. However, like the nomads, the sedentary
[622] Tibetans give very little recognition to any authority beyond that of the ecclesiastical or lay chief of the "tribe". Ma Ho-t'ien, in his Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu, Chinghai and Tibet makes frequent reference to the inability of the Chinese officials to exert any sort of authority over the border-Tibetans and other sources also record the absence of any effective government beyond the local level.

The village itself represents a very tightly-knit organization, economically and politically, as well as physically.
[423] Houses, housesites and the fields belong to the individual families, but the grazing lands and forests are community property. Use of the pastureland is available to all, but the village may place certain restrictions on the quantities of timber that may be taken for specific purposes.

*563 Just as the nomads act simultaneously in moving their
62 encampments from one site to another, so the sedentary
241 Tibetans also insist on simultaneous group action within the
[787] village. The first day of spring planting, determined by horo-
[792] scope, sees all the villagers proceeding to their individual fields in their best clothing. The fields are ploughed simultaneously. The seeds are sown at the same time in each field. And, when harvest time comes, all the fields must be completely harvested in the time that it takes the smallest field to be harvested with a small hand sickle. If one's fields are too large one hires extra help. During the course of the growing season all the villagers periodically parade through the fields carrying the holy books on their heads. These communal activities have both religious and economic bases.
[787] From the viewpoint of the religion, if the days have been selected as auspicious, they are auspicious for the commun-
[776] ity's members as a whole. It is when the spirits of the ground, the demons of hail and misfortune can be allayed or propitiated
[782] that determines the best days for performing the needed tasks. From the viewpoint of economics, when the ground has been plowed and the seeds planted, the fields are encircled by a community fence to prevent onslaughts by roaming animals.
[625] A community watchman also stands guard. It also means that
[486] the villagers can collect a tax from caravans that pass through
[651] their lands. Once the fields have been harvested, the community

S /Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/
533 "Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
535 People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
177 Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
668 Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

N A. Introduction
*563 Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in North-
177 west China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper,
53 although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cul-
N tural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monas-
• [792] teries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

N B., Tibetan Literature
*563 Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in charac-
538 ter. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated
779 from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings.
N There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture
[792] was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

N The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations
*[175] from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

*563 538 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 532 [177] C. Tibetan Art

Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on [992] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. [992] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [777]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings. [291]

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

795 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
(648) turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
(795) tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
(669) Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [798] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries [423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

S 795 798 668 177 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January, 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

S [648] [669]

But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

N 795 B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

• 792 *668 177

N 795 792 *563 *668 177 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
• 792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
* 563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
* 668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
* 668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

795 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
798 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
* 668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
* 668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
177 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
798 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitcde in the interpretation of this principle. In a

779 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
431 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
735 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
794 is that connected with Id al-Adsha, on which occasion the poorer members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacrificed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia and Chinghai, where the secular power was in the hands of Moslem leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported strongly and with a certain efficiency by the worldly arm, but would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public Welfare of the General Handbook.

III. Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dāna) is the only charitable activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings. It is there termed as one of the "lucky things," with which to promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning the attitude in which alms should be given were worked out, the theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of the donee. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma (truth). The only entity who practided charity in anything like our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consideration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist sponsored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General, Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
794 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
485 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
• 792 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
794 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
485 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
• 792 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospitality is extended to destitutes and refugees also, by Mongols as well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
731 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes. During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this commission was financed partly by fixed government grants, special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad. The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The realization grew however that with regard to natural
653 disasters, prevention work might be of greater importance than
312 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might
185 be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been reclaimed b this combined conservancy and irrigation project. The maintenance of the system was later taken over by the National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was responsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
114 the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field
657 of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Government and under the present Communist regime. From the
[794] little material we have the general impression is that the local efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work done in public welfare.

N /Mongols of the Northwest/

829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
* 563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
* [668] Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
S 829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668] unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
S N and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
• [792] tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
S N Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
[197] wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

N *175 *668 total number of peasant households. "The peasants in the mutual aid teams are politically organized," stated the Sian Ch'un-chung jih-pao (January 6, 1954), and the enlargement of the membership in the farmers' association have "strengthened the militia, thereby consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside in the Northwest region." (NCNA, May 22, 1952).

S 175 668 Concerning the effects of the agrarian reform on the political organization of the people, Kao Chin-shun, vice-chairman of the Sinkiang People's Government, mentioned the following points: (1) Eradication of the "feudal" landlord class, (2) elevation of the political consciousness of the peasants, (3) consolidation and enlargement of the United Front, and (4) training large number of cadres. (Urumchi, Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). He revealed too that in the process of the land reform, large numbers of the people signed pacts pledging to resist America and to aid Korea.

Late in 1950, branches of the China Peace Committee, organized for the purpose of rallying the people to support the war in Korea, was established in the Northwest. The work of these branch committees supplemented the activities of the people's political consultative committees and the people's representative conferences which were then in session preparatory to the formation of the people's governments. In Sinkiang, for example, the Provincial People's Representative Conference, in May, 1951, declared that its aim was to popularize and develop penetratingly the Resist-America and Aid-Korea campaign. Later in the year, in order to strengthen the hate-America campaign, the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee and the Sinkiang branch committee of the China Peace Committee were merged into one joint committee. (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 19, 1953). Henceforth, the activities of the so-called conferences of workers, herdsmen, peasant, youth, women, religious, industrial and commercial circles, which were the components of the people's political consultative conference, were channeled to the work of propaganda. Seven members of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Committee who toured the Korean front, returned to spend three months giving speeches to half a million people. By the end of 1951, a total of JMP $213 billion (about US $10 million) was raised, sufficient, it was claimed, for the purchase of 142 fighter planes. This came to 4.24 per cent of the amount raised in all of China.

N *175 • 792 *668 Particular efforts were made to utilize religious institutions. In Chinghai, Buddhist lamas were organized into propaganda teams, monasteries into meeting places for discussion of current events and the signing of pledges, and temple fairs and festivals for the extension of propaganda on government policies to the rural areas.

S 175 668 793 346 Similarly, in Sinkiang, mosques were used to hold accusation meetings and the Akhuns and mullahs were brought in line to support the land reform as well as the Hate-America campaign. A

159 *668 701 [631] Ninghsia Province; 1952-54, chairman of the People's Government of Ninghsia. His name, however, disappeared from the lime light after the Ninghsia People's Government was abolished and Ninghsia merged into Kansu in 1954.

Hsing was a career soldier. His long years of fighting a guerilla war against the Japanese had made him a man of distinction. His association with the Communists, however, did not begin until he broke away from Sun Tien-ying, under whom he had fought as a guerrilla leader for many years. When Sun's guerrilla forces were re-organized into the Nationalist Fifth Army, Hsing began to shift his political leaning toward the Communists. Hsing's red star began to shine when he was first selected as deputy speaker of the Border Assembly for Hopei-Charhar area. He was responsible for the training of a large number of cadres in Ninghsia.

159 *668 Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o: Buddhist, government official

• [792] Born in 1884 in Chinghai Province. At age of twelve entered one of the colleges in Drepung Temple in Tibet to study Buddhism; 1916, given the degree Geshe (after completing the five classics in Buddhism, namely, Sutras and Commentaries, Prajnparamita or book on philosophical matters, Madhyama or book on the Middle Doctrine, Vinaya or book on moral discipline and Vasubhandu's work); since then edited and commented on the Kanjur for twelve years. In 1937, he went to Nanking by way of India and gave lectures on Tibetan culture at the National Central University, Tsinghua University, Sun Yat-sen University, Peking University and Wu-han University. 1939, sent to Tibet by the Nationalist Government on a good-will mission.

159 *668 631 Since 1946 has been a reserve member of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and from 1947 to 1949, vice-chairman of the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in the National Government. In January 1950, appointed member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, and concurrently deputy-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai. Since January 1953, member of the Administrative Council of the Northwest, member of the Political and Legal Commission, vice-chairman of the People's Government of Chinghai, director of the Cultural and Educational Commission in the provincial government, and acting chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association.

159 *668 792 554 The fact that he achieved his degree of Ke-hsi had made Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o a man of high esteem. He devoted twelve years to editing and commentating the Kanjur, the complete works of Tibetan Buddhism, and his bold approach in editing the textual errors in the scriptures has made him an authority on Buddhism, although he did incur the displeasure of the Dalai Lama.

[For information concerning the Buddhist monastery at Labrang or Hsiaho, see 21: Li, AJ1 Tibet, category 116.]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

and Haich'eng to Chinchi (Ningling) and Ninghsia. The Chinese consider those in the Southern area, who are of more recent Turki origin, to be the more dangerous and fanatical today. In a secluded valley near P'ingliang resides a sort of Mahomedan saint, who has great influence not only in Kansu but also in Yunnan, and who undoubtedly commands the services of thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands, of armed Mahomedans; he is not one of the regular Moslem leaders, who are referred to in later chapters; and there seems to be some sort of mystery about him, which it was not our business to enquire into.

The next stage from P'ingliang is one of 90 li to Wat'ing, a walled fort and posting stage at the foot of the Liupan pass. The road runs up the valley, which beyond a half-way village with inns contracts to a gorge, scrub-covered mountains of shale and sandstone taking the place of the cultivated loess hills. Pheasants were thick here, and so tame that one had to throw stones at them to make them fly. Wat'ing is rather an important point as the roads to Lanchou and Ninghsia here bifurcate (the latter *via* Kuyuan). We were met here by the magistrate of Kuyuan and also by a representative of the family of the late General T'ung Fu-hsiang, whose ancestral seat is in the neighbourhood. I have been told on more than one occasion by Chinese that T'ung Fu-hsiang was not a Mahomedan at all, but a Chinese General commanding Moslem troops; perhaps he was considered a Chinese because he fought against the Mahomedans in the great rebellion. The following is a sketch of the career of this celebrated individual, who came into contact with foreigners by leading his Mahomedan troops to the attacks on the Legations in Peking in 1900.

T'ung Fu-hsiang was a native of Kuyuan in Eastern Kansu. In the big rebellion of 1864–1873 he figured prominently as a military chief on the Chinese side under General Tso, and it was he who captured the rebel stronghold of Chinchi on the Yellow River near Ninghsia, an event which was the turning-point in the campaign. This was the foundation of his fortunes, as he was enriched with the confiscated estates of rebels, and from that time on counted as one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Kansu. Subsequently he fought in Central Asia against

treated with every courtesy. The Mahomedans of Kansu still consider themselves to a certain extent as foreigners sojourning in a strange land, and greet travellers from the west as fellow-wanderers.

From New T'ao Chou to Choni, a march of 30 li, the track runs south-west over a low pass in the red clay hills, crosses a valley trending south, ascends another low pass, and descends through a grassy ravine to the T'ao River. Choni, the residence of a T'ussu, or native chief, ruling several Tibetan tribes in the neighbourhood, is a picturesque little place, a walled village built round the chief's residence on the banks of the T'ao, and overlooked by a lamasery containing some 500 monks. We were received by the usual cannon shots (an old-fashioned Chinese custom still surviving in most parts of Kansu which is terrifying to one's pony unless accustomed to it) and really sumptuously lodged in the chief's residence. The Choni T'ussu is by far the most important native chief in Kansu and exercises jurisdiction over an extensive territory. Some of his tribes, especially those living to the south of the Min Shan, are turbulent and not easy to control. The chief is under the authority of the Governor at Lanchou, but unlike his colleagues in Szechuan west of Tachienlu, he retains his power unimpaired over his Tibetans. On the east his jurisdiction is bounded by Chinese territory; on the west it fades away amongst the lawless nomads of the grass-lands. His authority, like that of most native chiefs in China, extends rather over tribes and families than fixed territory, and its limits are therefore vague.

The T'ao River is here the dividing line between Tibetans and Chinese (Mahomedans), the forest-clad mountains to the south being inhabited by the former, and red hills to the north by the latter. There is good big game shooting to be had in these forests, wapiti, sheep, goral, serow, bear, etc. The elevation of the valley seems to be about 8000 feet at Choni.

Leaving Choni the road runs up the beautiful T'ao valley for about ten li, and then turns north-west up a small ravine leading to an easy pass. From here it runs along the top of the mountain for a few li, descends into a valley, crosses another low pass, and drops down to Old T'ao Chou, 45 li from Choni.

133 is the same land of nomads and lamas, whether Tibetan
563 or Mongol. In past centuries the Chinese were ever engaged, with varying success, in defending their fertile plains and valleys against the incursions of Tartar hordes from these tablelands; now the nomads are impotent outside their own territories, reduced in numbers and virility perhaps by the lama religion, and these vast empty spaces serve as buffers protecting China from the rest of Asia. Undoubtedly her wisest policy is to leave the scattered inhabitants to manage their own affairs as hitherto under her vague suzerainty.

133 The trail runs north-west across these grass-lands,
487 passing continually from one shallow valley to another; at first these valleys slope S.E. towards the T'ao River, but after 20 li or so they slope N.W. towards the Ho Chou
[361] River. The pasturage is excellent and there are many nomad encampments; the latter are only to be approached with care, as they are guarded by huge Tibetan mastiffs, I should think easily the most formidable breed of dog in the world, and the nomads themselves are not friendly to strangers. Indeed the Amdo Tibetan of the Kokonor grass country is about the last kind of individual one would choose to meet alone on a dark night, and a wilder or more picturesque looking lot of ruffians it would be difficult to imagine. They always go heavily armed, and are robbers by nature. Once properly introduced to them, however, one can count on friendly treatment, and we had nothing to complain of in this respect. After six or seven hour's march from the
792 village where we had passed the night the trail descended from the plateau into an open and partly cultivated valley with the temples and barrack-like buildings of the monastery of Heitso Ssu at the end of it, a most striking sight in this land of tent-living nomads.

Heitso Ssu (the Chinese name) is a large and wealthy monastery, containing, we were told, some thousand lamas. It is quite a little town in itself, with, as is usually the case on this border, a small Chinese village or bazaar of one street, run mostly by Mahomedans, attached to it. It lies at the junction of two small valleys below the level of the
[241] grass country, and the neighbouring slopes are well cultivated with barley and peas and dotted with Tibetan farms. We
609 were badly housed in a kind of inn in the Chinese bazaar,

European scholars have maintained that the Hsifan are not Tibetans and suggested that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese races of S.W. China, like the Lolos or Mosos. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Tibetan race, the Hsifan of the country west of T'ao Chou speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. A little further north they come into contact with the Kokonor Mongols, whom they bully and plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are everywhere being pushed back by the encroaching Chinese agriculturist along the northern borders of Shansi and Chihli, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonist; partly perhaps because the country is too elevated to suit the latter, but also because the N. Eastern Tibetan is truculent and independent compared to the Mongol and further takes readily and successfully to agriculture. Their food is the buttered tea and tsamba (parched barley meal) of the Tibetans everywhere. Tsamba is a palatable food for people fond of porridge, and the buttered tea is not at all bad when regarded as gruel or soup instead of tea; it is for this reason that the bitter teas of India are unsuited to the Tibetans. It is often said that the Chinese sell the merest refuse of their tea bushes to the Tibetans; but it happens to be what the latter want to make their gruel with. There is little or no resemblance between the tea drunk by the Tibetans and that consumed in Europe.

There appear to be two racial types in Tibet, the short round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall prominent-featured Aryan type; the latter is common among the Tibetans of Amdo as amongst those of Kham. A peculiar feature of the eastern Tibetan, by which he could in nine cases out of ten be recognised in Chinese or foreign dress, is his habit of standing with his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

From Heitso Ssu the trail runs north over low grass-covered hills for a few li and then descends through a rocky gorge to a small monastery called K'achia Ssu (all our names are Chinese) lying in a narrow wooded valley trending N.W. In this neighbourhood there grows a plant poisonous to ponies and mules. From here the track runs down the

valley, at first through cultivated fields and then through a densely wooded gorge. This is a difficult march in the summer, as the trail constantly crosses and recrosses the stream, which is rapid, obstructed by boulders, and only just fordable. Several of us got a wetting, but we were lucky in keeping the pack-mules on their feet and our bedding dry. The mountains in the neighbourhood are covered with fine forest, but mostly on the slopes facing north only, a peculiarity which may be noticed all along the Kokonor border; I have observed the same thing in the forests of Northern Shansi; whether it is that the sun is too hot on the southern slopes, or that the northern slopes alone receive sufficient moisture, I am unable to say. Four to five hours' march down this gorge, past several small lamaseries, brings one to the junction of this stream with the Tahsia River, a torrent flowing from Labrang to Ho Chou. The Labrang road turns up this valley and runs for a few li through cultivated fields to the small monastery of Shakou Ssu, which lies on the north side of the stream, with a Mahomedan hamlet, Sasuma, opposite, where we passed the night in an inn. There are pine forests all around, and the Tahsia River, though only a mountain torrent, is used for rafting the cut timber down to the Yellow River and Lanchou. The timber is made up into narrow sections, fastened one behind the other, and the jointed raft which results is navigated down the rapids and through the rocks with extraordinary skill by Mahomedan raftmen.

From Heitso to Labrang is a distance of some 120 li, and Sasuma lies about half way, the track running for the rest of the way up the valley of the Tahsia River. For the first 30 li the path is very bad and rocky, the valley being a gorge hemmed in by wooded mountains; there is no more fording to be done, however, as the river is spanned by good cantilever bridges, this being a portion of the Labrang-Ho Chou road, which is much used by the mule trains of Mahomedan merchants. In this neighbourhood we saw some *ma chi*, the large and handsome silver pheasant with red legs (*Crossoptilon auritum*, probably). For the second 30 li the valley opens out and the road becomes a good highway. The first intimation we received of the approach to Labrang were the white and blue tents dotted

over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Re-incarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

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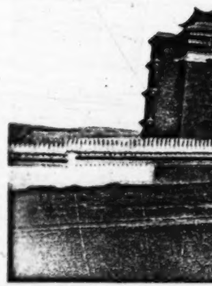

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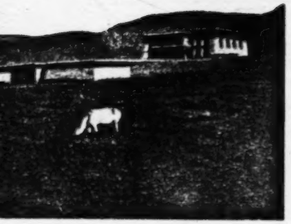
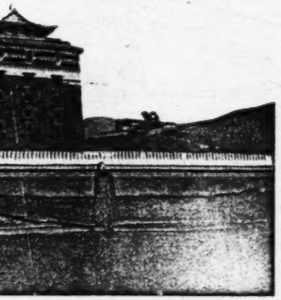


F HEITSO MONASTERY



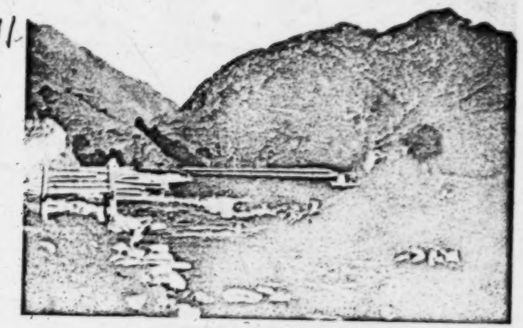
F HEITSO MONASTERY

NE p. 145]

We were well accommodated by the Mahomedans in their village. The Hutukotu was away "saying prayers in the grass-country" (*Ts'ao Ti Nien Ching*—as we were told), but the second lama in charge, an aged monk of refined and intelligent appearance, received us most amicably in a gorgeous apartment glittering with gold images and other signs of wealth, and gave instructions for us to be shown round the monastery. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Lamaism to be able to give an intelligent description of what we saw, but the temples were the finest and richest I have visited in China, and the residences of the monks the usual gloomy buildings common to all lamaseries. At our interview with the lama we were presented with the usual silk scarves (*Khata*), and it may be noted that the Chinese and Tibetans with us attached these in a prominent manner to their persons to show all and sundry that they had been received by the authorities of the monastery; I do not know whether this is a usual use to which to put the *Khata*, but it seemed a good idea here. After getting back to our quarters we found a present consisting of half a sheep for ourselves and several bushels of peas for our animals from the lama, which was very welcome in a country of scanty supplies.

From Labrang to Ho Chou is a distance of about 200 li, which is usually made in three stages. The first day's march took us back down the valley of the Tahsia River to Sasuma. From here the trail continues down the valley, which is here cultivated, past several small lamaseries, for 40 li to the village of Ch'aokou. Here gorges are entered through which the river winds for another 20 li to the village of Ch'ingshui (these villages are Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, with nothing Tibetan about them). The path ledged in the rock and supported by wooden stagings high above the torrent is very dangerous in places. There is an idea that mules and ponies accustomed to the mountains never fall, but this is by no means the case, and I have on more than one occasion seen an animal plunge to his death over the edge of one of these precipices, though fortunately we never lost one ourselves; it is always wise to dismount in such places. In spite of the dangerous nature of the road we met large numbers of mule caravans going up to Labrang

MONASTERY OF SHAKOU SSU



CANTILEVER BRIDGE ON THE ROAD TO LABRANG

[FACING p. 147]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY

VIEW OF LABRANG MONASTERY
(The two views join to form a panorama)

[FACING p. 158]

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the Kokonor (in Chinese Ch'ing Hai, meaning, like the Mongol name, "Azure Lake"), who used to be known by the Tibetan or Mongol term of "Amban," but who at the time of our visit was styled in the republican manner *Ch'ing Hai Pan Shih Chang Kuan* ("Chief Authority in charge of the Affairs of the Kokonor Territory"). Soon afterwards the post and its occupant, an old Manchu, were abolished by Yuan Shih-k'ai's Government, and the control of the Kokonor territory handed over to the Mahomedan General of Hsining. This control is of the usual vague and shadowy nature, such as has been exercised for so long by China over her outlying dependencies. The Mongol inhabitants are ruled by their own princes under China's overlordship; the Tibetans wander pretty well at will over the territory, robbing one another, the Mongols, and the Chinese, and generally pay but little respect to their nominal Chinese masters. It is possible that the Mahomedans will now take measures to bring them more under control[1].

We remained some days at Hsining, but unfortunately had no leisure to visit either the Kokonor Lake or the famous monastery of T'a-erh Ssu. In the intervals of official business we were hospitably entertained by the Mahomedan General, the Manchu Amban, the Taoyin, and other officials. The former, like most of the Mahomedan leaders we met, was a bluff, hearty soldier and a delightful companion; he had served under T'ung Fu-hsiang at Peking in 1900.

Tanko and Hsining are the headquarters of the great Kokonor wool trade, which has been going on for twenty years or more and has now reached very large dimensions. This wool is produced on the grass lands of the Kokonor border, and is carried by raft and boat down the Yellow River and by camel caravan across the desert to Tientsin, whence it is exported to America. The trade is largely in the hands of the foreign export firms in Tientsin who, through their compradores, maintain buying agencies at various collecting centres such as Hsining, Tanko, Kueité, Hochow, Hsünhua, Tatung, Yungan, and Épo on the

[1] Such measures have since been taken, with the result that the Tibetans, and more especially the lamas, have on several occasions risen in arms against the Mahomedans, and the peace of the Kokonor border has been seriously disturbed.

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It evidently owes its importance to its position as the most westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important element in the trading community. There was no civil official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li, T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng 80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north. Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, which from its appearance might equally well have been situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism, by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before the King in the costume shown in the photographs, concealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photographs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

792

The Kambo, the lamasery abbot, of Gum bum goes to pray every day in the Tsogs kang.

527
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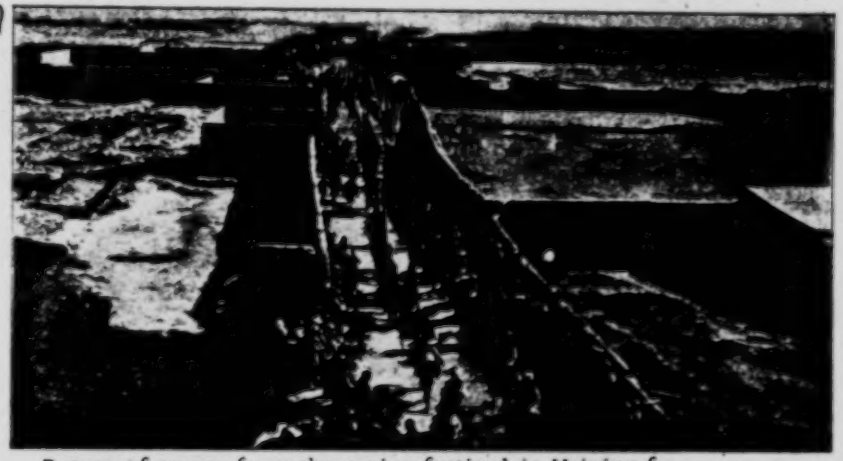

Return of troops from the spring festival in Hsining fu.

The dance of the Tscham in Gum bum. /208B/

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563
[302] ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778
563 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[795] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[799] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563
792 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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summer with the Mongols. The holy man came riding up early in 563
the morning, accompanied by three akkas, and for many hours he 792
read prayers, invocations and exorcisms in the Mongol's yurt. When
he departed all the members of the family humbly kissed the hem
of his garment and the three akkas followed him with a yak and 28
sheep. - Indeed, summer resorts prove lucrative for the holy men!

In our little group it was also a day of prayer and sacrifice. Lao 782
Sung who had recovered along with the rest of us from his illness up 539
at the Tschürnong redeemed a pledge today. He had bought the
sheep which he had promised the gods for his recovery. He built an
altar of earth and stones behind the tent and before it he sang his
daily invocation:

Lama la stiapsumdschiū
Songrdyi la stiapsumdschiū
Tschu la stiapsumdschiū
Ginden la stiapsumdschiū
Guntschok sum la stiapsumdschiū
Yidam tschüngkordye
Lha tsok kordang dye ba
rnam la ptscha tsalo-o
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

If he spoke very rapidly he could say the entire prayer in twenty minutes. (2) Thereupon he burned thuja leaves together with cow

2. The beginning of the prayer btsoktschito... and the supplication to the sGrolma. Every little lama novice and every layman or "black man" (Tibetan: mi nag) knows this prayer by heart and is supposed to repeat it if possible 21 times a day. The above lines roughly translated are: I implore all the lamas, /339/ I implore all the priests, I implore all the deities, I pray to all that is holy. I beseech the trinity of the gods. I kowtow in the dust before the lord of the tutelary gods, before the assembly of the gods, all the holy ones and their pupils...

dung. /339/ Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sheep was undertaken. 782
It was first consecrated according to the Tibetan rite and then killed according to Mohammedan rites. While Lao Sung was still praying, Lao Tscheng brought burning cedar leaves on our serving ladle and exposed the animal to smoke with these; according to his own words,

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643 that it hung down below their knees. They all had silver-mounted
291 swords made in Lhasa in their belts and almost all of them wore red and blue mandarin buttons and pheasant feathers on their Manchu hats. I served my guests tea, tsamba and mutton in my tent. My Moham-
782 medan Han had to act as my interpreter, for the dsassak pretended he understood only Mongolian. After the customary amenities, he came out with the purpose of his visit. He had heard that I had come throu infected areas and he was afraid his yak herds would become infected if I traveled farther up the valley with my caravan. He also implored me not to hunt in his territory. He and his people had taken a vow not to harm any wild animal for two years. They hoped in this way to win the favor of the local spirits. For this he promised to give me barley and wheat flour inexpensively in his village and to transport a part of my collections back to Hsining fu. After his call, the dsassak rode off over the stony path, to his home in the plain 40 kilometers distant.

563 I had obviously gained prestige through the dsassak's visit. He
342 had been accompanied by a young Mongol named Dyoba Dyentsen
574 (Plate LXXVI) whose yurt stood only a short hour's distance from me and who now invited me to visit him, as did his neighbors. I started my round of visits at the yurt of my nearest neighbor. As I approache the whole family came bursting out of their round, dirty-white beehive. We greeted each other before the door very deliberately with low bows, until finally I, as the first person, stumbled through the wide open narrow, double-winged wooden door common to all Mongol yurts, and over the high threshold into the dim room. Here the wife and the grown daughter served me a peaked mound of tsamba decorated with flecks of butter and arranged with loving care on gaily-trimmed wooden plates and bowls. I was also given first-class tschürra, the skin of milk which had been carefully gathered, and the tail piece of the most-recently killed mutton, with the bristly tail attached, - in short, I was entertained like a high-ranking lama.
[576] When I was ready to leave, all the members of the family dashed out of the yurt, then came my servants, and I had to be the last to leave the tent-house. This is ancient Mongolian etiquette.

563 But I was even more elaborately received by Dyoba Dyentsen.
437 He was /347/ a young unmarried man in his late twenties, who was able to read and write Mongolian and Tibetan. He was a wanda, a
[792] priest who had not taken his examination, and the son of a family who, according to local standards, was considered wealthy. When I rode to his yurt, a sheep was killed in my honor. Dyoba had a

[i.e., of Barun. - Analyst]

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 779 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended. S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together. S N [562]

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement. S N 563 779 782 783

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast. S N 563 796 782 785 779 [203]

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then S N 563 553 852 S N [788]

/The Tibetans/

or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner. *563 264

Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather. *563 574 262 184 556

Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water. [252]

c. Clothing *563 291

Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty. [556]

No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter. [556]

The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves. [793]

Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen. *563 302 [184]

/The Tibetans/

*563 585 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 844 852 [562] [751] The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ailments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the [853] same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 553 852 [793] The child receives a name when it is one month old. The name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama. With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between names for males and females. High lamas always give their own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily celebrated.

*563 764 "Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

*563 [755] [793] When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 763 764 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bundle, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

*563 764 562 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend.

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. [782] The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 [184] 263 The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

/Chinese Moslems/

referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

The Salars live in Hsin-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In
648 April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from
* 668 forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce
177 the United States and, later in meetings of their congregations,
• 793 they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist
799 the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has
* 778 been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist
668 regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Com-
177 munists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

764 was up the howling and wailing ceased as suddenly as it had begun, tears were dried, and people went about their business or began eating, and after another twenty-four hours the lamentations were taken up again.

• [793] On the sixth day the Taoist priests again came to the house and set up tents and canopies in the courtyard outside my door. (1)

1. I did not observe that the Chinese of Northwest China used Buddhistic priests in this connection. Lama priests are used only in places where Chinese are intermingled with Tibetans. But Hsining fu is a Chinese city in which, besides Chinese, there are only a few Manchu and Tu ren living.

Musicians appeared and also cooks who had to cook for the many guests and relatives who came to express sympathy. Meanwhile the priests had prepared a passport to the kingdom of the dead, a written eulogy on gray paper, and this was now sent after the dead man into the world of spirits, that is, it was burned amid all kinds of invocations. There were also a few paper dolls representing servants, one-half life size, burned and large paper silver coins and much copper money which was also stamped out of paper, so that the deceased was given a very good dowry to take along. (2)

775 2. De Groot, The Religious System of China, Vol. I, p. 80, reports that in the province of Fu kien in South China which is largely Buddhistic, the Chinese assume that each birth means the release of some poor soul from Hades. There souls always were obliged to pay a large ransom to the god of death and his executioner before they could be freed. In order to be able to pay this sum the souls have to borrow money from other souls and therefore the soul of every person who has died, as soon as it returns to Hades, is hounded by its creditors to pay its old debts, for the creditors were also trying to get the ransom money together so that they could return to earth as soon as possible. They also believe it is very useful to send copper coins along immediately, for of course a poor soul just returning from the earth does not know the current exchange in Hades copper money and is therefore cheated by the money changers down there and suffers great losses before he can get change! This

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794 CONGREGATIONS--groups organized for common worship (e.g., kin and local groups, special cult groups, church congregations, parishes); lay organization (e.g., elders, deacons, committees); qualification for membership; admission and disciplining of members; fund raising; maintenance of place of worship; religious activities (e.g., sunday school); secular church activities (e.g., education, welfare work, church gambling, temple money lending); recreational facilities (e.g., parish houses); etc. See also:

Recreation 82
Religious activities of kin and local groups . 81, 82
Churches and temples 346
Banking 453
Relief and welfare 73, 74
Education 87
Gambling 525
Temple prostitution 798

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KalmyK

After I had had my presents handed over, the conversation turned to 643
European weapons and the dsassak who already had a number of Russian 574
and English repeater guns, made every effort to buy some of my weapons. When I showed no inclination to comply with his wishes, the atmosphere became strained and I hurried to take my leave. /350/

The Barun dsassak (Plate LXXV), like all Dam Mongols, cannot 252
be relied upon. The flour for which I had paid him up in the Wulaserä Valley, was still not ground when I came to Barun kurä, and I was obliged to wait two days before I could get it. It was ground in hand-mills by old women and widows.

There were a great many beggars and cripples loafing about in 735
the dsassak's courtyard. They mumbled their Om mani padme hung and plucked at their rosaries without ceasing. There were people 644
coming and going all the time who paid tribute to the dsassak, and my companions were always amazed at how obsequious the Mongols were toward their ruler. Whereas the tent Tibetan shows very little respect toward his chieftain, the ordinary Mongol is bound by strict etiquette. He may never sit down with crossed legs before his prince, he must bend his right knee and remain in a half squatting, half kneeling position. If he is not invited to sit down he remains standing with his legs together. He must take his sword in his left hand and may not leave it sticking diagonally in his belt as he usually does.

The Mongol princes have incomparably greater prestige than the 643
chieftains of the Tibetan nomads. I have already spoken of the princes' right of preëmption. Besides that, the dsassak owns his en- [423]
tire country, he annually apportions the pastures and also the arable land among his subjects and for this he receives his tithe in the form of animals and grain. Moreover, he demands several days of [651]
gratuitous service from each family, which the wealthier ones may pay off in the form of added taxes. On his part he feels himself re- [792] ●
sponsible only toward the priests, he always supports a few lamas and gives large gifts to the monasteries. In many things he is the only source of supply for his subjects. He had large supplies stored in his warehouses in Barunkurä. In them I saw pulo from Shigatse, lamb-skins from Lhasa, Nepalese amulet boxes, peacock feathers from India, saffron from Kashmir, Indian dates and cocoanut, Tibetan stag-antlers and pouches of musk, as well as American cotton materials, boots from Dankar, tea and the many little things with which the Chinese furnish the nomads of the highlands.

While I was staying there a huge felt yurt was erected in the court- 792
yard of the dsassak, measuring 10 meters in diameter. The tribal 346

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KalmyK

● 792 lamas gathered in it, in order to read the Kandyur. (Plate LXXIX).
346 Beside the yurt there were deep holes dug, in which bucketsful of tea and thick, glutinous barley soup were cooked for the lamas and the many visitors who came for these prayer recitations.

000 Among the visitors was Dowe who had accompanied Rockhill to K'am in 1889. His eye disease which had set in shortly after his journey with Rockhill had in the meantime become so bad that he was almost blind. Two men who accompanied Kozlov on his journey to K'am also visited me and offered me their services. But they demanded such a high salary that I was unable to take them along. They boastfully told of the attack on Kozlov's caravan not far from Tsiamdo, in which 32 Tibetans were supposed to have fallen, and they spoke as though they had been the deliverers. (1) In the year

1. See in this connection, Kozlov, Mongolia i Kam, St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. II.

1900 this same courtyard of the Barun dsassak /351/ formed the base of Colonel Kozlov's expedition. Two Cossacks guarded the camel caravan while Kozlov journeyed to K'am. The traces of this expedition were still clearly visible. In the room next to the reception-room the dsassak showed me, with a shake of his head, the place where the large Russian stove which the Cossacks built, had stood. Even the wooden tower for meteorological observations was still intact. These people were unable to rest for a minute, the dsassak observed, and in their feverish activity they opened the large well shaft in the courtyard. (1) However, today this well yields only

1. I was told apropos of the attack on the two Cossacks, that they had seen ghosts one night and shot blindly into the darkness. But there was no enemy. Perhaps the Mongols themselves wanted to steal?

brackish, polluted water. One finds good, salt-free drinking water only a good quarter-hour from Kurä. A solitary rooster had meanwhile made his home in the wooden meteorological tower. The dsassak had brought him along only as an alarm-clock in the morning. He and his fellow-tribesmen, like the Tibetans, never ate eggs. So the hens had been left behind in China. (2)

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2. The banner of the Barun dsassak has only one squadron

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Kalmyk

000 to the dogs and the vultures and you will be eternally damned." - "We do not know what happens after death. The ahun says one thing and the lama says something else. I can make a good living here now. If I return to China, I shall be able to enjoy meat only as ts'ai - as a supplementary dish - whereas here it has become a chief article of my diet. Besides, I have to pay good money for the little meat and flour I get in China, and obtain the money by working hard for it. Here I do not need any money," argued the pseudo-Mongol.

My servant Han accomplished nothing. The next morning the relationship between the two brothers was so strained that it seemed to me high time for them to part.

264 576 When the flour was finally ground and while I was taking my leave of the dsassak, I was invited to enter the reception room for a final drink of schnapps. A remarkably dark-skinned bondsman, a young Tibetan from the region south of Lhasa, entered with a stone-ware jug. He bent his right knee and bowed low before me, and with the ring finger of my right hand I had to touch a bit of butter that was stuck to the edge of the jug and to the stopper which consisted of a piece of wood. I had to smear a little of this butter on my forehead while the young chap held the thumb of his right hand against my forehead. After he had bowed before me, the young man made his bow in front of the dsassak, the wife of the dsassak, the lama (1) and finally in front of the small son, offering each of

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1. Geslong lamas from the Galdan lamasery near Lhasa are always sent to the banner leaders of the Dam Mongols for a period of three years to act as high priests, advisers and shepherds of souls, so to speak. Their chief duty is to lead the ceremony for the dead.

them in turn the closed ewer with the little ball of butter, whereupon each person took some of the butter with his ring-finger and murmured some prayers. Only after he had gone around the circle was the flask opened and some of its contents poured into a cup. Again, a piece of butter adhered to the cup and again the servant handed each one the cup and each person made a libation into all four directions with his fourth finger. Only after that was each person, with the exception of the lama, given some of the schnapps.

576 After that, in accordance with the custom of the country, I delivered a long panegyric on the hospitality of the dsassak who replied

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793 PRIESTHOOD--specialists in organized religious activities (e.g., priests, priestesses, clergymen, rabbis, mullahs); status and means of support; selection, training, and consecration; hierarchical organization (e.g., chief priests, bishops, cardinals, popes); prerogatives and disabilities of priests; characteristics (e.g., sex, garb, paraphernalia); distinctive behavior (e.g., celibacy); activities (e.g., conducting ceremonies, preaching, teaching, comforting); special priestly personnel (e.g., acolytes, temple prostitutes); etc.

See also:

Celibacy	589	Shamans	786
Theocratic forms of government	642	Theologians	812
Military chaplains	708	Divinity schools	874

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Öläts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 S [184] Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] N [191] N 563 794 177 184 To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

563 794 177 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

[144] [262] [272] [273] The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] [346] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[195] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. S [422] Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

S The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

M 233 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and 241 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 198 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest [177] that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

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563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
[554] subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[422] status is established by the possession of horses, camels, and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined) plays an important role.

SN
The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most

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[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,

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the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
[476] those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exercised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols, while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite

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a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563
The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
771 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both

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feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
● [794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is accustomed to the old tradition of giving a small percentage of his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and religious in the second place.

*563 must have had few, if any, effects upon everyday life, or the village
62 units would not have been so important in the local administrative
631 system. The very common pattern of market-town surrounded by farm villages exists in the Northwest. Like those in China Proper,
*563 the Northwest market towns are the outgrowth of those villages which
361 are situated on main roads or at strategic points. The market
632 towns fill the same kind of social, economic and cultural roles here
443 as they do in other parts of the country.

*563 In areas where both Chinese and Chinese-speaking Moslem
621 farmers live, there are three types of rural communities. The first includes the all-Chinese villages which greatly resemble the villages in North China. From twenty to thirty families constitute the average population in these villages. When some pecu-
[443] liar quality, such as its location on a well-travelled road, makes a
[632] village acceptable to an entire district, it becomes a market town. Eventually it may grow to the proportions of a city. Whenever the village grows so large that those whose fields lie on the periphery can no longer go back and forth each day, it begins to break up. The families with the very distant fields become the nucleus of a new settlement.

*563 In a Chinese village communal life is exhibited in several ways.
621 One is by religious observance, particularly the conduct of the
771 ritual connected with ancestor-worship and veneration of the past. At stated times throughout the year - especially at the New Year, and during the second, fifth, and eighth moons - festivals honoring certain deities or commemorating religious events are held. Such
● [794] a festival is always a communal matter. All contribute money for the furnishing of trappings proper to the affair, some are concerned with organizing the celebration, others carry images in the procession, and still others collaborate with the priests, - Buddhist or Taoist, - in the performance of the various ceremonies. Such religious festivals are not altogether a matter of the calendar, for additional services are often held in times of drought or other community disasters.

*563 The village or community theatrical is another communal activity.
545 Generally the plays are given for the enjoyment of the people. The
621 entire community shares the responsibilities and enjoys the fun. In small Chinese hamlets in the Northwest even a funeral is very
*563 much a community affairs. Virtually everyone has a part in the
621 mourning, feasting, burying, and attendant religious activities.
769 Also annually in early spring during the feast of Ch'ing-ming, the
[764] Chinese in the Northwest, as in other parts of China, decorate the graves, make various offerings of food and drink, burn paper money and incense, and bewail the dead. The graveyards are not necessarily communal, but Ch'ing-ming is observed universally and no one can abstain from participation without arousing comment

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
● [794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
[875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
794 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
872 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
873 home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[158] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
794 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
779 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnâ-pâramitâ, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chŏr-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[876] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next [554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery [177] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
177 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

PUBLIC WELFARE

I. Introduction

657 Welfare work in China's Northwest has to be conducted for
the benefit of two distinct categories of people in need. The
poor are composed of those whose problems arose out of in-
adequate standards of living. They include the aged and disabled,
the orphans and other destitute or handicapped people. Marginal
cases of this category are the underprivileged groups of society,
who might maintain themselves, even though precariously, in
years of abundance but who become relief cases as soon as their
balance of life is disturbed. Chinese concepts of charity and
charity organizations normally available to this category are
discussed in the Public Welfare Section of the General Handbook.

The second category however, the victims of natural disasters,
721 poses a special problem in the Northwest. As has been demonstrated
in other Sections of this Handbook, the maintainence of agriculture
in the Northwest is more dependent upon conservancy and irrigation
projects than in other regions of China. During the last period
of the Imperial era, many of these projects have fallen into disrepair,
thus exposing the area to more critical inundations and droughts.
Reports from the Imperial period reveal that there were fourteen
severe inundations in the province of Shensi during the hundred
years 1800-1900 and seven in Kansu. The same century brought
sixteen severe droughts to Shensi and nine to Kansu. The droughts
of 1877 which encompassed both provinces, of 1900/01 in Shensi,
and of 1908/09 in Kansu were catastrophes of a national extent.

The frequency and severity of earthquakes in the Northwest
adds to the problems of the region, particularly since in many
areas of the region people live in loess caves. The great earth-
quake of 1879 which hit both Shensi and Kansu, the one of 1881
in Kansu and the once of 1892 in the Kucha district of Sinkiang
and the Hsi-ning district of Ching-hai still in everybody's
memory, even though the twenties of our century have again
brought two devastating earthquakes.

Nor is this all. During the last hundred years the Northwest
643 has been ravaged by rebellions and civil wars almost without in-
terruption. Several of these events left in their wake a vast number
of displaced and needy people, who added to the problems of emergency
and disaster relief.

II. Welfare Among the Moslems

794 A. The Distribution of Welfare Responsibilities
735 Most of the efforts in the field of public welfare among the

794 Moslems of the Northwest were done by the Moslems themselves
735 and not by the Chinese administration. The law of Islam provides
for a rather extensive system of, and general concepts on the
799 administration of public welfare. It is not so much through a
system of government institutions that the needy were taken
care of, but by the religious regulations of Islam. The concept
of public welfare is found in the Koran and was transmitted
to the people through the laws and obligations specified in the
religious writings of Islam. In the Islamic law there is no clear
conception of the separation of state and religious institutions.
The functions in both political and religious realms are merged
and interwoven. The provisions for public welfare are an out-
standing example for such a merging of state and church func-
tions. Charity and donations to the needy are regarded as a
religious duty and the financial resources necessary to sustain
those in need are in the form of an obligatory religious donation,
the collection of which is administered by officials, which in an
Islamic state constitute a part of the administration. A depart-
ment of public welfare is specified in the Islamic religious laws
to be one of the departments of the Islamic State. However,
since the majority of the Moslem peoples, including the Moslems
of Sinkiang, do not live in an Islamic State, the functions of the
state became the responsibility of the local religious community.

799 B. The Concept of Charity in Islamic Writings

Charity towards man, in its widest sense, is laid down in the
Koran as the second great pillar on which the structure of Islam
stands (the first obligation being that of regular prayers). Bene-
volence to other people is stressed constantly throughout the
Koran, the most frequently recurring words designating charity
being infaq (meaning spending benevolently), ishan (doing good),
zakat (purification), and sadaqah (derived from the root sidq
which means truth and has come to signify a charitable deed).
Benevolence to other people includes feeding of the poor, the
emancipation of slaves, the care of orphans who have no kinsmen.
Small good deeds such as helping a man load his animal or saying
a good word are considered also as charitable.

799 Charity is of two kinds: it can be voluntary or obligatory.
431 Voluntary charity is usually known as sadaqah, while the obligatory
431 charity is mentioned in the Koran as zakat.

Voluntary charity is to be administered so that no idea of
732 the superiority of the giver or the inferiority of the receiver
is conveyed: "As for those who spend their wealth in the way of
Allah, then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach
or injury, they shall have their reward from their Lord." Or,
"Kind speech and forgiveness is better than charity followed by
injury." Love of God should be the motivation for those who do

799 charitable deeds, and only the well-earned wealth should be
799 given as charity. Those who give secretly are praised more
799 highly than those who publicize their gifts.

Obligatory charity is collected by officials who are appointed
by the community to carry out this task. The individual donator
is not at liberty to calculate and spend his zakat in any way he
wants, but it is collected by the officials and spent by the community.

Zakat is a charge on accumulated wealth, and particially in
this manner redistributes a portion of the accumulated wealth of
the few to those who have none in the community. A part of the
amassed wealth of every individual is taken away annually and
distributed among the poor and the needy. Zakat is payable on
all cash hoardings, or hoardings in gold and silver, as well
as on any form of capital, whether in the shape of cash or kind.

The items of expenditure of zakat are stated by the Koran to
be the following: "Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and
the officials appointed over them, and those whose hearts are
made to incline to truth, and captives, and those in debt, and in
the way of Allah, and the wayfarer. It is an ordinance from Allah,
and Allah is the knowing and the Wise" (9:60).

The recipients of the benefits of zakat can be divided into
three main categories: (1) those who need help; (2) the officials
appointed for the collection and disbursement of the fund; and
(3) a part is required to be spent in the way of Allah.

Six kinds of people fall under the "lucky things." with which to
promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though
it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning
the attitude in which alms should be given, and the reason for the
theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of
the donor. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma
(truth). The only entity who practiced charity in anything like
our sense of the word was the Bodhisatva, for whom, and for
whom only, compassion was the cardinal principle. Every consid-
eration is laid aside and even meditation neglected for its sake.

These basic doctrines have not prevented later schools of
Buddhism in China from developing charitable and welfare work
both through the temples themselves and through Buddhist spon-
sored or co-sponsored laymen's associations (see China General,
Public Welfare). The Lamaist church, however, has stuck
closer to the original concepts and hardly a trace of charitable or
welfare work emanating from or sponsored by the lamaseries can
be detected.

574 There exists, though, one concept common to both Lamaist
485 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
492 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
485 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

799 which varies according to one's wealth. This food must be
799 donated by every Moslem in the community who is not poor,
799 and distributed among those who need it. The second institution
799 is that connected with Id al-Adaha, on which occasion the poorer
799 members of the community are fed with the meat of the sacri-
ficed animals, and the skins of those animals are sold, and the
sum thus realized spent on the propagation of Islam.

These then are the concepts applied to welfare work among
the Moslems of the Northwest. As has been seen: the impetus
toward welfare activities is entirely religious. This religious
basis of welfare work was somewhat modified among the Chinese
Moslems (Hui) particularly in those provinces, such as Ninghsia
and Chinghai, where the Chinese Moslems were in the hands of Moslem
leaders. In these cases welfare activities would be supported
strongly and to a certain extent, in the shape of cash or kind, but
would pertain in most cases to the Moslem population only.

With regard to the handling of welfare cases among non-
Moslem Chinese, reference is made in the section on Public
Welfare of the General Handbook.

III Welfare Among Lamaists

The concept of charity is alien to original Buddhism; it has no
part in its ancient teachings. Almsgiving (dana) is the only chari-
table activity that is occasionally mentioned in earlier writings.
It is there termed in one place the "lucky things." with which to
promote one's own self-perfection and salvation, even though
it has no place in the eightfold path. Later on, rules concerning
the attitude in which alms should be given, and the reason for the
theory being that the merit of the gift grows with the merit of
the donor. The best gift of all, however, was the gift of Dharma
(truth). The only entity who practiced charity in anything like
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485 peoples, through which the situation is mitigated. This is the
492 concept of hospitality. Under this concept many charitable and
485 welfare functions are carried out by the lamaseries as well as

574 by the laymen. Temples frequently maintain free hostels for
485 travellers, and one can count on any layman to provide food,
492 shelter, road guidance, and any kind of help to needy passers-
485 by. It is even customary for a Mongol to leave food in front
of his tent during the time he is on an outing. This hospital-
ity is extended to destitute and refugees also, by Mongols as
well as Tibetans, irrespective of the creed of the receiver.

IV. Welfare Efforts Under the Republic, Particularly Under the National Government

657 With the coming of the Chinese Republic, the realization grew
721 that welfare was a public matter. Although it took time until
the rudiments of an organization were set up to implement this
realization, the government at best acted to the limits of its
possibilities to bring relief in the case of natural catastrophes.
During the great famine in the Northwest, caused by protracted
droughts and earthquakes in 1928/29, the government organized
a special commission to handle relief. The relief work of this
commission was financed partly by fixed government grants,
special loans and by solicited special contributions from Chinese
cities, provinces and private organizations and individuals as well
as by organizing a rather successful drive for funds abroad.
The role played by the China Famine Relief Commission in this
as well as in similar instances is discussed in the Social Welfare
Section of the General Handbook.

The realization grew however that with regard to natural
655 disasters, prevention work might be of greater consequence than
612 relief. One of the projects that grew out of this realization might
185 be mentioned here, the Wei-pei irrigation project in Shensi. This
799 project was conceived jointly by the Shensi provincial authorities
649 and the China International Famine Relief Commission in the
twenties. Actual work commenced in December 1930 and was
completed in June 1932. Ninety thousand acres of land have been
reclaimed by this combined conservancy and irrigation project.
The mismanagement of the system was later taken over by the
National Economic Council.

In the late thirties this Council was particularly active in
irrigation and reclamation schemes in the Northwest. It was re-
sponsible for the sponsoring or subsidizing of several large-
scale projects in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia Provinces.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available on
the efforts on the part of the Chinese administration in the field
of public welfare in the Northwest, both under the National Gov-
ernment and under the present Communist regime. From the
799 little material we have the general impression is that the local
efforts of the Moslem community encompass most of the work
done in public welfare.

+668 of Muslim-Hui, Uighurs (Sarigh-Uighur), Kazaks, Uzbeks, Tatars,
+668 Sibo and Tungusic nationalities. (NCNA Peking, August 4, 1952).
+563 A 45 member delegation from 15 different nationalities of
484 Northwest China arrived in Peking yesterday to take part in the
coming October 1st National Day celebrations. . . .

The Northwest delegation, headed by Mainor, an Uigur woman,
included the following 15 nationalities: Han, Hui, Uigur, Kazakh,
Mongolian, Tibetan, Tunghsiang, (Sarigh-Uighur), Uzbek, Manchu,
Tartar, Solon, Khalhas (Kirgis), Tajik, Sibo and Russian." (NCNA
Peking, Sunday, September 24, 1952).

3. Minority group organizations

Various nation-wide organizations such as the China Buddhist
+668 Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Moslem
+668 Cultural Association, and the China-Soviet Friendship Association
794 were organized with some minority and local leaders as mem-
bers and sponsors. The local chapters also have propaganda de-
partments. For instance, the Tibetan Buddhists in Chinghai, under
the leadership of Hsi-yao-cha-tu's contributed 728,750,000 for the
Resist-America Aid Korea movement in the year 1951 alone. Some
monasteries signed patriotic compacts and launched programs of
propaganda on current events and topics of the day. According to Hsi-yao's
report,

"The next step is to expand the propaganda work, mobilize the
lamas to organize propaganda teams, make use of temple fairs or
festivals for propaganda activities, and carry the propaganda deep
into the rural villages and nomadic regions. . . . In pushing the auto-
nomous work in the minority region, Buddhism should give more
active support and preach the nationality policy of the People's
Government." (Hsian, Chinese Chinghai-pao, November 23, 1951.)

Besides the Buddhists, the Moslems are used to promote the
799 Communist programs, not only in Northwest China, but some were
649 organized into pilgrim groups to visit Mecca and the Moslem nations
in the Near East in order to win the friendship of these nations for
Red China.

+668 The special effort to create Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
649 tions in northwest China can be seen in the following incomplete
+563 figures. By September 1951, Sino-Soviet Friendship Associa-
tion organizations had been organized in four provinces, four
municipalities, thirty-six administrative districts and 157 hsien
in northwest China. There were 1,314 branch associations and
417 sub-branch associations with a total membership of 336,610
of all nationalities. The purpose of this association is to tell the
people of the merits of the USSR.

Obviously a special attempt has been made in Northwest China
to capture the minorities with propaganda.

795

795 SECTS--organized groups of congregations with differing and unreconciled sys-
tems of beliefs; crucial divergences in dogma; organizations of sects or de-
nominations (e.g., episcopal, congregational); admission of members (e.g.,
baptism, confirmation); distinguishing characteristics of members (e.g., spe-
cial garb or behavior); established churches; splinter sects; interdenomina-
tional conferences and federations; etc. See also:

Ancient philosophy institutes	75	Gov-chant import of unestablished churches	659
Sectarian educational institutions	97	Medicine societies	786
Cults	504	Associated theological institutes	795
Secret societies	575	Baptism of infants	881

The sweet
311 development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal,soil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and,as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese people of the Northwest are not only
563 outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or
governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking
175 was to make use of the existing form of governmental institu-
642 tions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-
171 Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang,"
631 i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The
191 Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely,banners ruled by dasaaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks
628 and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist
643 China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were ruled by Bäks with various
175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk,"local governor"; the lahkhan Bäk,
631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue";
195 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend-
649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi,
651 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the Muslimic Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-tsai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese
175 military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi,
631 Kutja, Chugochak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc.
641 Relay stations provided communication between the government
202 in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

/Salars/
563 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isola-
799 tion of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect,"
197 among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older
184 residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical
149 characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing
262 to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their
209 tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge
203 less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the
563 "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the
799 Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better
195 assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubborness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 Because the Moslems in China have throughout history
799 persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain
198 caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they
346 are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women,
562 for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems
799 to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal
195 division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

N
563 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form.
195 Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members'
586 main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture
241 goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable
458 role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct.
641 Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never
641 learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays
235 the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle
146 owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese
142 estates. A traditional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows,
192 sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is
592 the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly
633 becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old
614 Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy
146 exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The
192 economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries,
192 for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and
233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect,
233 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest
128 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming.
177 They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second important economic resource. While sheep, cows,
23 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred
580 only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.
563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the
563 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally
563 oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy
603 authority over all members of the family. Property is collect-
121 ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain
563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a
563 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the
642 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he
177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of
178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N
563 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be
168 little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized
N pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society
192 in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propaganda of the use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks
563 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in
195 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to consider the "non-believers" to be "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com-
563 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern
195 Turks, Salars, Kirghis, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denouncement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it
N can be stated that because of their geographical separation
N (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable.
195 However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

N
563 all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging
195 together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only
563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say
642 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic
195 group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of holshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghis.

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

N
181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on.
N In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious
181 ambitions, although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced
563 it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true
195 religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

*563 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
631 7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkak Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: ,robably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Burun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barin)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)
3. Probable extinction

According to Mollermanns, the total population of the Chinghai
*563 Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the
162 Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and
199 since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Nowthwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the
*563 northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts.
195 Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

B. Physical Characteristics

The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide.
*563 Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very
142 muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin coppertan red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Nge-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

*563 C. Economic Activities
191 The Tibetans are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or
235 farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 A. Population
795 According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese
[162] Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

*563 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be
795 of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems
144 of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can
142 be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses.
*563 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans)
795 also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies.
181 Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or; "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers
[441] and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules,
[505] oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition
795 and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exer-
771 cise Suflsm (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and
795 even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is
186 extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu

There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
799 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N
*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and
*175 Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[199] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

+175 *563 871 794 [658]

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

872 794

The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic. [876]

873 794

The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīḳī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

[876]

As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmctulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained
[875] lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the S N [793] Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people [782] they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 797 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
62 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
• 795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
[871] at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
[796] eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 764

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 199 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

RELIGION

I. Historical Background of the Religions of Inner Asia

771 Various religions have been strong in the Northwest, among
• 795 them Shamanism, Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam. The latter is the predominant religion among the Turks and the Dungans. Buddhism is the religion of the Mongols, Mongours, Shira Yügür and Tibetans. Nestorianism and Manichaeism have become extinct, but Confucianism and Taoism are still alive in Chinese communities (see China Handbook).

A. Shamanism

771 Shamanism is a pagan faith based upon concepts of demons
756 and spirits, with whom the Shaman, or priest, attempts to maintain contact by either sending his soul to them or receiving
[787] them into his own soul. The Shaman usually functions in a self-
[293] induced trance, produced by taking alcoholic beverages, toad-
[276] stool powder, et cetera. A high percentage of Shamans suffer
[158] from various neuroses, severe forms of hysteria, or epilepsy, and the selection of a new Shaman may be based upon such mani-
[428] festations of a deviant personality. Sometimes, however, the position of Shaman is hereditary.

756 The Shaman is regarded as a mediator between man and the supernatural. He exercises his magic powers for such purposes as healing, rain-making, success in hunting, prevention of
[787] accidents, and divination. In central Asia, the common methods of divination are by the flight of birds and by scapulimancy, or interpretation of cracks on the shoulderblade of a sheep which
[292] has been treated over a fire. While functioning in his supernatural capacity, the Shaman wears a distinctive dress, usually a long robe decorated with metal discs, small bells and the claws of the totem birds.

The training of a Shaman is long and involved, and he usually does not reach full professional status until the age of forty or fifty. Shamanists have no ecclesiastical organization, but rank Shamans on the basis of their success in dealing with the supernatural.

756 Besides the various ghosts, ancestral and animal spirits and
77 other lesser supernatural beings, the Shamanists recognize a supreme being, the Tengri, who is the universe personified, God and heaven. He is the fountain of life, as he gives man his
171 soul, and the fate of all peoples depends upon him. The Altaic
776 people believe that the Tengri observes all and everything; no

B. Buddhism

795 171 175 The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Survarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

795 171 175 'P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaqtu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 795 792 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai

The province of Chinghai, or Amdo as the Tibetans refer to it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Centuries ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was instituted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

(648) (795)

795 792 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kumbum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 (669)

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 871 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 [778] Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage. Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries [423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious. [651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 701 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the monasteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies [669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 795 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

792 795 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 175 D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghiz forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

E. Christianity

795 175 171 From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it exerted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's' wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalüt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

795 171 175 were annihilated by the victory of Islam.

When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khairan.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Naurus resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

795 171 175 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

779 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

779 671 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It embodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

N D. The Sects of Islam

795 The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 799 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 799 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

S 793 [692] S [794] them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N 795 563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are S N 795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To ~~avoid~~ persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N [361] Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

S N 795 101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".

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000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 787 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

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any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

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The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

G. Chinese Moslem Sects

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

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equal to or even higher than Muhammad himself. Most of his followers were uneducated. They believed that he had divine revelations since, without instruction, he had answers to all questions and appeared to know many things. As the founder of a new sect, he had to prescribe certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. The differences he ordered are best described by W. T. Chan in the following passage:

"The New Sect insists that a certain chapter of the Koran should be recited once only instead of three times as held by the Old Sect, that at prayer clasped hands should be raised once instead of twice, that after a meal there is no need to raise clasped hands in greeting, and that in singing the praise of Allah the voice should be low instead of high. With reference to religious service, the New Sect does not allow any substituting for an ahung in preaching, whereas the Old Sect permits such an arrangement. The two sects also disagree on the basis for calculating the period of fasting, with the New Sect adhering strictly to the Arabic method and the Old Sect following the Chinese lunar Calendar. The New Sect believes that at funerals the mourners should take off their shoes, and stand on a mat while praying for the dead, whereas the Old Sect holds fast to the tradition of standing on the ground with the shoes on. The New Sect also directs that the corpse be laid on the ground, whereas the Old Sect insists on its being on a platform. There is also a disagreement as to whether there should be an honoraria for preachers. In short, the New Sect insists on returning to Islamic traditions, but the Old Sect prefers to keep the customs that have developed in China through the centuries." (Religious Trends in Moslem China, p. 193.)

Being partly dedicated to ideas of forming a Moslem state in the Northwest, independent of China proper, Ma Hua-lung played a very important role in the Moslem rebellion during the nineteenth century.

After the death of Ma Hua-lung, friction developed in his sect. His son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma Hi-hsi, fought each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma Ta-hsi had the advantage of numbers and his place of residence, Cha-ku, became an important religious center.

Chang distinguished another sect existing in the Northwest, which he identifies as the New New Sect. Unfortunately there is not much evidence as to its nature. He also mentions a Sufi order in the Northwest called Che-ho-yeh (corruption of Jahrivah). The latter is described as "having an abbot, like the Buddhist lama. It is heavily superstitious and is generally despised by other schools." D'Ollone and Hartmann, however, identify this sect as that of Ma Hua-lung, the name Jahriva

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S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N H. The Salars

795 563 [199] [142] The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsin-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793] [177] [212] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N A. Sites of Religious Traditions

346 778 The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

N 771 182 N (769) "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

S 771 795 (575) Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177 A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.

S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
[635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yu-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

1: Washington, S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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N 795 668 177

ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

S 795 668 177

In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves: In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

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Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In
648 April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from
*668 forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce
177 the United States and, later in meetings of their congregations,
793 they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist
778 the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has
*668 been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist
177 regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to
778 become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted
*668 the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the
177 enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism,
795 not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslave-
778 ment of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May
648 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The
*668 American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems
177 of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chin, Imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in
795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had
*668 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination
177 over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples
641 of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official
*668 documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Com-
177 mon Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
778 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
*668 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
177 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

795 Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
182 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
[669] tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 *The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were*

S 795 798 668 177 civil marriage,' marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

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But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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B. Lamaism

• 795 792 *668 177 As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N 795 792 *563 *668 177 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

• 795 792 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.

*563 *668 177 795 792 171 *668 177 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger. There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith, and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be particularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956; New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

795 798 *668 177 [797] Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Communists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Communist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 *668 177 798 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region. This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

• 795 *668 177 798 number of parishes, religious life went on without major interference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

795 continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tri-
798 bunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading
177 through the city, were the methods most frequently used.

*668 In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily; and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

S N 485 795 114 798

S N 795 554 485 114

S N 795 559 485 114 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, S N 842 795 791 177 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul N *563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her S 563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way *563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability 177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They 181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the [669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the S 563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus- 177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change 181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese [669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang 563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and 642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. 643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov- 177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

*563 hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the partici- 181 pants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship 526 distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, [593] if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese- [184] speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the north- 177 ern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the seden- 621 tary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organiza- 184 tion permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

C 641 668 771 829 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into...atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C 641 668 771 The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Pleng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

N 641 642 668 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tse-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

C 641 642 823

E. Practices

N 668 423 578 873 Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

trough below the surrounding level of the valley. Just 487
beyond Hsitachai the path leaves the T'ao River, along 133
which another track runs direct to Choni, and turns up a
side valley to the north to reach a semi-Tibetan hamlet
called Shanch'a, 80 li from Min Chou, where we passed the
night in the house of the headman. Pheasants were abundant
in this picturesque and well-wooded valley.

At Shanch'a the path turns up a side ravine leading after
an hour's march to an easy pass, whence there is a descent
for another hour into a bare valley, followed by a rise over
a second low pass, and a descent to New T'ao Chou in
another bare open valley, a march of 40 li in all. New T'ao 361
Chou (now called Lintan Hsien) is the official town, as
opposed to Old T'ao Chou, distant 60 li, the commercial
town, and is an empty shell of a city of no importance.
About half the few buildings inside the walls had been
destroyed by the White Wolf rebels the year previously.
We were accommodated in a temple which the magistrate
had fitted up temporarily as his yamen. The city lies in
a bare open valley some 20 li or so north of the T'ao
River in a region of treeless hills of loess, red clay, and red
sandstone. This somewhat dreary belt of bare red hills 563
intervenes practically all along this border between the loess
of Kansu proper and the pine forests and grass lands of
the Kokonor country, and corresponds roughly to a similar
Mahomedan wedge between Chinese and Tibetans. The
red hills round New T'ao Chou are cultivated and dotted
with villages, mostly Mahomedan. The Moslems extend
from here along the border to their real strongholds round
Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and thence north of the Yellow
River to beyond Hsining. We were travelling round the 132
two T'ao Chous during the season of summer thunderstorms
(early July), and usually experienced several daily, some very
severe and rather alarming in this elevated region. On one 788
occasion hurrying into a Mahomedan farmhouse for shelter 795 •
we found the inhabitants at prayer as though in a mosque;
this custom of using private houses for prayer is, I was told,
confined to the followers of the "New Sect," which is very
extended and influential in Kansu. Our sudden intrusion 563
was not resented in the least, and on this, as on every other 609
occasion when I met Mahomedans in Kansu, we were

with the Mahomedan population of the district. At the 634
time of our visit there was also a Chinese General with a 563
few hundred old-fashioned Chinese troops in the city, the
Mahomedan troops, of whom there are many thousands in
the neighbourhood, being quartered in the surrounding
Mahomedan districts. We spent a day in Ho Chou, which
I thought a delightful place, feasting and receiving callers.

The Chinese differentiate between two kinds of Maho- 563
medans in Kansu, the Sala, the descendants of a Turkish
tribe which came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand
some five or six hundred years ago and settled on the upper
Yellow River round Ho Chou and Hsünhua, and the
original Mahomedan population of the province, which also
came from Turkestan, but at a much earlier period. The
former are really Chinese Turks, while the latter are probably
so mixed with early Chinese colonists who adopted Islam
as to merit the title of Mahomedan Chinese. The Chinese
look upon all the Moslems as being of a different race to
themselves, and they are assigned one of the five colours of
the republican flag, which symbolises the union of the five
Mongoloid races of the former Chinese Empire. They are
locally known as Hui Hui, or Hsiao Chiao Jen; the origin
of the former name is still occupying the attention of
scholars, and has been explained in various far-fetched and
unsatisfactory ways; the latter means People of the Lesser
Religion. The Mahomedan religion itself is known as
Ch'ing Chen Chiao (Pure and True Religion). The Sala, [142]
who are considered by the Chinese to be the more fanatical
and dangerous, show their comparatively recent Turkish
origin in their long narrow faces, large eyes, and strong
beards, and a Turkish dialect of some kind still survives
amongst them.

There are two large sects amongst the Mahomedans of 795 •
Kansu, those who follow the Lao Chiao (Old Religion) and
those who follow the Hsin Chiao (New Religion), which I 563
have heard compared by the Chinese to the Catholic and
Protestant Churches of Christianity. These two sects are
bitterly hostile to one another, and generally speaking the
Mahomedans are always quarrelling amongst themselves
about religious matters. But, in spite of these apparent
internal dissensions, they present on the whole a united

795 front towards the Chinese and the rest of the world, and in this unity (as also in the case of the unity of the Catholic
563 Church) lies their amazing strength today. I have heard the Chinese compare both Islam and the Catholic Church to vast world-wide secret societies bound together for purposes of mutual benefit and protection against the rest of mankind. At present the Moslems of North West China, though unsupported by the Treaties of any Foreign Powers, and in spite of the terrible set back after the rebellion, have acquired by their own efforts a privileged and independent position, and indeed are now the principal power in the province.

784 The various sects and classes seem to differ a good deal in the strictness of their observance of the tenets of their religion. Abstention from pork seems universal, and many abstain also from wine, opium, and even tobacco. The Ramadan fast is carefully kept by the upper classes, but
551 not so strictly by the lower. Every Moslem appears to have an Arabic as well as a Chinese name, but a knowledge
191 of the former language is confined to a few Ahongs and scholars. The Koran is read in Arabic. All classes hold keenly to their religion, and their religious centres are visited from time to time by priests from Turkey, Arabia, and
563 Central Asia. They keep aloof from the Chinese, whom they consider unclean, and do not usually frequent the Govern-
582 ment schools. They occasionally take Chinese wives, but the latter have to be cleansed before marriage externally and
783 internally by a course of baths and water drinking. The veiling of their women is not, I believe, practised in other
291 parts of China, but in Kansu we saw veiled women on two or three occasions, each time travelling on the road. The superiority of the Moslems over the Chinese in regard to
356 housing, food, personal cleanliness, and general standard of living is marked, and their spotlessly clean and well-kept mosques (*Lipai Ssu*) are in striking contrast to the dirty
346 and dilapidated temples of the Chinese. These mosques are Chinese-style buildings, and in this respect as in most others they have created a Chinese Mahomedan Church.
634 Though the magistrates in the Mahomedan districts are Chinese, they usually refrain from any interference with the Mahomedans, who appear to manage their own affairs through a sort of local government.

N.W. China AFC
Kalmyk

563 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs
[302] and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather differ-
[142] ent from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

778 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very
563 first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar-
[785] and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family
[789] lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

563 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do
792 Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Ratdscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each

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It had become clear to me that on my new expedition into the highlands, I could not think of continuing my old route. It would have taken too much time to get to the old place on the Tschang tang. By the time I would have reached it the animals would have suffered so much from the cold as well as from the distance, that I would have had little prospects of an important further advance. But above all I did not have the means to equip a second equally large caravan. I had therefore decided to take a trip into the little /98/ known K'am. In K'am on the upper Yangtze Kiang, around the sources of the Mekong and up to the banks of the Salwen, there lies a Tibetan province which, as I mentioned earlier, belongs to Hsining or rather to the Kuku Nor territory because it was occupied by Hsining Chinese at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the wars of conquest of the Manchu. The people of Hsining call this province the Hung mao or de ti fang, the "home of the red-hats" (1), sometimes also the Yü fu (Yü schu in the 121

1. All the people who do not belong to the Gelugba sect, refer to the Hsining Chinese as "red-hats," irrespective of whether they follow the Nima- (rNingma-)Saskya-, or Karma-rites. As far as a layman is concerned the difference between these sects consists chiefly in small externalisms of the ritual, in the invocation, the gestures of the hands, in the type of music, in the intonation of the instruments and in whistling and hand-clapping. For the monks the difference lies in the first place, in the diversity of tutelary gods. [795]

Peking dialect). It is the country of Nan tsien (or Nan tschen) dyalbo, a king who is practically independent. The territory is very large and little of it has been explored because it is extremely difficult of access. We therefore do not even know its exact boundaries. But it is today the most important center of the old Nima- (rNingma-) faith, that is, this very sect of Red-hats.

In order to penetrate the lands of the Nan tsien king, I felt that it was first of all necessary for me to secure the consent of the Hsining amban. But how was it possible for me, without a recommendation from my government, once again to come into the presence of the high and mighty lord? It took a great deal of trouble. This yamen had an astonishing number of almighty gate-keepers. On two different days I went to the amban yamen at 10 o'clock in the morning and left it when the gates were closed at night without being admitted by the 122

796

796 ORGANIZED CEREMONIAL--systematization of religious ritual; ceremonial calendar (e.g., fixed and movable religious holidays, rest days, and festivals); detailed description of the ceremonies regularly associated with each (e.g., participants, ceremonial attire and paraphernalia, prescribed succession of rites, accompanying music and dancing, symbolism); church and temple services; religious dramas and spectacles; notions of propitious and unlucky days for ceremonies; etc. See also:

Agricultural ceremonies	24	Spectacles	541
Music, dancing, and drama	53	Weddings	585
War ceremonies	72	Installation of chiefs and kings	643
Specific cult practices	78	Shamanistic performances	755
Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Mortuary ceremonies	794
Housebuilding ceremonies	242	Calendar	805
Leisure-time activities	517	Rites of passage	88, 561, 602
Secular holidays, rest days, and festivals	527		

/The Nomadic Tibetans/

*563 221 [437] encampment, or they may consist of a group of friends or relatives. Some go only to the neighboring farmers, but more gain is to be found in the trade at the border. Winter also is the time for weaving the yak hair cloth, for preparing and repairing equipment, and for visiting and gossip. The period of high festivity is approaching.

*563 221 796 792 [443] [584] The traders return from their travels and the nomads flow en masse to the monastery centers for the observation of the mid-winter festival. During the festivals religion is combined with both pleasure and business. Almost every family has its representatives among the monks so that family reunions heighten the gaiety of the season. Trade is brisk for the monastery centers are also market towns. Maidens contract alliances with the swashbuckling young nomads, and some of these affairs ripen into marriages. Business of another nature may also be contracted at this time.

*563 221 579 [792] [488] Once the spring movements commence, the nomads find it advisable to travel with a minimum of baggage both for actual convenience of movement, and to lessen the loss incurred should a raid occur. Thus advantage is taken of this opportunity to store one's valuables in the care of the monastery, and more particularly with a monk related to the owner. From mid-winter until the horses are too jaded in early spring, the major occupation can only be described as robbery and attempted robbery. Large-scale caravans from other parts of Tibet and from China make the most desirable prey.

*563 423 622 619 Ekvall and Yu reported that the winter grazing grounds belonged to the encampment, and that the territories in which the pastures were located, and assigned, were the property of the larger units (or tribes, as they are sometimes called) consisting of a number of encampments. The winter hay fields were individual's own property.

*563 423 622 [792] These units might be under the jurisdiction of a chief or they might form a rather loose confederation without marked central authority. In some instances the actual "chief" might be one of the local monasteries, whose head will exercise civil authority over the laity. Infrequently a chief might even control several larger units, in which case he would be referred to as gyalpo or "king." But even the most nearly autocratic chief exercised caution in asserting his position, lest a disgruntled encampment, or some tents, might leave his jurisdiction for the welcoming embrace of some other chief. The latter would then have complete information necessary for conducting a successful foray against the first group. Thus, just as within the encampment, the actual authority in these larger units rested in the hands of a council of elders, representing each of the component encampments.

*563 614 [621] Although there are clans in Tibet which have played important roles in the history of some of the ruling families, they perform no major function among the Tibetan nomads. The encampment is not based on clan affiliation. Such affiliations even cross the lines of the larger units. (Cf. Ekvall, 1939 and Yu, 1947). The clan

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
621 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
795 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather
[871] at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
• [796] eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

*563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradi-
769 tion. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

N At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
*563 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obei-
592 sance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relation-
• [796] ships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[184] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in
[593] it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

N The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
*563 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
796 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the peo-
184 ple of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is
N more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
*563 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The atti-
829 tude toward life is more practical because of poverty and neces-
N sary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so
[558] essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

S
N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)
563 1. The People
101 Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

S These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[161] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers.
[197] In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

S The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
N than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are con-
563 sidered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
181 said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obliga-
N tory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his
563 wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most im-
183 portant duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the
799 poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural
431 produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from
[651] all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings
N are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not
563 fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public re-
• 796 sponsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give
735 regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to
N Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and
563 wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity
788 to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.
554

c. Virtue

S It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept
N of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such
563 ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual
577 understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of
794 nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most
N important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is
563 thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and im-
515 moral conduct.

S d. Racial superiority

S The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group,
N superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials,
563 their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius
186 has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other

S and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a
N [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S N (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
[793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
S N In some places, women have their own mosques and women
[562] Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
S N ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
563 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
779 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
782 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
783 killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
S N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
• 795 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
782 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
[203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S N arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
[788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the
563 recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after
763 death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.
769

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case
S N of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five
563 inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest
764 the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem,
563 especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected
• 796 with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the
563 Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the
795 Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18,
668 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its
177 followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques
[423] may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

*563 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door
574 After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a
576 wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.
[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They
562 have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to par-
• 796 ticipate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-
529 age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do
88 their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the
[302] households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts.
[792] After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social
[574] functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with
[431] men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in tra-
*563 ditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who
584 are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the
[787] horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and
[695] katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male
*563 bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his
583 own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in
584 money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bride-
585 groom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

/The Tibetans/

*563 535 far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

*563 535 536 • 796 It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church, given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

536 *668 177 The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Communist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

*[175] Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

779 785 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

• [796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 788 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael. [175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the [302] head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving [292] the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 785 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

/Chinese Moslems/

S N 795 782 796 any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

203 The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

S N 795 735 431

S N 795 788 Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 796 Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

S N 795 262 In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 769 177 The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

N 795 788 778

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama; frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[512] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
[614] a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
• 796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the coustyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

712 different from the others. All the inns and shops were in the
361 suburb. The people who owned them were descendants of a long
line of old residents who took pride in the very exclusiveness which
was imposed by their isolation. Few of them ever left the place,
and many had never even seen the neighboring town of Suchow.
An inner gate led to the military section of the fortress, where
life was entirely different. The yamen, built in traditional Chinese
712 style, was the center of garrison life, and here the general and
701 his family lived, guarded day and night by sentries! Officers
marched in and out, and much official business was done, for
this was an important military center and the officer in command
held a high rank. Unlike the old residents, the military hated the
place and seized every chance of being away from it, bitterly
resenting the appointment to such a lonely outpost, and longing to
be transferred elsewhere. Nothing would have induced them to
walk outside the Northwest Gate where that fateful Gobi Desert
stretched, and their eyes always turned longingly to the city where,
twenty miles away, there was solace, gaiety and life.

712 If the men disliked Kiayukwan (Chia-yu-kuan), the women hated
512 it. There is nothing to do here all day but sit and listen to that
517 howling wind, they would say frequently.

The ladies of the yamen would gather in each other's rooms,
[529] play ma-jong for small stakes, sip tea and gossip. Often the
[521] game was prolonged until midnight, with interludes for drawing
[796] on the opium pipe, but the next morning's reaction brought a
fierce hatred of this place where desert demons hid themselves
in dust-clouds and whistled through every crevice of the crazy
[567] buildings. The little slave girls learnt to dread the days of bliz-
zard when their mistresses' nerves were tensed and blows were
dealt out irritably for the slightest offense.

• [796] Each festival of the year was the occasion for a welcome social
[574] function, and during the summer months life was made brighter by
the frequent exchange of visits with the officials from Suchow.
[545] Twice a year a theatrical troupe visited the fortress, and for the
three days of its performance all the inhabitants enjoyed them-
selves and made merry. But it was soon over, and when the
properties were packed and carts carried both actors and their
belongings elsewhere, life in the fortress relapsed into desolating
stagnation.

712 The third category of human beings to be met in Kiayukwan
485 were the travellers who came, lodged for a night or two at the
484 inns, and forthwith went their ways. Every sunset and every sun-
rise they arrived, some taking night stages and some travelling
by day, but all were travel worn and weary....

484 These formed the stream of living men and women who moved
712 up and down the great road, acquainted with life and full of know-
ledge about distant places. They were familiar with the large

S 4. Cultural corps

668 In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means
708 of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work
208 Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army)
545 in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and
the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They
visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of
S from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members
[563] included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of
[484] them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21
[548] acts before the audience in the capital.

The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing
668 Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd mem-
648 bers to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment
545 of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than
half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13
after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou,
seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two
cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times
before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than
439,000 people.

N IV. The Methods of Propaganda.

*668 Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using
208 many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives,
circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome
meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides
and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater
activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have
been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meet-
ing is another form. No matter what the main target of a partic-
ular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A.,
the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day,
whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land
reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model
S Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang
[668] are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as
[208] well as for denouncing germ warfare.

N A. Festivals

*668 Festivals are always good opportunities for promoting propa-
• 796 ganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are
followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used
*[563] as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist govern-
[771] ment. For instance, during their celebration of the three major
[651] Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton
consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

*668 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.
796
656

B. Guided Tours

*668 484 648 518 *563 Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

C. School Programs

*668 208 876 In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai: "In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

D. Other Methods

*668 208 The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

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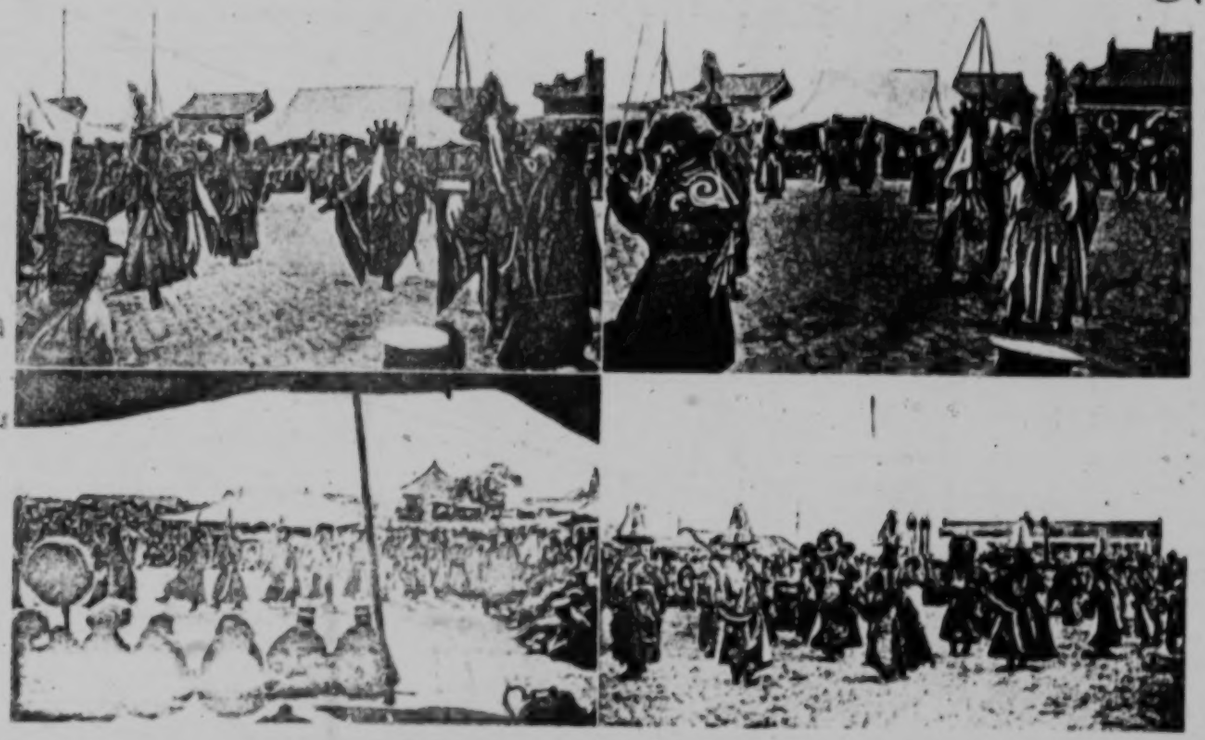
796



THE "DANCE OF THE BLACK HAT"

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

lawlessness of the past few years, which fact, however, only 439
makes its commercial prosperity all the more remarkable. It
evidently owes its importance to its position as the most
westerly outpost of Chinese trade in this direction, and like
Kueihua Ch'eng, is one of the starting-points for caravans
going west. The Mahomedans appear to form an important
element in the trading community. There was no civil
official at the time of our visit, but a large garrison of
soldiers; the inhabitants seem a rough lot, as is to be
expected in a frontier town.

At Paot'ou our river journey came to an end and we 133
hired carts to convey our baggage to Kueihua Ch'eng, 487
distant four marches, the usual stages being, Salach'i 90 li,
T'aossu Ho 70 li, Pihsuehchi 90 li, and Kueihua Ch'eng
80 li. The road runs east across an undulating cultivated
plain accompanied by the Tach'ing Shan range on the north.
Except for some marshy patches of grass land which have
to be crossed, the going is good, and I have never known
Chinese carts to travel faster, our ponies frequently having [484]
to trot to keep up with them. The traffic was surprisingly
busy on the road which evidently carried a bigger trade than
any trail in Kansu. The inhabitants are apparently all 563
Chinese, but at a farm where we stopped for a meal the
owner and his wife though dressed in Chinese clothes could
only speak Mongol; and another sign of the former Mongol
population is a picturesque lamasery on the mountain side, 792
which from its appearance might equally well have been
situated on the Kokonor border. The Mongol lamas are 796 •
very like their Tibetan colleagues, as is shown by the
accompanying photographs (see frontispiece) of a so-called 535
Devil Dance, which were taken at a big monastery in
Eastern Inner Mongolia, and represent the "Dance of the
Black Hat," the commonest religious dance in Tibet. It
represents an incident in Tibetan history namely the killing
of King Glangdarma, the notorious persecutor of Buddhism,
by the lama Dpalgirdarje in A.D. 842; the lama danced before
the King in the costume shown in the photographs, con-
cealing in his broad sleeves a bow and arrow. The photo- 796
graphs facing pages 200 and 202, which were taken at the 782
same Mongolian monastery, also represent purely Tibetan
ceremonies, namely the *torma* offering for warding off

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921

• 796 devils, and the circumambulati
[782] figure of the coming Buddha s
elephant, in this case a mock one
by that curious form of Bud
Lamaism is very large, stret
northern frontiers of India t
Siberia, and from Ladak to the

Kueihua Ch'eng is anoth
[36] serving a hinterland extending
438 Uliassutai. Near by lies the o
of Suiyuan, which gives its n
Suiyuan; the latter includes p
Northern Shansi, and has its co
territory of Chahar, comprisin
136 Mongolia and the Kalgan and J
territories are administered on
good starting-point for a big-
mountains further north, whe
sort of *Ovis argali*, and wapiti
the roe-deer and goral common
Kalgan railway extension pushi
is some of the best and most
in China nowadays.

487 We changed our carts at Ku
ones to take us through the m
133 Chen, distant four long marche
of 90 li to the mountain villag
continuing east across the plain
then running up a shallow vall
Many of the higher mountain al
the season of the year was on
following day another long ma
over a low pass brought us to t
on a sort of plateau of moorlan
the grass lands of Eastern I
heavily most of the day and we
[485] to find the roughest of accomm
The third stage is still longer,
of T'ienchʼeng Ts'un, but the t
country one can travel fast. T
flat open valleys to a lake, whe

on of the monastery by the
eated in a car drawn by an
. The extent of Asia covered
ldhism known as Tibetan
ching as it does from the
o the southern borders of
confines of Manchuria.
er busy commercial town
to Kashgar, Kobdo, Ili, and
d Manchu garrison fortress
me to the new territory of
rts of Inner Mongolia and
unterpart further east in the
g portions of Eastern Inner
chol regions of Chihli. These
military lines. Kueihua is a
game shooting trip into the
e remarkably fine sheep, a
can be secured, as well as
in North China. With the
ng on towards Kueihua, this
accessible big game ground

eihua Ch'eng and hired new
untains to railhead at Feng
s. The first stage is a march
e of Shihjen Wan, the trail
for six or seven hours and
cy for the rest of the way.
pes were snow-clad, though
ly late September. On the
ch of 90 li up a valley and
he hamlet of Wuli Pa, lying
d country, the beginning of
ner Mongolia. It snowed
arrived cold, wet, and tired
odation in a large cart inn.
called 110 li, to the village
rail lying partly across grass
The road descends through
re good wild-fowl shooting

can be had, and then ascends to another grassy plateau. Herds of Mongolian ponies (the "China pony" of the Treaty Ports) were to be seen, but the good pony country lies much further north-east, beyond Kalgan and Dolonor. The following day, September 26th, we accomplished our last march, 60 li to Feng Chen. It was freezing hard in the early morning, and we decided we had just completed our journey in time; for winter on these steppes of High Asia is very severe. The trail continues across the grass lands for two hours' march, and then runs down a broad cultivated valley plain for the rest of the way to Feng Chen, an unwalled township, and the railhead of the Peking-Kalgan-Kueihua extension line.

A construction train took us down to Tatung Fu, an important town of Northern Shansi, where we were lucky enough to strike the weekly express, which runs through to Peking in one day. This was the end of our long journeys, and the reader, having accompanied us as far afield as Chengtu in Szechuan and Hsining and Liangchou in Kansu, is probably as tired of reading about them as the writer is of recording their description.

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a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simultaneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID. 788

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many Kanchow women. Not content with being under a vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles. 262 785 796 [536] 796 302

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descriptions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of 796 265

796 steamed rice containing the fruit of the jujube tree is
265 popular, and dried apricots, macerated in water, are in demand as a cooling drink. Not far off are long tables sheltered by an awning, where men will sit for hours sipping tea and playing cards.

796 Within the temple buildings[1] the idols are dressed up in
782 gay silks, and each family on arrival presents itself at the various shrines to make obeisance, and burn incense. Thin sheets of yellow paper, on which are inscribed petitions to the gods, are lighted at the shrine lamp, waved in the air, and wafted upwards, the manner and height of ascent indicating the favour or displeasure of
785 the deities. Some of the older women, who have
796 practised asceticism for a lifetime and are prepared for any self-abnegation so that they may in the next incarnation obtain a more auspicious rebirth, perform elaborate rituals with touching devotion.

796 On such a fête-day all the temple treasures and silken
536 embroideries are on view, as also magnificent peacock-feather screens and umbrellas. The din of voices from vendors and visitors is completely overwhelmed when once the theatrical musicians commence their performance. Cymbals, pipes, and drums sound their loudest, while above them soars the shrill falsetto voice of the stage managers, announcing the details of the performance.

351 The temple grounds are beautifully kept. The
796 fragrant tree-peony opens its blossoms when the peach and pear trees drop their petals, and all through the summer months a succession of beautiful flowers decorates the fancy landscapes of the temple gardens, miniature lakes and bridges supplying a foreground to sacred mountains arranged on the same small scale.

796 The whole scene, from the turquoise sky, the snow-clad mountain ranges and the gorgeous profusion of flowers,

1 [of Kanchow on Festival Days--Analyst]

to the embroidered satin banners and brilliant clothes of the crowd, forms a feast of riotous colour which is a delight to the eye.

Where such crowds of men and women congregate, the missionary cannot afford to be absent, and our whole Christian community spent some strenuous days in sewing together a large tent capable of holding about 300 people, which would afford us a vantage-ground at the fairs which now were going to be visited. The first occasion for its use was in the town of Shantan, two marches distant from Kanchow, when all studies were suspended to enable a band of eighteen students to accompany us. Under Dr. Kao's superintendence, four men went ahead, and secured an empty courtyard for our accommodation, being also instructed to display Christian posters wherever possible.

The preparations for such a campaign necessitated considerable forethought. The only sleeping accommodation supplied in inns or hired houses is a bare mud sleeping-platform in an empty room, therefore each member of the party must take a wadded quilt in which to wrap at night, and serving as both mattress and coverlet. A couple of iron pots, large enough to serve the whole company with boiled rice or macaroni, must also be supplied, and each member of the preaching-band carried his own bowl and chopsticks. The tent ropes and pegs were placed at the bottom of the cart, and 2000 lbs. weight was made up with bags of rice, flour, and the preachers' ammunition in the form of the Christian literature as supplied by the Bible and Religious Tract Societies. On all these trips, leaders and students, whether foreign or Chinese, ate and shared alike.

The clean white tent, flying attractive flags and decorated with bright Scripture posters, was a gay and

3:Cable & French M-S (1926) 1927
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gentlemen acquaintances, it being the social custom that no woman should pay calls before the fifth of the month. Each visitor was duly offered tea and light refreshments, and each on leaving laid on the table his scarlet visiting-card.

The next morning[1] early, the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table, bordered by cash strung on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun. All had painted their faces, and wore brilliant dresses of green, pink or scarlet, while artificial flowers decked their hair. But underneath all this gay scene many a tragic shadow was concealed, and darkness had scarcely closed in when the Mission compound was aroused by urgent calls for help, the doctor being sent for to save, if possible, the life of a woman who, driven to despair by her husband's losses, had tried to kill herself. During the next few days many were the cases of suicide dealt with; some for an overdose of opium; others for swallowing the white face-powder which was always at hand; others, again, jumped down wells, or cut their throats; while one woman, more determined to end her miseries than the rest, had eaten handfuls of whole dried peas, after which she had very deliberately swallowed several bowlfuls of water, believing that no medical aid could possibly avail to restore her to life.

Within a week from New Year's Day came another ceremonial date, named 'The Greeting of Spring,' when this season is represented by a roughly-modelled, symbolic mud-cow, whose body is filled with dried

[1] [the New Year Festival -- Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before 527
this grotesque monster came the highest official of the
city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen 74L
of the various trade guilds formed themselves into
pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession.
Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day,
with the result that later on, while itinerating in the
country, we frequently were welcomed by people in
their homes, who showed us books bought from us on
that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family 596
in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during 627
their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a
beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest
daughter's room. We soon realised that they were
more disturbed by the incident than the actual value
of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to
light that there was in existence another member of the
family of whom we had hitherto never been aware,
namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling
and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to
become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was
undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house,
opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable
robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the
senior members of the family clan were called in, and a
solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a
typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school.
Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore [302]
large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily
he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his
loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender
stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his
pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

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morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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town) was carried into the country in a sedan-chair. Here he was required to bless the sown fields, and also to call in his subordinate demons, whom he holds in check while the grain is ripening, lest they work mischief on the peasants, but whom he again releases after all the crops are gathered in. He was escorted by a big official procession, to the sound of pipes and cymbals; but so soon as the idol was safely deposited in the village shrine, where it was to spend a few days, the whole company made a rush for the courtyard, where we were staying, and listened attentively for over an hour to our singing and preaching.

One other afternoon was spent in the house of a man whom we had first met at Suchow, at the New Year's festival. He had then heard us speak, and being much interested had bought a copy of the New Testament. On learning that we had now arrived at Kinta, he invited us to his home in order that we might meet the women of his family. We were received by them with a deference that was almost reverential, the younger members of the house, dressed in their festive garments, being ordered to kneel before us; and it was with the greatest difficulty we prevented their doing us homage as to 'Holy Women.' Mrs. Ma, the wife, was a vegetarian of the third generation; neither her grandmother not her mother having ever broken the vow of a most rigid asceticism, which forbade their tasting any condiment to relieve the insipidity of the dough-string diet, or even the refreshment of a cup of tea. We found her to be extraordinarily understanding in spiritual things, and she responded with an alert mind to the story of the suffering Saviour.

She showed her confidence in us to a remarkable degree, by consenting to take a meal with us the following day, when she returned our call, feeling sure

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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we would give her nothing that was forbidden by her vow.

The day before we left Kinta, the temple of the Goddess of Mercy was crowded with women worshippers —young brides beseeching the gift of a son; while mothers who had received a child during the past year, now brought it to be placed under her protection. The baby, covered by a red scarf, was held in its mother's arms under an immense iron bell, when she produced her offering, namely, a handkerchief full of mixed grain. The bell was then struck; the priest took out some of the grain and scattered it over the child's head, with the words, '*May the Goddess of Mercy protect thee; may the God of Plenty endow thee;* then, yellow paper having been burnt, and its ashes smeared over the child's forehead, the priestly incantation was ended, and the mother went away, satisfied that all that could be done to protect the little life from ill-luck and demons had been successfully carried out.

A few days later we visited a famous group of temples known as Wenshu Miao—'The Halls of Learning'—situated only twenty miles from Suchow, at the mouth of the main Pass through the Southern Hills, and where festivals are held for both Chinese and Tibetans during the spring months. Hundreds of shrines stand on the mountain-side and numerous guest-houses have been built to accommodate the thousands of pilgrims who gather each year, on the first day of the fourth moon. From early dawn carts full of women, followed later in the day by military processions, escorting the chief officials of the town, followed one another up the stony valley in unbroken succession.

The shrines are connected by a labyrinth of small, steep paths which wind in and out around and over the hillside, at each turn of the road revealing a temple,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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788 and anyone following the maze will pass hundreds of
778 shrines in the course of his pilgrimage. The ambition of each worshipper is to visit as many idols as possible,
796 and to light a stick of incense and burn paper before each. It is an amazing feat for women who are crippled by bandages and tiny shoes, and many of whom are no longer young, to climb these precipitous paths, sometimes even on hands and knees, in order to reach an apparently inaccessible rock-shrine, yet this is accomplished even over roads made slippery by rain.

Some of the chasms are crossed by rickety wooden bridges which bear such names as 'The Heavenly Road,' or 'The Short Cut to Paradise,' and here old women are helped by husband or son who carries the basket of incense and a pile of votive-paper.

Most of the shrines[1] are modern, but the original cluster of buildings dates from the time of the Emperor Chien Lung, and there are a very few, excavated in the hill, of a much older date, which contain frescoes similar to those found in the famous 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tunhwang. At dark on the last evening, bonfires are lighted on every prominence, in which all the remaining incense and paper is burnt, in honour of the gods of the earth, spaces, and mountains.

000 The crowds were by this time accustomed to the sight of the white tent, and the people streamed in and out, listening to the addresses and buying the books. In preparation for the festival the students posted carefully selected passages of Scripture in each of the many shrines, and twelve months later, when we revisited Wenshu Miao, not one of these had been defaced or destroyed.

563 A week later was the Tibetan gathering, and we drove out once more over that stony road. We had

[1] [at Wenshu Miao, see p.107-- Analyst]

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484 last watch before dawn dragged itself slowly out. There was no telegraph wire to cheer us, there being no line to Tunhwang, so we were dependent for guidance on a landmark erected at each half-stage, and which by daylight was visible for many miles. At last our carter stopped at a tiny hut ; the men thundered on the door until an old woman opened it, and in a few minutes a crackling wood fire restored life and hope, as we stood round it in the little hovel reeking with opium fumes. Presently the old dame, seeing how perished we were with cold, threw a handful of dried leaves into a pot of boiling water, and ladled us out an infusion, in whose restorative powers she professed the greatest belief. It may have been the herb, or the fire, or her kindness, or perhaps the combination of all three, but most certainly we were presently able to go on our way with new strength.

It took us six hours to reach the gates of Tunhwang, and in the bitter cold of the hour before sunrise we were fortunate enough to pick up a bundle of straw, dropped from a peasant's cart, to which we set light, and after warming ourselves, went on invigorated. All 361 245 round the city are large orchards of a park-like character, watered by rushing streams, and planted with thousands of trees, a great proportion being pear trees, for the fruit of which the place is celebrated. The early frosts had already touched the leaves, and the whole scene 796 was ablaze as with golden flames. It was the fourteenth 783 day of the eighth moon (October 1st), the eve of the Moon Festival, when offerings of every description of fruit are made to that luminary, and the street stalls were piled with 'moon cakes,' apples, grapes and nectarines—an attractive spectacle to us after our weary journey.

000 The geographical position of the city is such as to

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000 sewed together the two lappets of my skin, right there on the shores of the lake, to my complete satisfaction. Fortunately, it was not a serious injury, only the skin of my head was slashed, the bone and periosteum had only been lightly bruised.

The rest of the day we traveled in a southeasterly direction, up 631 the valley of the Ara Gol, which rises almost imperceptibly. This 361 valley presumably represents the former drainage basin of the Koko Nor during a previous period of greater moisture when the lake was connected with the present-day Hwang Ho. Toward evening, shortly before twilight, we reached the walls of Tsaghan tscheng (1), i.e.,

1. Tsaghan is Mongolian meaning "white"; tsch'eng, Chinese, means "city." Such malformations occur largely on the Chinese-Tibetan border. The place is also called "ying pan ga tang" and was formerly called "tsaghan tologha,"

the "white city," in which Mongolian khans formerly resided, and where later for a long time the Chinese amban of Northeast Tibet had his official seat and his troops. It is supposed to be only 90 or 100 years ago that the yamen there was discontinued and transferred to Hsining. About 35 years ago the last Chinese military camp of Northeast Tibet, which was stationed here, was withdrawn. Since then Tsaghan tsch'eng is deteriorating more and more. Only once a 796 year on the fifteenth day of the eighth Chinese month, when the Hsining fu amban is commissioned by the government to attend to the worship of the sea deities of the Koko Nor, new life returns to this town of the steppes. All Mongolian and Tibetan vassals of the region must appear for this festival. The nomad princes then come and live in hundreds of tents. In the middle of the ruins of the city a large felt yurt is set up for the amban. On the afternoon before the holiday the princes present themselves before the amban. Early the next morning the ceremony of worship takes place on a small hill outside the city, from which point one can just make out the surface of the lake on the distant horizon. The amban and the assembled princes fall on their knees, incense sticks are lighted, a piece of yellow silk which says that the emperor offers this sacrifice, is burned and everyone bows to the earth nine times. /204/ Thereupon the amban admonishes all the princes to maintain peace among each other and to remain faithful subjects. Then everyone rapidly disperses. By evening of that day the city of Tsaghan tsch'eng lies as lonely and dead on the steppes as ever before.

5: Tafel--583 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet
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000 commit suicide, only to make things uncomfortable for me. Chinese, as well as Tibetans believe that it is easy for a dead person to take revenge on a living one and that this type of revenge is exceedingly sweet. If I had not had Mohammedans with me, I would have lost this fight over the opium with the personnel of my caravan. With their help alone I effected my purpose of becoming the opium supervisor of my men and cutting down on their daily rations somewhat each day. In this way I controlled the opium threat within three weeks. But on May 22 and 23 Lao Tschang, a man of 45 and a cousin of Da Tschang, howled like a dog all day long because he got less than his quantity of opium.

137 Not far from the tents of the Sidia I had more ill luck. The most valuable of my riding horses, a five-year-old, dark bluish-gray pacer suddenly fell sick. It trembled all over and could walk only totteringly. We soon pitched camp, but the animal nevertheless collapsed. It had eaten du ts'a, a poisonous grass, that not infrequently occurs in Tibet. Many horses die of it. The most unpleasant thing about this type of poisoning is that horses never learn not to eat this grass. I was told that horses sometimes become sick three or four times in succession. But in most cases the poison is soon fatal.

May 23. According to the Chinese calendar this is the first of 796 the leap-year month. Last night the men built a large altar of earth and stones. At sunrise they performed their sacrifices on it. Tsch'eng blows into a shell, sprinkles water, and everyone prostrates himself before the rising sun. Cedar twigs which have been brought from the Ga fo ying pan are burned as well as a few grains of rice and /319/ pieces of tsamba dough. This service is held on the first and the fifteenth of each month. Seen from my tent, this cult always looks very biblical.

133 We had been traveling in the Tschürnong Chu Valley for a long time now. In the Sidia Fan-se territory this valley is many kilometers wide and is almost a plain with low roundish rows of hills for a distance of more than 50 kilometers, up to the other side of the Hwang Ho. The Tschürnong Tschü River itself, however, we saw for the first time on May 24. We were amazed when we stood before a crevice over 200 meters deep, in which, far below the river rushed along with dashing waves (Plate LXVI). Such contrasts are not to be found anywhere in our Alps. Here there was an unfathomable rock terrace covered with low grass and clearly recognizable as the floor of an ancient glacier, while in the very center of it was a deep, precipitous gorge, full of rock fragments, cataracts and eddies, on whose walls

797

797 MISSIONS--religious proselyting and evangelism; religious conversions; organized missionary activities (e.g., by sects within the society, by missions from other societies, by foreign missions abroad); mission organizations; mission stations; missionaries or evangelists (e.g., qualifications, selection, prerogatives and disabilities, religious activities); secular activities of missions and missionaries (e.g., education, medicine, technological assistance); etc. See also:

Welfare missions . . . . . 747 Religious revivalism 786

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S 668 186 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been, or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized S (182) pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because of its common history, common language, common beliefs, common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda. Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in developing a final and real unity among Russians.

S 563 795 797 668 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference in religious matters and even permits every religious activity to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course, the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com- S 563 795 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events showed that they considered themselves one single group, imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood but never came true. Their perception and conviction that the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movement) developed their group feeling and group consciousness.

S 563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it can be stated that because of their geographical separation S (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable. (795) However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N
B. History of Islam in Kansu

*563 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
797 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
*175 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely. Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S
563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
[191] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N 769 *563 778

N *563 582 • 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

778 776 823 According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary [782] records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

823 It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

346 712 178 The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

791 In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local [797] inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

• 797 Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated [211] record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

797 or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies
[211] the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese
people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in
[798] Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern
times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the
Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the
Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in
one place in Ninghsia Province. It rendered many kinds of
service to its members and had a much stronger control over
them than did the local government. To a great extent it had
trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had cre
ated considerable resentment and suspicion among the authori-
ties and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying pro-
portions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other
provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is
there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize
both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. How-
ever, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of
communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious
771 rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a
536 great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle
545 plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are
usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary sig-
nificance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the
gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people
of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the
New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

771 Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-
769 religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese
home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The
[353] tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their
memory always present. Those living now are only the present
custodians of the family name.

[592] "This belief. . . holds the members of one household togeth-
[614] er with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by
a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

771 "At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be,
796 is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely cor-
592 rect order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the
782 elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulous-
ly observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for
days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon,
in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old
rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices,
to the Queen of Heaven.

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.

563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been
taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26,
1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the
leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but
also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures
which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far appar-
ently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made
of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's
Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials,
traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May
13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

795 C. The Fate of Christianity

798 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to
friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted
at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic commun-
ities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in
case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that
they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put
in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the
priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making conces-
sions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impres-
sion that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally
and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for
how to take care of the Catholic Church.

795 After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
668 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
177 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
798 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the
Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious
freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There
was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount
of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

114 done in public welfare. The information about the situation in
657 the Northwest has to be inferred mostly from what is available to us about China proper, keeping in mind that Chinese policies in Sinkiang have never achieved a fulfillment comparable with the fulfillment they have achieved in China proper.

It was only during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) that
635 the Nationalist Government established a Ministry of Social
645 Affairs. This Ministry organized in each province, including
647 Sinkiang, a Bureau of Social Affairs for relief and welfare
657 works. Institutions were set up to take care of the aged, orphans, the disabled, disabled veterans and beggars.

The relief organs in the Northwest sponsored by the Ministry
645 of Social Affairs were restricted to free medical service centers;
657 organs maintained by provincial governments were mainly experimental relief stations, which were responsible for a variety of relief work. Municipal and district governments maintained, in addition to general relief organs (90 for the entire Northwest; 57 of these were located in the provinces Chinghai and Ninghsia, which had Moslem governors), children's relief centers (37) and a sprinkling of other institutions. There were several dozens of private Chinese Charity Associations active in the Northwest during the war.

657 Furthermore, the National Government joined efforts with
747 some religious and humanitarian bodies and organized the
731 National Relief Commission. During the war, this Commission was particularly active in disaster relief. Large appropriations were earmarked for the famine in Shensi in the years 1943 and 1944. Contributions to this province as well as to the provinces of Kansu and Ninghsia were largely used for the resettlement of and the starting of reclamation projects by disaster victims of Shensi as well as of Honan province.

657 The activities of the National Relief Commission included
747 care for war orphans and refugee children. Five hundred of them
[722] sere sent to Sinkiang and one thousand were resettled in Chinghai. Furthermore, a Juvenile Northwest War Area Service
[727] Corps was organized to accommodate graduates from War Refugee Children's Schools.

The National Child Welfare Association, founded by H. H. Kung, also maintained a Child Welfare Camp at Hei-hsien, Shensi.

Among the service corps operated by the Friends of the Wounded Society, organized under the New Life Movement Association; one had a base in Shensi. These corps worked in hospitals and convalescent camps. They provided delousing, laundry and sewing services etc. and special dieting.

747 The welfare work of Christian missions contributed to alleviate
797 much distress. There were few large Protestant missionary

747 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section
797 on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary
747 organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The out-
797 standing welfare contribution of the Catholics is their mainten-
736 ance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the
648 Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

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*668 From the information that we get from the Communist press
177 and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the
745 Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law
*668 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to
177 one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

487 the latter gradually comes to an end, winds through the
133 same low hills in a northerly direction until, crossing a low divide, it emerges into more open country to reach Kulupa.

The latter is a walled stronghold of the Catholics on
797 the top of a hill and is the centre of Catholic missionary work in Southern Shensi, though the Bishop resides at Hanchung. The Italian Fathers who have been established in this corner of Shensi for a great many years, have attained considerable power and influence in the neighbourhood. They work on different lines to the Protestant Missions, but from their point of view with greater success. Their plan is to collect orphans or other children who are not wanted by their parents, to educate them and teach them all kinds of useful industries, and to bring them up as Catholics. This is the work that is carried on at Kulupa, where there are usually some hundreds of children being brought up as members of the Catholic Church, mostly girls, as these are easier to secure. These old-established Catholic Missions usually own a good deal of land acquired in a variety of ways, and are practically self-supporting. At
[712] Kulupa an entire hill top is covered by substantial buildings and the whole surrounded by a good wall. When trouble comes, the gates are shut, the community fetches out its arms, and the brigands, or whoever they may be, pass on to easier prey.

To many Catholics the Protestant missionaries, who are usually married and live as far as possible a comfortable European family life, seem entirely out of touch with the Chinese amongst whom they are working. To many Protestants the life led by the children in such an establishment as Kulupa seems somewhat dreary, inhuman, and lacking in the comforts and interests of home life. The ideas of Catholics and Protestants in regard to Christianity and the converting of the Chinese are certainly very divergent and consequently puzzling to the latter, but they both do an enormous amount of good in different ways. The priest appears perhaps to sacrifice his life more completely to the Chinese, as he usually comes out from Europe never to return, and often lives for the rest of his days practically as a Chinese amongst the Chinese. But no missionaries of any persuasion have done more good for the Chinese people

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and 177 learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

799 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we *563 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in mat- 795 ters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

PLATE VIII

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TRAIL THROUGH THE FOOTHILLS NEAR KULUPA

797

APPROACHING KULUPA

[FACING p. 35]

PLATE VIII

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an some of the veterans of the China Inland Mission, who 797
ve passed the best part of their lives in isolated stations
Shensi and Kansu, such as Hsingan, Hanchung, Feng-
iang, Lanchou, Liangchou, Hsining, and Ninghsia, where
onths and years pass by without their ever seeing another
reigner. Their success in securing converts may not have
en striking, but it is permissible to speculate on whether
ose whom they have secured are not more genuine
ristians than the native Catholics. Often in spite of the
sest ingratitude on the part of the Chinese, whose wounds
d illnesses they tend one day, only to be passed by in
e street with a scowl on the next, these noble men have
oured on year after year doing good and leavening, in
wever small a degree, the leaden mass of Chinese
aterialism. The results of their work may not always be
parent now, but they have sown a seed which cannot fail
time to produce a harvest of some kind, a harvest of
hich other Missions not infrequently reap the benefit.

We spent the night at Kulupa, where we were most
spitably received and entertained with a banquet.

The distance to Hanchung is called 75 li. After de- 133
ending for about an hour's march through gullies in the 487
lls the track debouches on to the famous plain of Hanchung,
highly fertile, heavily cultivated, and densely populated [241
gion, stretching for a certain distance along both banks 361]
the Han, and entirely surrounded by mountains. Another
o hours' march across this plain, past the boundary
etween Ch'engku and Hanchung (Nanch'eng) districts,
rings one to the Han River here a shallow stream flowing
a broad sandy bed, a hundred yards wide and a few feet
eep. The path runs along the banks of the Han for a
ort distance, and then, crossing by a ferry, continues for [491]
n li over the plain to reach the busy township of Shihpali
u. This village, which, as its name implies, is 18 li from
anchung, is developing into a large town, and is evidently [438]
e centre of the through trade from Szechuan, Kansu, and
orthern Shensi, which, as is usually the case in China, is
iven to avoid the capital by the various tolls and dues. [65]
rom here the road runs west for the rest of the way to
anchung, passing through a rich suburb to reach the
ast Gate of the city.

The English Baptist Mission, apart from the China Inland Mission, the only Protestant Mission working in Shensi, has been established for many years at Sanyuan, in the neighbourhood of which there are quite a number of Christian villages. The history of how they came to the province is of some interest to the student of missionary enterprise in China. The Mission also works in Shantung, and when, after the depopulation caused by rebellion and famine during the latter half of the last century, Shensi was being repopulated from other provinces, some of the Shantung Christians were amongst the immigrants. These appear to have founded Christian communities in the plains of Central Shensi, and to have invited their former foreign teachers to follow them. The story is of interest because it appears to point to the existence at that time of a native Christian church standing on its own legs, which in my experience is a very rare thing in China today. The great obstacle to the spread of Protestant Christianity in China is that the Christian church remains almost everywhere a purely foreign institution. How much Christianity would be found in China in ten years time, if all the foreign support, missionaries and funds, were withdrawn today? There appears to be not the remotest prospect of China ever embracing Christianity on a large scale, until, if ever, a really native Christian church takes root in the same way as the Mahomedan religion has done. All of which, however, in no way detracts from the good work now being done by missionaries of all persuasions throughout the Republic, the benefits of which to the Chinese are incalculable. Since the revolution there has been a great influx of Chinese into the Missions; but it is to be feared that only a very small proportion of these enquirers and converts were actuated by other than material motives, such as a desire to share in the wonderful immunity enjoyed by the foreigner from the evils bred by the lawlessness of the times. There is a story about a veteran missionary in Kansu, who, having baptised several converts and having subsequently had the painful experience of watching them backslide one after the other, swore he would never again baptise a Chinese, and limited himself in future to exhorting them to be good and explaining the sacred books; which seems to the layman to be a

thoroughly sound and sensible policy. The conversion of the Chinese is a tough proposition; but there is a far tougher one confronting the missionary in the North West, and that is the conversion of the Mahomedans and Tibetans in Kansu. The Chinese is apathetic towards Christianity, while keeping an open mind towards any aspect of it which may be turned to his material advantage. The Tibetan or Mahomedan on the other hand is usually not at all apathetic, but very actively hostile towards any attempt to convert him.

From Sanyuan to Hsian Fu is a day's march, called 90 li by the Chinese owing to the passage of the two rivers which occupies an hour or so, and is therefore considered the equivalent of 10 li. For us it was a long slow march, floundering through the mud in pouring rain. The road runs due south across the plain, the pagoda of the village of Ch'ingyang T'a being a prominent landmark for the first 30 li. A few li beyond this village the Ching Ho is reached and crossed by a cart ferry, and another 15 li across a low table-land of loess dotted with the curious tumuli, some from fifty to one hundred feet high and said to be the tombs of ancient kings, brings one to the Wei River, varying from a few hundred yards to a mile in width according to the season, and crossed by a cart ferry. These plains along the Wei and Ching rivers are the great cotton-growing areas of Central Shensi. Cotton has always been a staple crop of the province, and is one of the principal exports. It is now being grown more extensively than ever and is being bought up for export by the Japanese. The soil and climate appear well suited to its cultivation, and there seems to be no reason why its quality should not be improved by scientific methods, nor why there should not be a big cotton spinning industry in Hsian and the neighbourhood. As it is the Japanese buy the cotton, take it to Japan to spin, and then return it to the Chinese in the form of yarn.

We found the Wei River in flood and had a hard time crossing it. The ferry took us over the main stream, but two branches in flood had to be forded with the water up to the ponies' bellies and running like a mill race. One of the carts accompanying us, containing the baggage of the soldiers, apparently drove into a hole and disappeared except for its hood; we were too much occupied at the time with our own

the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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education, and one seldom finds amongst them the type of corybantic missionary of little education familiar to most travellers in the interior of China. In Kansu the missionaries are mostly veterans of the C.I.M., who have spent the best part of their lives in isolated posts where they seldom see another white face for months or years on end, and whose steady work during a generation of time, though possibly not richly productive in converts, cannot but have accomplished an enormous amount of good for the Chinese. Protestant missionaries in China have been subject to many attacks, which they often invite, from their own countrymen; but after all, mankind must apparently have a religion of some kind, and would the critics of Christianity in China contend that the teachings of Christ are inferior to those of Buddha or Mahomed? Only, to be fair to the Chinese, the missionaries should surely propagate an up-to-date form of Christianity, as modified by modern scientific research, instead of teaching, as seems usually to be the case, old literal beliefs which have ceased to hold good in Europe. Also Christianity, a westernised oriental religion, is being taught back to orientals, and for that reason should in China be stripped as far as possible of its Western exterior. It is difficult to imagine anything more utterly absurd than the construction of a foreign style church, with steeple, etc., in the interior of China as a place of worship for Christian Chinese; and there are many other respects in which the missionary often endeavours to impose purely European methods of worship, which have nothing to do with original Christianity, on the Chinese. All this merely emphasises the foreign nature of the Christian Church in China, which is one of the greatest obstacles to its real establishment. When we were in Kansu we learned that a new mission composed of believers in the gift of tongues (known to the vulgar as the "Holy Rollers") was about to open in Kansu with the object of working amongst the Tibetan tribesmen of the Kokonor border. The experts in this sect are in the habit of working themselves up into a sort of fit, when they are said to roll on the ground and speak in strange and unknown tongues; apparently the promoters of this mission in Kansu are banking on the unknown tongue being in this case the Amdo dialect of North-Eastern Tibetan. That

missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

487 under the Choni chief. From the neighbourhood of T'ao
Chou fine views are obtainable over this great Min Shan
133 range, rising like a gigantic wall of snow-patched rock immediately to the south of the river, its serrated peaks being, I should say, 16,000 to 17,000 feet in height. It here forms the divide between the Yangtzu and the Yellow River, and from it the Ch'inling Shan continues eastwards right across China to the plains of Honan, separating the rice-eating peoples of Central China from the wheat-eating inhabitants of the north. Should such a catastrophe ever occur as a temporary separation of Northern from Southern China, this great barrier range would form an ideal political boundary between the two States.

797 There is a station of an American mission at T'ao Chou (as also at Min Chou, Choni, and Titao) designed for work amongst the Tibetans of the Kokonor border. But as has been the case with missionary work on the Szechuan Tibet frontier, their efforts to influence the Tibetan tribesmen have been practically without result owing to the immense power of the lama church and its monasteries. This mysterious Sino-Tibetan borderland and the prospect of attacking lamaism in its native strongholds have attracted some of the finest missionaries in the East, who, however, find after years of strenuous work and self-denial, that they have only succeeded in influencing a few of the Chinese. In Tibetan Yunnan the Catholics, and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier the Moravians, have been working for the past 50 years or so, I believe with the same lack of success as far as the Tibetans are concerned; and in the case of the China Inland Mission, which worked for years amongst the Tibetans of the Szechuan marches, the only converts obtained were amongst the Chinese settlers of that region. Viewed from a missionary point of view, it therefore seems a doubtful policy to waste so much money and energy in attempting the impossible on the sparsely populated Tibetan borderland, when there are still many great centres, at any rate in the north-west, of the more receptive and friendly Chinese untouched.

164 The year after our visit there was an outbreak of pneumonic plague round T'ao Chou, which appears to have originated in the same kind of grass country inhabited by nomads and marmots as the Manchurian outbreak of 1911.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

through a sort of local government. In other parts of China the Mahomedans are mostly indistinguishable externally from the rest of the Chinese population; but in Kansu, apart from the Salas, who are of a distinctly Central Asiatic type, my experience was that the faces of most of the Mahomedans are somehow different from the Chinese; they are in any case usually rendered noticeable by their white caps. Foreign scholars attach importance to the early Arab intercourse by sea, but all the Chinese with whom I discussed the question of Islam in China agreed that it came overland from Central Asia, and this is probably true of the North and North West at any rate, which, apart from Yunnan, are the regions where Mahomedanism counts.

The Mahomedan population of Kansu, decimated by the great rebellion, is now recovering and increasing again as the result of many years of comparative peace. Apart from natural increase by births and, after the Chinese fashion, by adoptions, there are a certain number of conversions; these are due rather to expediency than to religious conviction, but the converts having once adopted Islam, appear usually to become good and zealous Moslems. The Chinese as a race seem to require stiffening by a virile religion of some kind, and the effects of Mahomedanism on the characters of those among them who embrace it appear remarkable, and give rise to curious speculations.

It may briefly be stated here that the Mahomedans of North West China, in spite of their religious connection with Turkey and the intrigues of enemy agents, have throughout the War remained absolutely loyal to the Chinese Government.

The relations between the Moslems and the foreign missionaries are comparatively good, so long as religious questions are not concerned. Even in religious matters they agree with the foreigner up to a certain point, since they consider that both they and the missionaries worship the only true God, in contrast to the idolatrous Chinese. It is only when the divinity of Jesus, whom they regard as a prophet but not divine, is raised that they join issue with the foreigner, and then they become inexorably hostile. The early history of Protestant missions in China contains many references to assistance received from the Mahomedans

during the first difficult days. But evangelistic work amongst the Moslems of Kansu appears hopeless. A hospital is now being erected in Lanchou under the auspices of the China Inland Mission with the special object of converting the Mahomedans; it remains to be seen whether it will meet with any success.

Some remarkable facts are brought to light if the history and progress of Islam and Christianity in China are compared, the Chinese authorities having been equally tolerant to both religions, as to all others, until in recent years rebellions caused them to mistrust the former, and political considerations rendered them suspicious of the latter; but in both cases only to a limited extent, for in the past and in the present China holds a record for religious tolerance hard to beat anywhere amongst the nations of the world.

Christianity was propagated in China by Nestorian missionaries during the 7th century and later for an unknown number of centuries (they appear to have still existed in Marco Polo's time); Catholic missionaries flourished under the Mongol dynasty in the 14th century, and from the 16th century on penetrated to all parts of China; Protestant missionaries have been working actively in China during the past half century, during which period vast sums have been expended and great activity shown in the attempt to convert the Chinese. Islam was introduced into China by immigrants from Central Asia, who in most parts became entirely merged in the Chinese, and now exists in all the provinces of the Republic. Practically speaking, there are not now, and never have been, any active Mahomedan missionaries at work amongst the Chinese. And yet today there are perhaps a million and a half nominal Chinese Catholic Christians, a third or a quarter as many Protestants, and at least ten times as many Moslems.

It is difficult at first sight to account for this state of things. The explanation lies perhaps partly in the fact that Islam has become, so to speak, naturalised amongst the Chinese and is firmly rooted as a native faith, without retaining, as far as its believers are concerned, any alien character; while Protestant Christianity remains in most cases a foreign institution supported by foreign energy, brains, and money. Many missionaries appear to the un-

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

underlings that a mule must be found, and the latter had gone round to the inn as the most likely place to find a suitable animal, and had simply walked off with the best one they could lay hands on.

At Kulang one is 120 li, two short marches, from Liangchou. The road runs at first across a loess plain dotted with fortified farms past the village of Shuangt'a to the old posting station of Chingpien Yi, a short stage of 50 li. The villages and post stations on this side of the divide are even more dilapidated than those further east, and are mostly nothing but a heap of ruins round an inn or two. The people here seem to have given up living in villages, so prominent a feature of Chinese life in most provinces, and occupy the fortress farms with which the plains are dotted. From Chingpien Yi to Liangchou the road continues across the level plain which is in places almost entirely covered with loose stones, rendering the going very slow and tiring. On the left hand the view is bounded by the snow-capped Nan Shan; on the right the plain extends to the horizon. The twin pagodas of Liangchou form a prominent landmark denoting the approach to the city.

Liangchou Fu, now known as Wuwei Hsien, is about the most important city, commercially and politically, in Western Kansu. It lies in an irrigated plain dotted with fertile oases between the Nan Shan mountains and the desert of Alashan. This plain is traversed by numerous streams and irrigation channels flowing down from the snows of the mountains to lose themselves eventually in the sands of the desert, and owing to this never failing supply of water for irrigation purposes is a very fertile and productive region. The inhabitants of Liangchou and the surrounding plains are mostly Chinese; the whole region was devastated during the big rebellion, and was again laid waste by marauding bands of Mahomedans from the Hsining neighbourhood during the rebellion of 1895. The interior of the city is very poor-looking and dilapidated, like most Kansu towns, and the streets are almost entirely covered with the same loose stones found outside; riding being the only method of getting about, these stones are a great drawback to the place. There is a station of the China Inland Mission at Liangchou which can compete with those at Hsining and Ninghsia for

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being the most isolated post occupied by the mission; Ninghsia is probably the worst off in this respect; but in any of them years may go by without the resident missionary seeing a strange European face. The Catholics are strong in the neighbourhood, having a large establishment with a bishop at a village called Chenchia Chuang, 20 li to the west.

The Liangchou neighbourhood used to be famous for its poppies, the opium being considered the best native drug produced in China. The success of China's measures for the suppression of poppy cultivation has been one of the most striking events in her recent history. In 1907 the policy of total suppression within ten years was adopted amidst general scepticism on the part of most foreigners and many Chinese. It was generally felt that this policy would be but another instance of the maxim *Yu Ming Wu Shih* (Theory but not Practice), so deeply engrained in Chinese official life. The ten years have now elapsed, and though cultivation may not be completely extinct in wild mountain districts and amongst the semi-independent tribes of the west and south-west, yet one may travel for months through the plains and valleys of provinces such as Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, where most of the native opium consumed in North China used to be produced, and never see a single poppy plant. Conclusive evidence of the success of the suppressive measures is to be found in the fact that in the former poppy-growing areas of Shensi and Kansu, where opium could be bought locally ten years ago for 100 cash an ounce, the price has now risen to about 12,000 cash an ounce. Further the success which has been attained, has been accomplished in face of great obstacles, such as the revolution, after which there was a general recrudescence of cultivation, and the subsequent rebellions; in every case where there was a general collapse of local government and law and order the people immediately returned to their poppy cultivation. Yunnan and Shensi have probably been the worst offenders and the slowest to achieve comparatively complete suppression, owing in the first case to the tribes, and in the second to the brigands. The stimulus exercised by the Treaties with Great Britain of 1907 and 1911, under which the import of Indian opium was to cease if China could succeed in putting her own house in order with regard

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packing the wool which comes down from Western Kansu by boat on the river and by camel overland, and in collecting local produce from the Mongols. The overland trail from Paot'ou, eight to ten marches from well to well across the Ordos desert, here strikes the Yellow River, crosses by a ferry, and continues up the plain to Ninghsia. Supplies must be laid in at Shihchu Shan to last to Paot'ou, little or nothing being obtainable in the Ordos *en route*.

Leaving Shihchu Shan we passed finally out of Kansu into the Ordos. The river runs for some hours with a rapid current between bare mountains, which gradually recede and give way to sandy desert. After about twelve hours drifting down stream Tengk'ou, a desolate little village in the desert on the left bank, is reached, and some eight hours further on the township of Santaohotzu is passed, where there is a Catholic Mission and a considerable Chinese population engaged in agriculture round the old branches of the Yellow River. The river banks on either side are lined much of the way with a belt of willow scrub, which furnishes a most useful supply of fuel to the boats going up and down. The current is fairly strong through the Ordos, considering the level nature of the country, but we were frequently compelled to tie up to the bank to wait for the wind to drop. On one of these occasions my five ponies, which were being exercised on the bank, took alarm at something and galloped off into the desert. We followed them for miles and then lost their tracks on some hard stony ground. The country was desert without a sign of life except for numerous antelope and an occasional camel turned out for the summer, and the boatmen expressed the opinion that we should never see the ponies again unless we chanced on them further down stream, as though they had galloped off inland they would be bound to return to the river for water. On the following day after having drifted many miles further down we fortunately spied a Mongol watering his camels on the bank, who turned out to have met the ponies inland, and they were soon recovered, very hungry, thirsty, and tame.

Lower down we met again and again with the most violent winds, necessitating long and weary delays in the desert. There was some trouble with Mongol brigands going on in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion shots

797 the Church, and the hospital, where he daily received men and women patients. At the time of our meeting his position in the city was amply assured, but many years previously the people of Pingliang had combined to refuse him all admittance by forbidding anyone to sell him food, and it was only due to the secret kindness of one woman in supplying him with a meal of flour and water pancakes each day for several months, that he existed at all; but in the end he overcame every opposition, outlived suspicion and came to be regarded with universal respect.

We studied together the map of Kansu, and he told us of his own various itinerant journeys to districts reputed to be almost uninhabited, but where large audiences had collected whenever he made halt to proclaim the Gospel. Laying his finger on a spot at the extreme North-Western boundary of the Province, he said: 'Here stands the Great City of Suchow. You who care so much for Kansu, this is the town which awaits your coming!'

CHAPTER III

THROUGH THE EARTHQUAKE AREA TO LANCHOW

487 On the second day after leaving Pingliang, we took the Pass which rises to nearly nine thousand feet over the Lupan Shan. All the morning we had followed the course of a rushing stream, which we crossed and 494 recrossed many times. It was still early winter, and the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of our litters, so that we often had the unpleasant experience

that two hundred thousand people had perished in the 731 disaster.

Before reaching Lanchow we crossed a wide river by 491 means of a well-built and handsome bridge, which had 741 also been constructed with famine relief funds, and 731 which now provided the means for saving scores of lives, a heavy yearly toll having hitherto been exacted by the treacherous mountain torrent.

On leaving the town of Tsingningchow we travelled 797 for seven days before touching another Mission station —a tremendous gap in the chain, so it seemed to us in those days, unused as we were then to the wider horizons of the Great North-West. Half-way stood the little market-town of Anting, to which Mission authorities had directed our attention as the possible goal of our quest; but as we walked through its streets with every perception alert, we felt the firm conviction that our appointed destination lay still farther ahead.

One of our litter-men was a Moslem—proud and 583 cantankerous, as all of his kind. A somewhat grimy, 292 white, woollen cap was the badge of his belief, and at 533 brief intervals he would raise his head and sing a wild snatch of the 'Song of the Wandering Dove,' a weird melody greatly loved by the men of his race, and sung by them in eulogy of home when on a journey, the barbaric intervals of which produced a most dramatic effect in those lonely gullies. An altercation frequently arose 485 between this man and the others, on the subject of the 563 choice between Moslem or Gentile inns, the former being 783 distinguished by the painted sign of a teapot, and the mystic words: 'KIAO MEN' (member of the assembly). The boasted 'cleanliness' of the Moslem inn is, however, not visible to the naked eye, but manifests itself otherwise, namely, in endless bickerings with the travellers on matters of purification connected

bridge has replaced the old bridge-of-boats, which until 491 quite recently spanned the great flood. Green sedan- 634 chairs, we found, were still used by the officials, and the 493 Yamens still retained the grand style which had existed under the Manchu Government—a pomp which entirely vanished from Shansi with the entry of the Republic, and has also since passed from Kansu, with the arrival of Marshal Feng's armies. We spent three weeks in 797 Lanchow, staying most of the time in the central China Inland Mission compound, but paying visits to the Borden Hospital on the further bank of the river, and to the large boys' school at the foot of the Blue Lotus Hills, both of which are under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, which is the only society working in Lanchow. The whole visit was brimful of interest, and we were particularly struck with the way in which the Christian community had impressed itself on the civic life of the town.

The great Yellow River, during summer months, 502 supplies a waterway by which the journey to Peking may be accomplished in about thirty days by raft. These rafts are floated by means of inflated goat and [501] bullock skins, which are roped together and carried very swiftly down-stream. Though the journey is popular, being quicker and easier than if taken by road, yet the element of danger is always present, and Dr. George King, at whose hospital we stayed when in Lanchow, was drowned in May 1927 when travelling by this route. His raft caught on a sandbank, and in helping the men to release it, he fell into the water and was swept away.

During the winter months the river is frozen over and can be crossed on foot. When the stream is freezing, and while it is thawing, the toll of accidents is always heavy. During the whole of our stay the surface of the

Whether in winter or in summer, whether by litter or by cart, the Kansu roads present dangers to the traveller. In hot weather thunderstorms or cloud-bursts in the hills are not unusual, and on these occasions mountain torrents will rush down with such force as to carry everything before them, nor have a cart and mules any power to withstand the strength of the spate. Each of the large rivers is so subject to fluctuations of stream, and unexpected currents, that each year some of the more reckless villagers lose their lives by drowning. In winter the rivers are ice-bound, and supply the traveller with many a nerve-racking experience, as we found when it was necessary to cross the ice in darkness, avoiding, by the help of a tiny lantern, the deep holes and fissures. 491

The last day before entering Liangchow, and the two days after leaving it, are days of torture, owing to the stony nature of the road. Even the very streets of the town are as stony as the famous Portland pebble beach. Liangchow was the last outpost held by foreign missionaries in North-West China, and has been occupied by the China Inland Mission for the past forty years. Six days further on lies the city of Kanchow, and here lived a Chinese missionary and doctor who, five years previously, had taken up his residence there. From him and from his Church-officers we had received a most cordial invitation to pay them a visit, and having accepted to do so, we were soon on the march once more. [363] 797

We delayed, however, a few days in the little town of Yungchang, distant two stages from Liangchow, the inhabitants of which have sunk to the lowest imaginable depth through opium smoking. Communal life here is not regulated, as in other places, by the meal hours, but by the recurring period at which the craving for the drug grips the population with invisible but relentless tentacles, so that on every *kang* the little lamp is 733

neighbourhood of the inns, and threading the dark streets with their many turnings, where the dim roofs of temples could just be distinguished, we at last alighted at the door of a large compound, closely shut in behind high walls. 326

In a few minutes we were seated before a delicious meal and a longed-for cup of tea, in a room which to some might have seemed bare, but which to us presented the very acme of comfort, for we had been travelling for eighteen hours in the teeth of a bitter North-Easter, with no food but cold dough-cakes fried in pungent, linseed oil, and we were broken with fatigue. It was after midnight before we laid our weary heads upon our pillows. We had left Hwochow in June; it was now March, and we had already come about 1,500 miles since leaving the railhead. 797

CHAPTER VI

A CHIEFTAIN OF THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS

SHORTLY after dawn, we were conscious of the peculiar sense of Sabbath-quiet that permeates a Christian community, which, of course, is alone in recognising the Lord's Day in a heathen land. Everyone on the compound though he may own but one garment, is expected to wear it newly-washed and clean. Every room and courtyard has been swept and tidied up, and from sunrise the sound of singing is heard. On this day also every carpenter or mason employed is given his day's wages, although no work is done by him.

This was a red-letter day for the Kanchow Church; indeed, far more so than we were at first in a position to 000

Kanchow home and work were definitely located. The land, however, was no more than a rough, irregular space, but the position being good, the shabby little house upon it was soon repaired, and made into a possible dwelling-place for Mrs. Kao and the children, who now came from Lanchow to join him. The open space then required to be enclosed by a wall, and in this job Dr. Kao took an energetic share, each morning, before the dispensary opened, driving down to the riverside and bringing back a load of stones for the foundations. 000

In the course of the next few years a convenient dispensary, waiting-room and guest-hall were built, and school-court and adequate class-rooms had been added[1] about the time of our arrival. The Mission Compound thus became the most attractive building in the city, for, not only was the daily Peking newspaper posted outside the main entrance, but a blackboard, holding special items of news, hung beside it, while the front of the building was decorated with Christian posters constantly changed or renewed. Just inside the front door was the book-room, where Christian papers and a library were accessible to anyone who cared to use them; here visitors, too, were received, and everyone was welcome; moreover, the large space without was planted with trees, and was sanded to make a playground for the Kanchow street children. 797

Shortly before we arrived a small additional strip of land, adjoining the premises, had also been purchased; the owner of which, after the deed was signed, was, as always, dissatisfied with the deal, therefore, according to custom, set out to terrify the purchaser by the use of a ritual which had never before been known to fail in securing at least a substantial *douceur*. Accordingly, one morning he sent a relative on ahead to announce 425 789

[1] [to the Mission at Kanchow -- Analyst]

distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

212 On our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-
871 harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for
• 799 conducting classes in village centres. These were very

largely attended, as many as eighty men and women 212
registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. 871
We therefore considered it best to insist on all students 799
becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and 312
in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so 511
low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A 241
few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, result- [578]
ing in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep [733]
poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened, to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

609 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left
596 the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

• 799 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the
212 Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at
871 his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

241 That same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

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conditions unspeakably wretched, they yet cared not at all, for they had temporarily banished reality, and moved among elusive shadows, until the sentinel grey dawn should recall them to the grim world of Fact.

The largest city through which we passed was Pingliang. On the steps of a temple outside the city gate, we saw a motley crew of several hundred beggars basking in the midday sunshine. They displayed such a variety of physical ills, and provided such an exhibition of tatterdemalion garments, as to make one question how existence under such conditions could be endured. Nor can the life of a Kansu beggar hold any sense of security or hope of alleviation. All too familiar is the sight, on a winter's morning, of the naked corpse of a man, woman or child, frozen to death on the side path ; and there is no one to remove the corpse, unless it be the tradesman, under whose frontage he sought shelter and died. The gathering which we witnessed at Pingliang was an assembly of the Beggars' Trade(less) Union, when they collect an enforced contribution from each business house in the town—a tax which none dared refuse, since their appointed Head controlled a band of defenders, who were ready to deal summarily with any shopkeeper who might offer a blow in lieu of the dole. The police were helpless in face of this Corporation ; and thus the beggar asserted his right to live.

For an hour our litters threaded their way through the crowded streets before we reached the Mission Compound, where we were the guests of a Swedish missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Törnvall. Our hearts warmed with admiration for the unassuming man, on whose face long suffering had left indelible marks. With him we visited the spacious buildings of

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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Our expectation was not in vain, for only a few days later Dr. Kao informed us he had been approached by one of the leading gentlemen of Suchow, with the suggestion that he should rent his vacant house for the Bible-School premises, and also he had added the polite words, that it would give him the greatest pleasure if the three ladies would occupy the pavilion standing in his flower-garden, and which was now quite empty. It sounded rather like a fairy-tale, somewhat too good to be true; nevertheless, a few days later we moved our belongings bodily to Chang-si-yeh's attractive property.

On the west side of the roadway that traversed it were the two Bible-School courtyards; one filled with living-rooms, while the other contained a spacious hall, suitable for the Class-Room and the Sunday services. The third courtyard was only waste ground, but our students soon levelled and planted it out as a vegetable garden; here, also, the preaching-tent was pitched. On the east side was the entrance to Mr. Chang's own private house, and through this we passed into a charming flower-garden, backed by an orchard. Under the cloudless October sky, the autumn-tinted fruit-trees looked very lovely, and we felt the lines had indeed fallen for us in pleasant places. An ornamental building of carved wood faced the parterre, and if the structure was somewhat flimsy (being mainly composed of delicate fretwork and white paper), it yet commanded a delightfully sunny aspect, and a glorious view of the snow-capped Tibetan mountains, some rising to 15,000 feet. The single room within was of considerable size, and held two recessed *kangs*. The central portion we immediately arranged as our dining and guest-receiving room, while each end was furnished to suggest a bed-study-sitting-room.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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797 The floor was of very loosely trampled earth, and there
342 was no ceiling, the roof being merely of pine-wood rafters, boarded on the outside. Strange to relate, even these bright premises were not free from the universal hauntings, for on the verandah stood a sedan-chair which inspired such terror to the whole family that none would venture to sit in it. Some months previously Mr. Chang had celebrated his birthday with a banquet, to which he had invited all his relatives and friends. Having feasted not wisely but too well, he sat down in this chair, and throwing out his chest disported himself with the typical gestures of a Chinese Mandarin. While the younger men of the party carried him joyously to and fro, he made suitable faces, saying: 'Now do I look like a Mandarin?' After a few minutes of this sport he stepped out from the chair, when, to the horror of the whole party, it was found that his mouth remained permanently twisted on one side; and as an added terror a few days later his wife developed a similar affliction.

776 It was most unfortunate that the time of our moving in coincided with the prolonged period, during which the god controlling the element of Earth forbids mankind to disturb his dominion. We were therefore implored not to build our kitchen stove, not to plaster a wall, nor even to mix the mud necessary to stop the crevices through which the wind was whistling, until this season expired. Courtesy demanded that we should not outrage the feelings of our kind host, but we decisively informed him that as Christians we were entirely freed from the power of demons, and the bondage of such superstitions.

His reply was: 'That is true and right, and I know that none of these things can harm *you*, because you are under the complete protection of your God. I, on the

floors of on an average 2,900-2,700 meters high. 000

Even toward the end of September it was very rainy in and around 132
Tao tschou. The precipitation remained within modest amounts but the sky was usually overcast. This was probably the reason why the night temperatures were not yet low and, in spite of the 2,760 meter altitude, hovered between +2° and +6°, whereas at noon the air warmed up at various times to more than +10°. As a rule there was almost no wind on the ground. The rain clouds came from the southeast or the west. On September 16 in the early morning we had snow with a gentle east wind and a westerly drift of clouds and only on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first I noted thunderstorms in my meteorological diary. All three thunderstorms came from the west. September 24 when I said farewell to Tao tschou and its hospitable Americans, was a day of rain so that the animals slipped on the sticky loam earth and the pack animals were hardly able to make any progress. Mr. Ruhl accompanied me on the first two marches. So at first 797 •
I had to say goodbye to Mrs. Ruhl, my extremely gracious and pretty hostess and her little baby. Even though the mission house in Tao tschou presented a very good and neat appearance - everywhere the guiding hand of the practical American woman was to be felt - nevertheless for a woman of our Western culture residence in the city must have been torture. Year in and year out one hears about nothing but war and pillage here, and the missionary work bears occasional fruit only among the Chinese and the widowed or lonely old Chinese women. Tangible success in mission work among Tibetans and Mongols is not to be thought of, of course, because of the omnipotence of the lamas. Besides, the European also battles the severe highland climate and the homesickness that comes from this seclusion from the world.
In the summer of 1907 there was an imperial Chinese postoffice in- 205
stalled, but because of lack of other interests it was only obliged to forward missionaries' letters and every tenth day a messenger arrived who delivered mail that had been en route six weeks from Hsingan fu.
As in Hsining fu, the population is frequently afflicted with diphtheria, 164
scarlet fever and smallpox. Typhus and syphilis of course also reap large harvests and among the lung diseases of the region asthma plays an important role. A large percentage of the missionaries contracted smallpox. Mr. Simpson had acquired pock marks up there in carrying out his profession. A missionary who had just come up from the coast where he had been freshly vaccinated, died shortly before my arrival, of variola.

361 are under the tschi li tschou of Tsinchow, were sacked by the long-haired ones and have since then not regained their former prosperity. Corresponding to the well-kept appearance of the dwellings of Tsinchow was a beautifully cultivated temple hill, Taischan, on which, among ancient trees, stands the Taoist and Buddhist pantheon, and which is also used as an entertainment park on festival days. In the Tschung tsch'eng, the center of the city, I visited a very pretty mosque which is over 400 years old. In the da (large) tsch'eng which is also enclosed by a wall, are the yamen of the dao tai, the tschi li tschou and a major; in the walled hsi (west) kwan are the large commercial concerns; while in dung (east) kwan are the extensive buildings of
• [797] the apostolic vice-regency of South Kwan, in which I was warmly
133 welcomed by Bishop Ter Laak. These Belgian missionaries said that the Tsinchow district has a great many earthquakes. Count von Széchenyi knew about these, too, and in the history of China there are several major catastrophes mentioned which struck the region of Kung tschang fu and Tsinchow. Besides, in this region I noted many and large landslides. Here mountain sides of loess a kilometer square slide off on their clayey substratum along with all their fields and villages.

554 One morning in the main street of Tsinchow I met a good old acquaintance, the scholar Li, who was with us in Tibet in 1904. As he spoke of his present position, a satisfied smile broke out over his entire, broad face. Originally tailor by trade, then shoemaker, painter, beginning with his 38th year student, then secretary and maker of calendars, in between small merchant, finally schoolteacher for children of 10, then our scholar, he was now, in keeping with the needs of modern times, professor of French at the newly-built college in Tsinchow, and a very respected man who moved only with the greatest dignity and very slowly crossed the street, "practicing quiescence." Meanwhile he had made a map of the entire Tschou bailiwick, having been commissioned to do so by his superiors, and whereas at that time when we left Lanchow fu with him for Tibet, he knew only 10 Latin words, he could now already "count in French." He had 50 pupils of the ages between 20 and 35. His teaching position earned him 20 taels a month with which he also supported his family which he had left in Lanchow fu. He was now a small lao ye, a gentleman official, and on the street he was greeted on all sides with veneration.

178 Of the new era which had begun for China one was little aware in Tsinchow, except for the school, its classes for foreign languages

487 Shensi from Kansu. I had come down another level into the lowland, a formation of land which our map had not yet indicated. Down in the province of Shensi I again stood on my familiar Shensi-Ordos clod
[316] of earth. Here, too, at Lung tschou, the Chinese have since olden times worked coal pits which yielded good coal. But because the roads are too poor, the coal is sent only for a distance of a two-days' journey, beyond Kien yang hsien.

My journey continued without stopping, ever deeper into the
• [797] rich, the beautiful, the new China. In Kien yang hsien I was invited for supper by two gracious Swedish ladies who were doing quiet missionary work all alone here in this outpost. A further day's march brought me into the city of Feng tsiang fu, and the next day saw me in the city of Ki schan hsien; herewith I had reached the big old Szechwan road. Everywhere there were magnificent hotels by the side of the road. Large carts loaded with snowy cotton were heading into the cities. In one day I road through half a dozen chief cities of districts. At Sien yang hsien for the last time we crossed the Wei Ho which at that city is muddy and thick and only 360 meters above sea level. Here the Szechwan road on which I traveled at the end and the cart road to Lanchow fu unite. There are seven large ferries to take care of the heavy traffic during the high waters in summer, while every winter a trestle bridge is built. Round about on the flat hills are old earth mounds which have been the burial places for countless emperors of the old dynasties, those of Hsingan fu, the Tschang ngan of old.

000 /328/ Ever since I had left Lanchow fu I was goaded on by the fear that on account of my detour I might arrive in Hsingan fu later than my carts and chests and that my property might get lost if there was no one to receive it at its place of destination. But now, after much telegraphing back and forth, it turned out that they had not even left Lanchow fu. Again my mind had not worked sufficiently in the manner of the Chinese merchants. It had occurred to some clever individual to use my shipment in order to smuggle a few boxes of water-pipe tobacco through the customs. But it had been done too boldly and so everything, my chests as well as the tobacco chests, were confiscated. Finally Mr. Shields was called in by the draymen to help because he had recommended the hang to me. When he came to the custom station the officials and soldiers were rummaging, amid pouring rain, among the bird skins, butterflies and the various oddities. Without Mr. Shields' help I would again have had to undertake the month-long trek to Lanchow in order to get my belongings.

798

798 RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE--rivalry between sects; religious persecution and intolerance; concept of heretics; suppression of dissenters by established religions (e.g., massacres, inquisitions, discriminatory legislation); martyrdom and martyrs; antireligious proselyting; etc. See also:

Ethnocentrism	186	Civil liberties	641
Stratification	563	Religious skepticism	771
Ingroup antagonisms	678		

/Salars/

563 794 177 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

[144] [262] [292] [293] The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] [346] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home heighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

S N II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 182 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they S N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability [167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the [651] societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves 563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re- 669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the S frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

T 133 In the region of the Hsining River we again traveled between loess-covered red clay mountains to the town of Ping tschung yi and then through the so-called Hsiao hsia (small gorge), both of them places where in the last Mohammedan war there were bloody clashes.

C 797 361 On December 25, I was in the city of Hsining fu. I soon found a pretty, albeit dirty, but at any rate homey inn, and that evening I could already spend with Mr. and Mrs. Ridley, the English missionaries of the China Inland Mission, to whom so many Tibetan travelers are indebted. With two boys of five and three years and their adorable little daughter who was then six months old, the courageous couple were again living all alone among the Chinese in the rude frontier town in which they already in 1895 lived through the terrible four-month siege by the Mohammedans. The last European whom Mr. and Mrs. Ridley had seen, had come through Hsining fu a half year before. I found a large Christmas tree in their simple Chinese house, and on that evening I was even permitted to appear as "Grandfather Christmas" with a long white beard, with a stick and a rod and a well-filled sack, and help give the children the type of Christmas celebrated in their homeland. I would not have dreamed of all this on the night before when in the pitch dark I was still sitting on my pony in a temperature of 15° and in a dry, biting mountain wind, until I finally found a hut on the gates of which we had to knock for a long time before we were admitted.

C 727 Of course, nothing had changed in Hsining fu since I had left it in November 1904 together with Mr. and Mrs. Filchner. Chinese cities probably do not change much anyway. There was meantime only the small war that was taking place on the Hwang Ho below the city of Kue de ting and the city had not yet calmed down during the first few days after my arrival. An anxiously-awaited execution order had just arrived from Peking and, at the imperial command, a few leaders of the hostile party, an aristocratic Salar and a few Tibetan chiefs and lamas were now being beheaded just outside the west gate. This was a big event because of the importance of the persons. Many people had gathered from far and near for this performance and the soldiers who were in charge of the execution were very frightened. They purposely walked back and forth excitedly while the preparations were going on and meanwhile one of them on whom the executioner's sword had heretofore not been seen, knocked off all the heads in such a way that no one could tell who actually did it.

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133 the river, a great deal of loess mixed with broken stones can immediately be seen, and for the first time since I left Hsining fu I again saw a cart. /302/ (1) The higher up I climbed on the other

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1. The boundary marking the distribution of the North Chinese two-wheel horse cart extends from here along the mountainous country I had just traversed eastward and keeps to the north of the Tsing ling pass in the North Chinese loess country. It is unknown in all of Szechwan and Kweichow, Hunan and in large parts of Hupeh.

361 side, the purer became the loess masses. At Lao tschai ni, a Chinese town, 3,015 meters high, I had already reached a typical loess village and caves in the loess. Four kilometers farther and only 250 meters lower lies the commercial city of Tao tschou, the Tibetan Batse.

It was nine o'clock and had grown dark when, with great effort and exertion, I reached the city, and ör gen, the second night watch was long past before the tormented tsung ye who in the darkness had lost the path, finally discovered me. Long before that, the friendly members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Americans Mr. and Mrs. Ruhl and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, had found me and invited me to supper in their new home in which the former couple did Tibetan missionary work and the latter, Chinese. My stay in the border city lasted from September 9 to 23 and was made pleasant by the hospitality of the missionaries who did not rest until, on the third day, I moved out of my grimy hotel and into their home outside the city. Meanwhile I discharged the caravan, paid off the servants and escort and presented the tormented tsung ye and his men with a mule and three horses, besides money and food supplies. I had never before on any of my journeys had such apt companions who were so willing to serve me. When the tsung ye said farewell his whole face lighted up and I, too, felt his relief over the fact that, in spite of my vagaries, he was able to deliver me safely at the appointed place. I sold two more mules here and only Brdyal and six animals remained. A team /hang/ of mules brought the large pieces of baggage to my depository in Lanchow fu, and my time was occupied arranging my diaries and developing my photographic plates. Only a few more than 400 plates turned out successfully on the last journey, one and one-half boxes (420 plates) were destroyed by water, while 280, all of those taken with the polyscope camera, were spoiled because they

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*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
62 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
769 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

*563 There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
62 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
184 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
795 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village.
[346] In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is
[871] used as a mosque. In this building the children of the village gather at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
[785] they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in
[796] their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they"
[794] As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
[578] relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
[798] still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

*563 However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
184 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
628 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

779 [788] of the necessary means and the physical possibility of getting to Mecca.

e. The Way of God (Jihad). In addition to the obligations mentioned, in many passages the Koran further enjoins believers to "strive in the Way of God." The duty is formulated in general terms in Sura li, v. 186., between the regulations of the fast and pilgrimage: "Fight in the Way of God against those who fight against you, but do not commit aggression. . . Slay them wherever you find them, and expel them from whence they have expelled you, for sedition is more grievous than slaying. . . Fight against them until sedition is no more and allegiance is rendered to God alone; but if they make an end, then commit no aggression save against the evil-doers."

A distinction is drawn between warfare against the pagans, on the one hand, and against the Jews and Christians on the other:

"When the sacred months are over, kill those who ascribe partners to God wherever you find them; seize them, encompass them, and ambush them; then if they repent and observe prayer and pay alms, let them go their way." [Sura ix, v. 5]

779 721 798 "Fight against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, who prohibit not what God and His Apostle have prohibited and who refuse allegiance to the True Faith from among those who have received the Book, until they humbly pay tribute out of hand." [Sura ix, v. 29]

"As for those who are slain in the Way of God, they are not dead but living in the presence of their Lord their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them." [Sura iii, vv. 163-4]

779 [262] [681] [567] [681] [671] Besides these major issues of doctrine, ritual and obligations, the Koran contains a large body of religious and ethical teachings and legal injunctions. For example, wine, pork, gambling and usury are forbidden along with the making of images or representations and a number of the practices of pagan Arabs. Marriage, dowry, divorce, the guardianship of orphans, and inheritance are all regulated in detail. Penalties are laid down for certain crimes such as stealing, homicide and murder as well as for a few minor offenses. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but certain limitations are placed upon the rights of owners over slaves and good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Fraud, perjury and slander are repeatedly and severely condemned, and rules of social behavior are laid down in several passages. All these and other regulations explicitly detailed in the Koran served as foundations for a more elaborate set of rules and regulations upon which the structure of the Shari'a, the Islamic law, was erected by later generations.

N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

797 [211] [798] or Ching-chiao pei in Chinese, which stands at Sian, varifies the fact that this church had been established among the Chinese people of Shensi Province. This early Christian movement in Northwest China suffered persecution and died out. In modern times both the Catholic and Protestant Churches came to the Northwest. Most of their converts have been Chinese. Until the Communist period the Catholic Church had been very strong in one place in Ningheia Province. It rendered many kinds of service to its members and had a much stronger control over them than did the local government. To a great extent it had trespassed the jurisdiction of the government, which had created considerable resentment and suspicion among the authorities and the general populace. (See Social Structure.)

771 Though subscribing to all important religions in varying proportions, the Chinese in the Northwest, like those in other provinces, seem rather materialistic. Nowhere among them is there found a religious fervor and devotion which characterize both the Moslems and the Tibetans of this part of Asia. However, the religious atmosphere is very strong in all aspects of communal life, which are always cloaked with some religious rite. For example, the village or community theatrical has a great deal of religious implication. Although unlike the miracle plays and so-called devil dances of the Tibetans, the plays are usually straight drama, frequently historical, the primary significance of the presentation is a religious one. They give the gods pleasure and thus dispose them favorably toward the people of the community. Even the mask and the animal plays of the New Year's celebration have a definite religious significance.

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Chinese home life is also mixed with religious or semi-religious feelings. Regardless of its wealth or locale, a Chinese home will have its ancestral tablets in the place of honor. The tablets represent those who have gone and keeps them and their memory always present. Those living now are only the present custodians of the family name.

771 769 [353]

"This belief. . . holds the members of one household together with strands which are not so much woven by affection as by a sense of mutual responsibility within a clan. . .

[592] [614]

"At New Year the shack living room, miserable though it be, is the scene of the most exact rituals when, in absolutely correct order, each member of the family makes obeisance to the elders; the feasts fixed by the Chinese calendar are scrupulously observed, and I have known a man to carry a watermelon for days across the desert in order that at the Feast of the Moon, in the most desolate of wayside stages, he might put an old rickety table in the courtyard and offer the melon, cut in slices, to the Queen of Heaven.

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N 771 182 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relationships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act according to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi Desert, 165-166.)

N (769)

S 771 795 (575) Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin, almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

N 795 *668 177 A. Islam

When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the years following World War II and when they first came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support. Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950, which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools, provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres, soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Moslems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

N (798)

795 648 *668 177 793 in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

795 *668 177 In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 • 798 *668 177 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism, not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslavement of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May 795 648 *668 177 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in 795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had *668 177 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 641 *668 177 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Common Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a [798] united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

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795 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted
641 to certain select classes of people, not all the people.
*668 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated,
177 toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1)
795 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and
• 798 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao
*668 Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction
177 only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem
795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo-
*668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily
177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has
795 also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial
182 groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resis-
[669] tance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

795 the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that
792 they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.
*563 In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan
*668 parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger.
177 There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith,
795 and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay
792 population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the
171 recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be partic-
*668 ularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when
177 the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

795 Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments
• 798 in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Com-
*668 munists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic
177 communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Commun-
[797] ist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged
795 which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region.
*668 This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that
177 Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the
798 Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

795 number of parishes, religious life went on without major inter-
*668 ference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the
177 Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and
• 798 Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

795 continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tri-
• 798 bunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading
177 through the city, were the methods most frequently used.
*668 In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily, and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

N 157 485 [434] [654] because there is nothing for which to exchange it. Once a week a caravan carrying Government supplies deposits a bag of flour at the door. This is the subsidy granted to them, in exchange of which her husband is bound to be at his post all through the year, and keep the well from being choked by sand. She has never thought in terms which refer to anything except meals, births and occasionally deaths. Her boys may go farther afield, and if they do, she knows that they will never return, but after a time she will become accustomed to their absence and it will not trouble her again."

N 157 With spiritual senses dormant, mental powers arrested and physical demands reduced to the minimum, wherein shall a human being show that he differs from the beasts whose conditions he shares? There is hardly anything which can be called attitudes or reactions.

S N 485 795 ● 798 About the Chinese-speaking Moslems Miss Cable reports that Chinese travelers avoid any inn operated by Moslems because of the rudeness to which they may be subjected when using it. This is a very particular observation, as in other places in the Northwest, non-Moslem Chinese prefer to go to Mohammedan restaurants, which are famed for their cleanliness and tasty food. In many places Moslems have monopolized the innkeeper business, so that they cannot possibly be avoided. Even the Chinese guests abstain from eating pork during their stay, every pot and pan which they possess is considered unclean and will not be allowed inside the kitchen. This is not conducive to good feeling between host and guest, and may at any time lead to high words and even to blows. Toward known westerners the Moslems' attitude is somewhat different, and more tolerant. Cable records the experience of her party in staying in an inn with the sign of "Pure and True Religion" by saying, "The attitude toward our party was different because, though we were styled kaper (infidel) we were known to keep a 'clean' kitchen, which is to say that pork, lard, and every produce of the pig was rigidly excluded from our menu. We were 'infidels of the book' for the Bible and not the Koran was our guide, but we were not 'infidels of the pig' which was an insult reserved for eaters of unclean food. The closest watch was kept upon us as we journeyed, and any lapse or laxity would have been reported to every mosque on our route, so that 'pure religion' inns would have been closed to us. Moslems acknowledged that we were as free from idolatry as themselves, but openly stigmatized us as blasphemers, for we called the prophet Jesus 'Son of God', and the innkeeper turned aside to spit whenever he heard the word." (pp. 72-73). The Moslems who are of means like to make others understand that they are wealthy people. "Like other Tungan landlords to whose houses we had the entree, he left us with a sense that he was very wealthy and that his

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*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and 177 learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent *563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we 795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p.33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

000 purge took place.

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In order to control Christians, the Communists sponsored a movement to reorganize the churches. Following the principles of Communism all the churches were supposed to be combined under the leadership of the Communist government. The movement started with a government-sponsored statement entitled, "Road for Chinese Christian Churches in Reconstructing New China." All Christians were asked to sign their names to this statement. To most Christians, this movement was a rebellion against God. To the Communists, any Christian who refused to sign was a potential "counter-revolutionary". According to the Communist report, 1,527 Christians signed the statement in August and 1,741 signed in September of 1950. Among these, 44 were in Shensi and 1 in Kansu. (Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, December 5, 1950). No detailed figures of the later years are on hand but it was the start of a continuous persecution of Christians loyal to their faith.

An editorial of the Jen-min jih-pao of July 7, 1955 complained about sabotage activities of "reactionary" religious groups in Shensi and Kansu during 1954 and recommends: "We must take effective actions and resolutely beat the sinful activities of all the reactionary religious groups.... We must severely suppress these religious leaders. As to the common believers... we must order them to register in the government and force them to sign a pledge to withdraw from their religious organizations."

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The Sinkiang jih-pao of June 18, 1953 discussed the activities of people's courts in the district of Urumchi: "When the land reform began, the personnel of the courts cooperated with the land reform teams to penetrate into the villages. They called various meetings and publicized the policy, function and missions of the people's court... They encouraged the mass to accuse the landlords,.... Generally they would arrest the landlords... confiscate their property and publicly liquidate them. When a case could be used to educate the people they would convict the man in public trial before a mass meeting. For instance, after the arrest of the unlawful landlord Je-he-p'u (most likely an Uighur) of T'o-k'e-sun, the team and the court organized a small scale liquidating meeting against him in his village. Then they organized a large scale liquidating meeting in the hsiang with deputies from every district of the county presented.... In less important cases, the landlords were warned before the public... and forced to admit their sin and publicly accuse themselves... The important point is to use the local people as the judge and the jury. ... For instance, when the 3rd hsiang of the 3rd district of Shanshan publicly accused the local despot and landlord P'ai-tsu-nan (probably an Uighur), the judge and the jury were all minority cadres. The mass was very much pleased, saying, "Now... it

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The
plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[494] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have
been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.).
It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods
of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition.
(Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

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*668 -4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
• 798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities
have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's
invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed.
It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists
will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very
near future.

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*668 C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a cen-
tralized system of police and military control. All that can be
expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition,
nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant
irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve
as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain
political significance only when military aid from abroad is avail-
able. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when
the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime
and sided with the Germans. At present only two important cen-
ters of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National
Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik
Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a mem-
ber of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the
rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

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Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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of age, tall, handsome, strong of body and independent of mind. She walked into our courtyard on the first Sunday we were in Suchow and heard us speak of the Saviour we were there to preach, whereupon she turned to the crowd of women, saying: 'Every word of this is true.' From that day she never missed attending service, and helped us in every way she could.

As has been already recorded, the first night in Suchow was spent at an inn which was very cold and uncomfortable, and we could not remain there. The landlord was a tall ex-soldier of a Shantung regiment, and although we left his inn, he came to see us in our new quarters and was extremely friendly. A few weeks later his wife brought the little baby with her to Sunday service, then returned home, and before night the child was dead. Instead of yielding to terror and superstition she asked her husband's leave to come and stay with the women-students for a few days, for they talked with her of Christ, and this comforted her.

A Moslem merchant was also among those who believed, and his gentle little wife very gradually, but surely, yielded to the faith which recommended itself by the change it had wrought in her husband's treatment of her.

We commenced the winter term of the Bible School under apparently auspicious circumstances, yet those who were leaders in the work were profoundly conscious of a persistent premonition, pointing to impending trouble. The crowds were greater than ever, and praise of the Christian community, its kindness and philanthropy, was heard on all sides. The victories already won, however, were not to be allowed to pass unchallenged. The hostility of those spiritual forces which had met us, on the threshold of the Temple Courts of Hell with a sneering query: '*What? So* you *have*

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come too,' was gathering impetus for a more organised attack than any to which the Christian community had hitherto been exposed. Severe financial loss was incurred through the death of mules, horses, sheep and cows, in which live stock the Church funds were invested. One of the most valued Christian leaders was at death's door with rheumatic fever, and hope of his restoration was almost abandoned. He, however, slowly recovered, but when barely convalescent, received news that his two cousins who had but recently left us on a visit to Honan, were murdered by brigands on the road. A few weeks later came a letter, telling of a robber-band attack on his home, and the capture of the head of the house. A large ransom was demanded for his release, and the whole clan impoverished itself to raise the money, yet when this was handed over, they merely received the information that his body would be found in a certain well, and so it proved to be.

There had, moreover, been trouble lately in Kanchow, which clearly showed us the active opposition of enemies. The Kanchow Christian farmers had not sown any opium, and so many had registered as enquirers as to cause a positive difficulty to the Local Official in the raising of the twenty-four-thousand-dollar opium tax, at which sum the crop under his control had been assessed. These wheat-growing farmers did not place themselves in a position of financial advantage, as the value of the opium crop, even allowing for the tax, was almost five times that produced by grain. As friction increased, the local tax-gatherer determined to wreak vengeance on the whole Christian community, and thus the plan of revenge was laid with a craft and subtlety such as is difficult for the Westerner to grasp. An old man, seventy years of age, so poor as to be nearly starving, was secretly approached with the offer of

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money, a few days of feasting, and the promise of generous sacrifices after death, in exchange for the risk he should run of losing his life in an organised mêlée at the time of a coming fair. After some bargaining the matter was settled, and the tax-collector proceeded to secure the services of certain young roughs, always ready for a fight. The compact, however, was not kept as wholly secret as the parties intended, for some young girls overheard the conversation, and subsequently repeated it to their friends. On the morning of the fair a band of Christian men and women were selling books near the theatrical stage, when the tax-gatherer's gang began to pick a quarrel with them concerning the offence offered to the gods by their preaching. In a moment, others joined in, and there were hot words and hard blows on both sides. Benches were used as weapons, and shortly afterwards the old beggar was lying dead, while the Christians were falsely accused of having killed him! It so happened that the more important Christian farmers were detained that day at a village three miles distant, but in a few hours' time a squad of soldiers arrived from Kanchow and took prisoner twenty Christian men, including even those who could prove an *alibi*. For weeks they lay in prison, without trial or proper investigation, wholly dependent for food on the charity of the Christian community, and not until one of them died, as a result of neglected wounds, was release on bail obtained for the remainder, the official refusing even to coffin the dead man until his old mother made her wrongs known by sitting the whole day wailing, in Eastern fashion, in the Yamen court, while the birthday festivities of the Mandarin were in progress! The facts of the story gradually became known, but no trial was held, and the accused were left in the supremely unsatisfactory condition of

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being refused all opportunity for clearing themselves, although the whole populace declared them to be innocent. Dr. Kao was actually with us at distant Suchow when the incident occurred. Subsequently, however, he made an open enemy of the Kanchow Official by peremptorily refusing to consider the case on a suggested compromise basis, *i.e.* that as a life had been sacrificed on either side, and honour was satisfied, it only remained for the parties concerned to seal their agreement by feasting!

The circle of those bound together to wreak vengeance on the Christians and their leader was growing, and they were now joined by an influential man of whom Dr. Kao had made an enemy by refusing his donation of several hundred dollars towards the hospital work, a gift which had been offered on the tacit understanding that having accepted it the doctor would cease his open denunciation of the opium traffic.

During the winter months of 1925 the Provinces of the North-West Frontier were placed under the jurisdiction of Marshal Feng, and the city walls were covered with excellent proclamations, forbidding soldiers to oppress the people, and promising adequate protection to farmers bringing in their produce, it being the custom of the local battalions to ill-treat persons and seize goods at their pleasure. These proclamations were received with acclamation by the people, but were obviously *not* liked by the officials or the soldiers.

One day in January 1926, Dr. Kao, walking along the street, met a crowd running towards a back alley, where on following them, he found five men beating a young villager so severely as to endanger his life. Several of the assailants were soldiers, and one, armed with a hammer, was proceeding to break the youth's skull when, without a moment's hesitation, the Doctor

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the same hour as the carter died—a life for a life, while the local garrison was most indignant at the suggestion that one of their number should be executed on such a trivial charge as the death of a common carter, and swore vengeance. However, after forty-eight hours of extreme anxiety, our relief knew no bounds when a slight improvement, following on a severe operation, showed itself in the patient, and he eventually recovered, the two lives being saved, as the soldier was released.

The New Year festivities were at this juncture in full swing, and the friendliness on all sides was such that we greatly hoped the ill-feeling produced by this incident had passed over. Our guest-rooms were daily crowded with visitors, and the tent would barely hold the congregation which gathered each evening.

It came like a bolt from the blue when one day Dr. Kao walked into our sitting-room with the startling announcement :

' The compound is surrounded by men sent to arrest me ! '

' To arrest you ! ' we exclaimed. ' Impossible ! On what plea ? '

' I am accused,' he quietly said, ' of leading an armed mob to break open the city gaol in order to release a certain Moslem prisoner. The man, as we all know, has been living in his own home for months, nor have I been inside their prison. The accusation is futile, but the power of the accusers is tremendous ; and chief among them is the Governor of the prison himself, *the master of the little slave whose foot I amputated.*" Then, showing a visiting-card, he added : ' This card has just reached me from the Judge, who is a patient of mine, and who asks for a visit from me. I know he never sent it, and it is but a trap to get me quietly into the Yamen and arrest me there, for they fear a hubbub among the

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people. I expect you agree with me; I had better go; and so I just came in to say good-bye. Our life and death are in God's hands, as also the reputation of His Church. He will vindicate His Name.'

Commending each other to the care of God we parted, and he proceeded in company with Mr. Chang to the Yamen. As the two men left the house and walked down the streets, knots of Yamen runners, who had been placed at various points from which they watched the doors of the compound, closed in behind them, so that, as they reached the Yamen gate, they were completely surrounded by soldiers. As they entered the courtyard, the Civil Magistrate appeared, who shouted angrily: 'Seize that fellow Kao!' Immediately a dozen hands took hold of him, and thrust him into the Black Hole of the inner prison, reserved only for condemned criminals.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORM

DR. KAO's arrest took place on February 17th, 1926, and it was June 1st of the same year before he left Suchow for Lanchow, to be present at the enquiry into his case. For forty-two days he was incarcerated in the Black Hole, which is an inner apartment of the prison, without any window; it contains, however, a small aperture in the roof to admit a little air and light. The cell was so unspeakably filthy that the Doctor's first request was for some quicklime to scatter on the floor and under the boards of the *kang*, on account of the numerous rats, and other even worse vermin. The only door was the one by which the gaoler entered,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

and in it was a small grating through which the food could be passed. Next to this was the gaoler's own room, and beyond that again was another cell, in which twenty prisoners were incarcerated, most of them heavily ironed; this room, too, was in almost total darkness. None of all those wretched prisoners were permitted to leave their cells except for a few minutes once in twenty-four hours, and all were entirely dependent upon their relatives or friends for their food; consequently death from starvation was all too frequent, while, according to Dr. Kao's own account, the nights were made hideous by the agonised cries and groans of these most miserable of men.

For some days after the arrest we suffered intense anxiety from the fact that no message whatever could reach us direct from the Doctor; moreover, persistent rumours were afloat that he was to be shot. Of course he was regularly supplied with food from the Mission Compound, but we had no certain means of knowing whether he really did receive it or not. Those first days of suspense were, indeed, terrible. The Civil Magistrate, it must be explained, had secured to the accusation brought by him against the Doctor the signatures of the two other most important officials of the city, each one thereby declaring himself personally cognisant of the offence. Consequently, when the answer ultimately came from the provincial capital of Lanchow, it was couched in these terms: 'Since you affirm Kao to be guilty of breaking open the prison of Suchow with an armed mob, you may inflict the extreme penalty of the law; but if later investigations should prove him to be innocent, you will personally be held responsible for your action.' The three officials then pronounced themselves prepared to take this responsibility; but did so as a means of currying favour with the local garrison,

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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in the secret hope that the ever-shifting sands of the political hour-glass would produce new conditions, capable of manipulation, if needs be, to cover over such an insignificant incident as that of the execution of a Christian leader. They were strengthened in this expectation by reports of successful demonstrations by the anti-Christian organisations in large cities.

To us the reply from Lanchow seemed to hand over the situation to our enemies; nevertheless, prayer was constantly made by the whole Christian community to God for Dr. Kao, and we waited for the answer to come.

By the law of China, it is the Civil Magistrate who pronounces the sentence upon the prisoner; nevertheless, it cannot be carried into execution without the additional authority of the District Judge; therefore, when this Official was approached and asked to ratify the sentence upon Dr. Kao, he very indignantly replied: 'I refuse to condemn a man whom we all know to be innocent. Every child in the Suchow streets knows that the prison door has never been forced, nor has any prisoner there been unofficially released.' And from this position no persuasion moved him, although he was perfectly aware that such opposition might ruin his magisterial career. We, on our side, at Dr. Kao's request, refrained from any kind of interference or interposition, with the exception that we duly informed our Lanchow friends of all the facts, urging them, if possible, to use their influence to secure an impartial enquiry, which must necessarily be held by officials other than the local authorities. As a result of this appeal, a telegram was presently received from Lanchow, ordering the case to stand over until the arrival of a Special Commissioner appointed for the examination. The natural effect of this communication, following on the action taken by the District Judge, caused some degree

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

of trepidation in official circles, one result of which being that it immediately secured for Dr. Kao the privilege of receiving visitors, ourselves among the number. We always found him cheery and serene, although the sanitary conditions were so bad that they told seriously on his health, so much so, that when at last he emerged into the open day, he fell to the ground overpowered by the effect of the light. Many a time did we remind each other that although he had not broken open the city gaol and released its prisoners, we were yet all at that very hour seeking to preach liberty to the captives held in the strongholds of the Power of Evil.

It was with a peculiar sense of triumph that we brought the news to the prison, one Sunday afternoon, of the first baptismal service in Suchow having taken place that day.

The turnkey was increasingly friendly to his genial, though intractable prisoner, and when the doors were closed for the night, allowed him to leave his cell and preach to the other captives. The accusation was hanging on the evidence of one witness, namely that of the Governor of the gaol, and owner of the little slave-girl mentioned in a previous chapter. He was a man of weak and shallow nature, to whom cruelty of any kind partook of the nature of an amusement. He had bought over several witnesses, but when they heard the rumour of an investigation by a Commissioner appointed from Lanchow, they backed out and declared that only fear of torture had led them to give evidence. He began to realise, when it was too late, that each of the other officials had left himself a possible loophole of escape, which, if acted upon, would leave the whole burden of the responsibility upon his own head. Surreptitiously, therefore, he began to make preparations for a hasty exit into Turkestan; but this being prevented by his

798 superior, it soon became the city talk, that whereas
692 formerly he looked like a man, now his face resembled that of a terrified ghost.

Meanwhile the Commissioner from Lanchow arrived, and only made himself known after spending several days *incognito* in an inn, under the guise of a merchant. He easily satisfied himself that the accusation brought against Dr. Kao was without any foundation, and he collected witness from every tradesman in the vicinity of the prison, to the effect that the gaol had never been
798 attacked at all. He personally visited the prison court, and noticed that this cell now bore a new red paper
692 notice stating that : 'This room is to be called a House
697 of Detention.' This was a ruse by the Civil Magistrate, to justify himself for having placed an untried prisoner in a condemned cell.

Before returning to Lanchow, the Commissioner insisted upon immediate removal to the real 'House of Detention,' where was a sunny courtyard, surrounded by decent rooms, each containing only one occupant. Here, Dr. Kao soon resumed his normal appearance; he was allowed to shave and keep his hair cut; visitors came freely, and things in general were decidedly better. All the same, it was still a prison, and many of his neighbours had lived there for years, awaiting a trial that never came; fed from their homes by little slave-girls sent in with their meals, and who slipped their slender bodies between the thick wooden bars of the locked entrance gate, with basins of rice for their masters' dinner. Some of these men had settled to a dull apathetic endurance of a wrong that could not be righted, many found a solace in the deadening fumes of opium, but there were a few who abandoned themselves to such a frenzy of despair that within a few months they were released by death from the hands of their enemies.

One or two there were who vowed to know no rest until 692
this system of bribery and corruption should be over- 697
turned, which made it possible to incarcerate innocent 798
men, sometimes for life, without trial and without appeal.

Kansu was at this time in a political ferment. Some 701
months previously General Feng's troops had assumed 635
authority in Lanchow, and were gradually making their power felt throughout the province. His appointment of his own men to positions of importance caused the greatest excitement and apprehension among the local authorities, and the city walls were posted with the announcement that anyone spreading reports on political or military matters would be shot.

The first we saw of Marshal Feng's officers was one Sunday morning at the early Communion Service, when two finely-grown, well-set-up soldiers, in spotless uniform, walked in, taking their place among the little group of believers, thus openly associating themselves with Christianity. They only stayed a few days, however, but were soon followed by recruiting officers, and lecturers, who addressed themselves to the populace and preached equality and the rights of the proletariat, and when the city walls were covered with anti-British posters. It was all very chaotic. But the recruiting fell off, because the people said, 'Under Feng you *must* fight, so what's the use of his good pay if you die?' Then the posters quietly disappeared, but the authorities left ours up intact—one did not know what to expect! At last an officer appeared, sent by Feng, under whose superintendence the city was entirely transformed in only a few weeks. The main streets were widened and levelled; a market-place was erected where the peasants might sell their goods unmolested; industrial institutions were opened for the poor children, and other

701 public works set on foot for the unemployed. Suchow
635 was transformed! But still Dr. Kao's imprisonment dragged on.

798 Finally, on June 1st, the trial of our patience came to
694 an end. A student arrived in our court at dawn, saying
635 that Dr. Kao was under orders to leave that morning for Lanchow, there to stand his trial. In spite of final
701 delays and procrastinations, that same afternoon he left on foot for the eighteen days' tramp to the provincial capital. Here he spent some months, during the greater part of which he was able to live with his own friends. When the trial finally took place, he was declared innocent, and acquitted on all charges.

Many had been the orders and counter-orders, the subterfuge, and the conflicting motives at work, under the shifty régime of Chinese officialdom. On his release General Feng appointed him to the position of Medical Officer in charge of Red Cross work at his own Military Hospital, and his return to the far North-West has been temporarily delayed.

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804 WEIGHTS AND MEASURES--methods of measurement (e.g., comparison with parts of the body, use of mensurating tools, use of weighing and measuring machines); customary and standardized units (e.g., of length, area, volume, weight, heat, angles, electrical energy); complex techniques of measurement (e.g., surveying); governmental supervision of weights and measures; etc.

See also:

Architectural draftsmanship 341
Weighing and measuring machines 408
Measuring tools 413
Money 436
Coast, geodetic, and geological surveys . . 684
Conception of space 822

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*175

B. Imports:		6,456,722
cotton piece goods	669,884	
raw cotton	47,353	
paper	102,340	
iron and copper goods	40,362	
tea	145,786	
seafood	68,755	
chinaware	13,850	
silk	193,264	
tobacco	48,300	
sundries	5,015,022	
miscellaneous	113,793	
Grand Total		7,993,554

Source: Shina Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 634-37.

C. Ninghsia

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The trade in Ninghsia is centered around its capital city, Ninghsia, which is the midpoint of the two important trade routes in the Northwest, one being the Yellow River, and the other being the caravan routes. The Yellow River route is usu-

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ally divided into the following six sections:

Table III: The Yellow River Route (downstream)

[804]

Places	Length (li) (1 li = 1890 ft.)	Days of Journey
Hsi-ning–Lanchou*	480	3-5
Lanchou–Chung-wei	740	3-4
Chung-wei–Ninghsia	350	3-4
Ninghsia–Shih-ts'uan-tzu	190	2
Shih-ts'uan-tzu–Teng-kuo	200	2
Teng-kuo–Pao-t'ou	1,000	7-10
Total	2,960	20-27

*Including its tributary, the Huang River or Hsi-ning-ho.
Source: Shino Shōbetsū Zenshi, 1943 ed., Vol. 7, pp. 640-41.

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The caravan routes consist of the following:

1. from Hsi-ning to Ninghsia via Lanchou,
2. from Sinkiang to Ninghsia via Alashan,
3. from Pao-t'ou to Ninghsia via the Ordos,
4. from Ping-liang, Kansu, to Ninghsia via Hua-ma-chih.

[492] A caravan used to have thirty to fifty camels, each camel carrying about 375 pounds of goods and traveling about fifty to seventy li a day. (For modern highways see section Communications.)

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According to 1933 statistics, the total value of exports and imports of Ninghsia amounted to 6,310,000 yüan, a little less

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a correspondingly important part in Chinese history. In more recent days too, during the troubles since the fall of the Manchus in 1911, it has once more figured prominently in the manœuvres of Imperial, Revolutionary, and Republican armies, brigands, and train bands, while in times of peace it lends itself admirably, flanked as it is by river and mountain, to the levying of likin and other barrier tolls dear to the Chinese official. It is a compact little place, with ramparts and gates remarkable for their massive size even in China, the land of walls, overlooking the Yellow River, which pouring down from the north in a turgid yellow flood here strikes the Ch'inling Shan and turns sharply to the east.

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As we approached T'ungkuan some one noticed three strange pack mules which had attached themselves to our caravan. Enquiries elicited the fact that they belonged to a merchant who was endeavouring to smuggle three loads of Price's candles through the frontier barrier into Shensi by this means. We had unwillingly to cut him adrift. Unless accompanied by transit passes goods in transport through the interior of China are taxed again and again at every point where a barrier can be erected until the prospective profit on their sale is eaten up by these tolls and their further transport becomes futile.

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From the railhead at Kuanyint'ang to T'ungkuan is called a distance of 280 li, and can be done in three days. As far as Lingpao the li are "short li"; thence to T'ungkuan they are "long li"; the difference is most marked, the short and the long li averaging about a quarter and a third of a mile respectively. This absurd and typically Chinese arrangement is said to be due to the fact that the authorities of Honan Fu endeavoured in days gone by to lay claim to the fortress of T'ungkuan on the ground that it was nearer to their city than to Hsian Fu.

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A peculiar four-wheeled cart of prehistoric appearance is used round T'ungkuan, the only place in China where I have seen a four-wheeled native vehicle. Even the huge carts which one meets on the grasslands of the Mongolian border or in the sands of Western Kansu, regular ships of the desert, and often accommodating whole families, are always of the familiar two-wheeled type.

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From T'ungkuan to Hsian is a distance of 290 li, which

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805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Clocks and watches 408
Routine activities of a typical day 512
Holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries 527
Age levels and age terms 581
Ceremonial calendar 798
Conception of time 822

96

THROUGH JADE GATE

'broken hearts, nor can anyone leave China by this road without peculiar pain, and even tears.

'When I leave by the gateway, O Kipsiluwan,
My tears may never cease to run.'

The most illustrious of all the exiles who have trod this *Via Dolorosa* was the great Sage and Philosopher, Lao-dze, who here turned his back on the land which had refused his teaching, and sought for himself an unrecorded grave in the wilderness beyond.

Among all those tragic inscriptions, from the day of our visit, one message of *Hope* now hangs, printed in crimson letters so large and clear, that every tear-filled eye, can see it : '*Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.*'

CHAPTER XVIII

A PRODIGAL SON

The Chinese, together with other ancient peoples, observe the lunar month, and date their calendar by the Agricultural Year ; New Year's Day, consequently, falling irregularly between the last week of January and the middle of February, marks also the time for the sowing of the crops. The official calendar, issued by the Peking Board of Rites, is often at variance with local almanacs, so that we found the people of Suchow were much disturbed as to whether the first day of the first moon should be the coming Thursday or Friday. The question was not decided, until Wednesday afternoon, when the Town Crier, beating a gong, patrolled the streets announcing in a loud voice, 'To-morrow is New Year's Day !'

1: Washington 5-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AF1

In the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not anti-social affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct lack of sympathetic understanding.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative than all other sanguineous and distributed, when faced with innovations and reforms. He raises more than hinders, sorting and expecting less help from the Government.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, the criminals, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurous and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper who were compelled to leave their native provinces.

Men from China proper who were conscripted to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Men who were forced to leave the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, and training of Chinese in new occupation of non-farming metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions we have the seeds of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, in the city of Lanchow. (Hsueng-ming pao-pien Dec. 13, 1935, SCNA. May 31, 1936)

B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number of inhabitants among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

	Population (1933 Census)
Kwangtung	35,540,000
North China	32,700,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
Central China	104,682,000
Central and South China	119,130,000

1: Washington 5-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AF1

between the Mediterranean and the Lamaists.

Because of the extraordinary complexity of its geographic base as well as its ethnological and cultural background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme northeastern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

The development of industrialization is present in the Northwest. Two towns have been emerging in barren mountains and deserts, such as Shih-yeh-hsai (Yi-mend), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-sui) and Shih-tou-shan on the western boundary of Hunan between the towns of Hsiang (Sui-tai) and Ulan-Wuse. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of prolonging, as well as the drilling of coal, from the mountains.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1935, that, in Lanchow, a center of research disciples will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-Industrial Research Bureau in Sian, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geophysical Research Institute, and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min pih-pao Dec. 16, 1935, SCNA. May 31, 1936)

Last November, a special committee of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which a plan for a Northwest Research Institute was formulated for the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, and training of Chinese in new occupation of non-farming metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these discussions we have the seeds of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, in the city of Lanchow. (Hsueng-ming pao-pien Dec. 13, 1935, SCNA. May 31, 1936)

170 FROM ÉPO TO LANCHOU FU [CH.

are ferried across on a small raft of inflated skins (called *pitaras*), but the animals have to swim. Owing to the rapidity of the current and the frail nature of the skin rafts (a light wooden platform resting on nine blown-out yak hides) the passage is not exciting. The noise the animals do in swim across was a long and tedious business, and not without danger for them, but all our mules and ponies were eventually got across with no worse damage than one pony carried. The water was icy, and the unfortunate animals were shivering with cold when they emerged, nonwithstanding the season of the year, which was mid-August. Leaving the river the path enters a narrow gorge in the mountain and almost immediately commences to rise steeply. From the river to the top of the pass (between 13,000 and 14,000 feet) is a hard climb of about an hour and a half. The top of the summit is a narrow ridge of bare rock composed of bright green and red slabs of shale. We reached the top at we reached the pass in a bitterly cold snowstorm, through which I caught a glimpse of the range in the mountain, to widespread which looked like wild sheep. This range is known locally as the Tapan Shan, and is a name formidable in Tibetan, it is noted amongst the Chinese for its noxious vapours, which are supposed to rise from the ground on the higher slopes, and most of our party crossed it with scarves wound round their faces ; it is a waste of time trying to explain terms to educated Chinese that the air is not noxious, but only rarified; they have not the slightest objection to your climbing in the rarified air theory, but intimate that they know better. My experience in Central Asia, in the Indian Himalaya and Szechuan is that the effects of rarified air are much worse on the razor-backed passes, like the Tapan Shan, than on even higher divides which are approached by easy slopes.

The ascent of the Tapan Shan is steep enough, but the descent on the other side is much worse, and the trail very rough and rocky. Eventually a gorge is reached, which is followed for three hours' march to a solitary Mahomedan inn called Tuchia Tai. By the time we reached the inn we were tired and had turned into rain as we descended, and then ceased altogether, everyone was pretty well tired out; but the accommodation was limited, and the

6. Tanki-14 T-3 (1965-1908) 1914 Ali Tibet
Ali China AF15

pass. There were only a few brief, clear moments when the hard, dangling kennels of snow prevented our watering eyes to catch a glimpse of the wild landscape of the pass. At such moments the chaos of partially crumbled slate and heap of rock covering an ancient, tremendous glacier circle that had its mouth towards the north, was all the more imposing.

Nowhere in this Burkh' an Buda mountain range did I see areas of eternal snows. Although there is more precipitation here than down below in the Tsaidam basin, it cannot withstand the drying power of the sun.

The peaks around the Tibetene pass are almost buried in mounds of slab and broken rock, resembling the moraine accumulation of the glacier in this entire region.

'Hayai ian ma da de ch'en Ji-?' 'Alas! how very big is the ien ochi!' sighed the Chinese when they finally reached the top and looked down upon the vast expanse of rocks and mountains covered by the mire and the rarefied atmosphere. /B/ The idea that a particular type of gas, ien-ochi, is very 'big' on the heights of Tibet, and that it causes difficulty in breathing, is universally accepted. Mongols and Ge were also quite painfully affected by the sudden low temperature (at noon it was scarcely above the freezing point together with the wind that howled around our ears, especially after the warm July days in the lowlands. I was scarcely able to steady the metal eclimeter, and only one, two appeared on the slides, and that only for pass. From the 4, 815 meter Tibetene pass the descent is very gradual toward the south. The southern slope of the great Burkh' an Tsidam border range is buried under huge moraines. We Europeans call this mountain range by the colloquial name Burkh' an Buda, however, the natives, the Mongols, use this name for only one of the more prominent peaks that is to be found somewhat to the west of my route.

We were at least at the notorious ascent into the Tibetan highland had been accomplished without losses, and there seemed to be no further difficulties in the way of leading the over-esteemed animals to succulent pastures on that same day; for in the distance we saw the most inviting-looking green spots in the region of the Alang Nor. However, my four-footed friends were not to partake of a green meal on that day, although from that vantage point travel in Tibet looks so simple we can almost feel at home there on the road itself. We found ourselves on a flat part of a southern slope, on nibble immediate in sand and was completely soaked with the water of the summer rainy season. There was absolutely no plant covering or roots which might

shots and yells sounded as though robbers were outside the camp. (2) they treat on idle talk and gossip, and are watering eyes to catch a that makes a noise. The sharp whinkling of shots pierced the shouting. At any moment I expected bullets to fly through my tent, as they did that time at Sandakan. As quickly as there is possible I /11/ packed away my places and dashed out of the tent, cocked a Mauser pistol in each hand, the bullets did not cease. Those of my men who were not shooting were swinging their swords which gleamed in the magic light of the camp fire. Threatningly one of them brandished his long lance. H'an and Tch'ang dash up to me: 'The monster, the voracious frog of heaven (1) has appeared in the sky!' ---

1. Called also by the Tsaidam Mongols; it is the Ba hu of Chinese mythology. The monster is also often addressed as wolf.

It was an eclipse of the moon. The cloud bank had disappeared and the full moon stood in a clear sky, but only a fast-disappearing part of it was visible. The moon was eclipsed by the sun in good, nevertheless the earth. That was why it was so nice and dark in my tent! When the occultation grew less and less, the moon was normal, I was burned and they all fell on their knees and made a kowtow to the beloved and happily rescued celestial body.

In the southern part of the Alang Nor plain (5) there was a meet

2. It is also often pronounced Alak Nor.

ascent. It was necessary for us to reach a plateau that rose up in terrace formations. Many erratic granite and lime blocks a cubic meter in size towered out of the red disintegrated sand masses. They not only enabled me to make deductions concerning the history of the terrace, but also made me fear a renewed, difficult struggle with horsemen nomadic mine.

We were still at the bottom of the slope when I inadvertently came upon a huge herd of wild yak. I counted 1, 200 animals. They were continued against the antagonist grass of the meager pasture in the shape of a black, roundish mass. As usual the animals had drawn close together during the night to avoid the predatory attacks of wolves, whole hillside and went recognizable at a distance of one kilometer betrayed their presence during the night. At seven in the morning they were scattered over a wide area grazing, and a space of several

all the lamas labored under the delusion that their Great Lama had
be'filled or lose his life of a compassionate Buddhist, an enemy of
tantrism, touched his clothing, in fact, if he even touched the soles
of his shoes; and all of them, even those very convinced that this exorcism
would be eyes easier if a photograph were made. (1)

1. Meanwhile photographs of the Dalai Lama were taken
in India. A detailed study about Tobden Dalai Lama is
Rockhill. The Dalai Lama of Lhasa. T'oung Pao 1910,
I. 1-104.

After this interview I hurriedly rode back to Hsining fu and with-
out delay began to equip my new caravan. Of course, I began here in
the original text.)

The gaba, the lama "gentlemen," appeared more numerous than
ever in Hsining fu during the years in which Tobden Lama resided in
Gom ben. The picturesque, gaily-colored and dark-skinned figures
representing the Tibetan aristocracy appeared in all the market places.
With their little mustaches and imperials on their chins they made an
almost Western impression on me. With the help of interpreters, they
traded for the market of the Amdo peasants, that were for sale and for
the few other things that are valuable /86/ enough to be transported
across the barren Tschang tang to central Tibet. Inasmuch as I wanted
to make rapid progress on my new journey, I this time also collected
a caravan of mules and horses and was in sharp competition with the
gaba. Good mules which are to be seen are very rare indeed in comparison to
those that are raised in Sibirsk, are, in ordinary times, as expensive
as four yak cows. The prices were amazingly high because of the
presence of so many Central Tibetans. With great difficulty I finally
got together 18 animals, among them 10 mules.

On January 14 - I was in the midst of this peculiar business and had
that day, been called into the street for the fourth time already in
order to look at horses - it suddenly grew very dark. The sky was clear
and cloudless, as on every winter day. Not a breeze stirred. Evening
seemed clearly to be approaching. Angrily I growled at my servants
that they had once again forgotten to bring me my noon-dinner. In
reply I could only hear them cry out: "Ch'ne ba b'ai!" (The day is
so good, it is an unlucky day!) and then I hurried up the street to see
the home that was for sale. It chanced that my way led me past the
gate of fu yamen. A great many soldiers and musicians were assembled
in the broad courtyard, all of whom were solemnly engaged in playing
drums, gongs, shrill whistles, cooking-pots and anything that made a
noise, and were, like children, producing an ear-splitting racket. In
their midst stood the perfect in full official dress with his blue button
and the feathers on his hat, as well as the embroidered heraldic bird
on his chest. In front of him a wash bowl had been set up into which
he kept looking with scornful expression, and behind him on a wooden
frame the symbol of "glutony" had been drawn on paper.

From a near-by temple also came the sound of hollow drum beats
and from all the larger courtyards came similar ghastly caterwauling.
This was the way these people defended themselves against - the
eclipse of the sun which occurred on this day. All those who had an
official position - and there are certainly not a few in Hsining fu -
felt duty-bound to make a racket along with all their employees,
but they were joined by all the wealthy people of the city, all the
craftsmen and peasants who crowded and banged in an effort to rescue
the sun and drove away the bad vocarious monster that threatened to
consume her. Weeks ago already, on order had been issued to this ef-
fect from the astrological office in Peking. Like a great strangler
the perfect, in the midst of his clamor, strove for the success of his
weapon. And once again he was in luck! The monster decidely re-
treated. The sun came out again in its usual fashion. When the danger
is over, the perfect offers a bowlers, nodding his head nine times,
and then disappears, smiling in a superior way, inside his yamen.
Commendedly the soldiers march home and everyone continues his usual
pursuits.

The eclipse was not total. At the height of the eclipse a tiny
concave was visible on the lower rim. But it grew dark enough so
that all the animals in the stables and the cackling chickens /86/
gathered in their coops as they do at night; the yamen
continued to quaint and pots for a short time. But then quickly
slipped into their hide-a-ways for the night, under the eaves. Ab-
solute quiet prevailed in the animal kingdom, only humans had to go
on like mad playing their miserable musical instruments until it
grew light again and the day began anew for the sparrows and the
four-footed animals.

I recruited six men to accompany me on my new venture. Again
the supply was tremendous. I had to overcome all kinds of tricks
and intrigues in order to select getting people who had never before
been in the steppes or in the highlands. The men I had hired already
worried by the others for a mountaineer. They quickly learned
a few matches of Tibetan in order to be able to say they understood

/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs
4. Religion

Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived
from Buddhism and from the Bonpo religion. Buddhism
Sandalphere formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound
them together as a people, and it is said that Bonpo virtues are
still the basis of social life in Tibet.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in "The
Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha) to respect the
teachers (guru), to have a great desire to reach the nirvana, to
honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay head to relia-
tives and friends; to be modest and humble; to be honest; to
realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples
of the Buddhas; to be kind to all; to be generous; to be
compassionate; to be exact in correct weights and measures; to
be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; to listen
to the teachings of the Buddhas; to be kind to animals; to be
in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience
and to be free from pride.

In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a being may suffice
to be a gift, or a gift may be given in a superior way, inside his yamen.
rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is
used in ceremonies social security, or presented to a Living Buddha
or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin.
Gifts presented to Buddha are not used for other purposes but as
audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or pre-
sent to a Buddha image in a temple.

Tibetan etiquette is very complicated. Presents to a Living
Buddha or high official, the being is presented first. The recip-
ient then hands it back to the giver, who then presents it
the second time of presenting the being varies with rank. For
one of higher rank, the being is presented three times. Ordin-
ary people, the giver presents the being with both hands. The recipient
may not receive it personally, however, as the giver places it
on the table in front of the recipient. The giver and the recipient
each comply bend the knees to each other. A person of high
rank grants a being to a less exalted person, he ties it around
the neck of the recipient. The being is placed on the top of
a being.

Tibetan etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
proaches the home of a friend, getting people who had never before
been in the steppes or in the highlands. The men I had hired already
worried by the others for a mountaineer. They quickly learned
a few matches of Tibetan in order to be able to say they understood

140

THROUGH JADE GATE

first-house in the midst of a group of trees, the whole
women, who determined to force an entrance into
little black ducks with white beaks dispported them-
Throwing off their gowns, they plunged beneath
the surface and were never seen again, but the lake
immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to
cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great sub-
terranean palaces on the sands, I account for call these
mysterious effects, are probably correct, nor is it
surprising that such stories should be invented for
way of descent, as the whole warm dry surface moved
with us. At a certain point a loud, clear, vibrating
sound suddenly arose, resembling the distant
twang of a mighty musical instrument, which sound
seemed to proceed from the direction of the hill.

Another name for the locality is "The Door of
Thunder," from the extraordinary sounds that some-
times are heard, when the whole valley echoes and
re-echoes with the roar of a distant thunder, and
when the sand, moved by the vibration, starts rolling,
and continues for a few minutes. It is most
amazing that this little lake and its surrounding temples
should have escaped the notice of travellers and
bandits. Certain it is that, however fierce the wind,
always carries the sand away from the surface of the
water; were it otherwise one windy season must be
enough to alter the whole aspect of the scene.

The Side Door of Paradise is a name frequently
used by Buddhist pilgrims when speaking of this lake.
"To Paradise" is a phrase, which, when in a sand-
choked depression, with temple buildings almost
wholly submerged, they have said, and here was
formerly a short of water so clear as that of the Crescent

THE LAKE OF THE CRESCENT MOON 141

Lake itself. Its purity was offended by the act of two
women, who determined to force an entrance into
Paradise by the crystal gate of these pure waters.
the twin of women, bear, and said that the dogs of the
the surface and were never seen again, but the lake
immediately receded and allowed the shifting dune to
cover it!

The popular idea of buried buildings and great sub-
terranean palaces on the sands, I account for call these
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choked depression, with temple buildings almost
wholly submerged, they have said, and here was
formerly a short of water so clear as that of the Crescent

The ting tolé one of his adventures in the grasslands. He kept
Tibetan, and, when he was in the midst of a group of people, it was a
dreadful land, this prairie land. He had been obliged to ride through
the cold steppes for months on end. It was like winter in the mid-
dle of summer. And these bad roads, these storms in the pamer!
the tuld of women, bear, and said that the dogs of the
nomads were as large as carters and much wilder and more snappish
than carting dogs. He had been obliged to ride for days and
through them on horseback or swim across. When he came to
Tongwa, thousands of heavily armed lagoids had surrounded him and
threatened him. Amid threats they had called out to him: "We
lagoids are so numerous that we can crush you to death. Do you think
you can accomplish with 45 men?" He said they had acted like dis-
tinguished people, and he had spoken to them as the Chinese emperor said
in no wise acknowledged. They even wanted to stamp their riding
boots on the imperial seal, which is a sign of the deepest disdain.
Finally they had consented to let him go on his way, but for this reason the ex-
pedition even cost him a great deal of money. He lost his own
riding horse and was robbed of many valuables as a result of great ex-
ertions. The Chinese government finally paid part of the damage
in order to satisfy the Tibetan chieftains and also to pay off the nomadic
"You who were nomads, said unit the anthan gives you soldiers
to take along." Ting tolé was obliged to spend the summer, then
spoke the friendly ting mandarin.

I replied: "Honorable colleague, the sub-prefect of Hsining
told me that it is impossible to launch a boat on the lake, it won't
float. Is it true that the lake is so shallow that one can cross the
waters of the Kokc Nor do not have the power to keep a ship afloat."

"Yes, the lake is very shallow, it is only a few feet deep."

"Then you can only go now. I, too, know that the waters of the
western sea do not have any supporting power." (1)

1. A superstition to which the Chinese cling tenaciously
is that a ship to be seen on the entire lake.

"I shall see that you get soldiers during the time of the New
Year," concluded the Chinese Tibetan chief, picked up the cup of
tea and the cigarettes, and left the room with a few laughs and
took his leave.

Dartsedo ting is a city of about 8,000-10,000 inhabitants and an

B22 ETHNOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena
(e.g., rivers and lakes, tides, and waterfalls); ideas about particular phenomena
(streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g.,
hills and mountains, canyons and caves, caves and grottoes, striking natural
formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and
precious stones; ideas about the nature of the sun, moon, and stars (celestial
and terrestrial, cyclical period); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated
behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Water	100
Fluids and gaseous substances	101
Ideas about and feelings about nature	102
Ideas about the sun	103
Ideas about the moon	104
Ideas about the stars	105
Ideas about the universe	106
Cosmology	107

B23 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about plants (in general); ideas about particular plants
(e.g., medicinal), cultural uses of plants; various terms for plants;
knowledge of particular plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.
See also:

Sex attitudes	108
Ideas about particular sex phenomena	109
Ideas about particular sex organs	110
Ideas about particular sex acts	111
Ideas about particular sex objects	112
Ideas about particular sex persons	113
Ideas about particular sex times	114
Incest	115
Fecal ideas	116
Ideas about particular sex relations	117
Ideas about particular sex attitudes	118
Ideas about particular sex phenomena	119
Ideas about particular sex organs	120
Ideas about particular sex acts	121
Ideas about particular sex objects	122
Ideas about particular sex persons	123
Ideas about particular sex times	124
Incest	125
Fecal ideas	126

N.W. China AF 13
KalmyK

278 824 the air and even without sun. The Koko Nor rhubarb is bought up by the merchants from the neighboring province of Shensi. For this reason it gets into the hands of Europeans mostly under the name of Shensi- (pronounced: Shansi-) rhubarb. There is also Szechwan, Shanghai-, and Canton-rhubarb, all drug-names which have been introduced by European export firms on the coast or on the Russian border.

824 278 437 /342/ Dankar and Hsining (1) as well as Suchow are the places

1. At the time of my journey Hsining exported 1,000 and 1,200 picul.

where the merchants from the Chinese lowland, the "Shensi- and Canton guests," take the medicinal plant from the rhubarb-gatherers of the Koko Nor in November and December. These merchants are almost exclusively Kansu Mohammedans who set out in groups of 30 to 40, under the leadership of a master. In this way 400 to 500 men journey annually from the valleys of the Hsining prefecture in order to hunt for rhubarb. These leaders are small, independent employers who take the risk of a journey into dangerous Tibet. They pay their men two to three taels a month with free maintenance. In order to be assured in advance of a certain price for their goods and not be subject to too much subsequent speculation, the merchants of the lowland usually bear the cost of the equipment and the rather expensive licenses which may be bought from the amban yamen and also from the individual native chieftains. All my Mohammedan servants had already been in the Ts'ao ti digging for rhubarb. The chief harvest time is September when the small fruit is ripe. Then the rhizomes are less juicy. Of ten pounds of freshly-dug roots, about seven pounds remain after they are dried. In July, on the other hand, they are so spongy that only three pounds remain out of ten pounds, and the efficacious ingredients are not present in such large amounts as in the fall. In the winter and as long as the plant has no leaves, the rhizome is considered "empty."

The gatherers dig out the rhubarb very carelessly. They pull all the larger stalks, those that are more than five or six years old, out of the earth and drag them along with roots attached to the camp sites. There the ring-shaped stricture where the plant part goes over into the rhizome is cut; then the rhizomes are peeled, all the hair

N.W. China AF 13
KalmyK

roots are cut off with a knife, as well as all the old leaves, everything that is, as the people say, "black." Thereupon the clean, wet pieces of root a few inches long are pierced with an awl and strung up on strings to dry in the air. Careful drying is of the utmost importance for the quality and the price. The bulbs may never be exposed to the sun. Thus, they are carefully hung up between the branches of cedar trees (there are no houses or roofs in this region) and where there are gaps in the branches these are filled in with twigs. If the sun dries the roots they are said to become black and the Chinese buyers will not take them or only at much lower prices. The buyers at the Dankar market cut them open in order to see whether they have any black spots. /343/ (1) Only pieces that are yellowish-

278 824 437

278 437

1. See in this connection: A Tschirch: "Studien über den Rhabarber und seine Stammpflanze" in Festschrift für Professor Ritter, Vienna 1904, and the report based on my personal observation: A. Tschirch, Arch. d. Pharm., 1907, p. 680 and Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chemie und Pharm. 1910, no. 12, "Zwei interessante Pflanzen des Berner Botan. Gartens," with a good illustration of Rheum tanguticum which was grown from the seed I gathered at the border of Tsaidam (near Dulan gomba). - Further, see C.C. Hosseus, Osterr. botan. Zeitschr. 1911, no. 12, "Die Stammpflanze des offiziellen Rhabarbers"; Arch. d. Pharm. 1911. p. 419, "Rheum palm., die Stammpflanze," Südd. Apoth.-Ztg. p. 239.

The pieces, which are peeled on the spot, are examined in Dankar and cleaned again, then packed in boxes which are sealed with oiled paper. All the exporters of medicinal rhubarb in Shanghai say that it is extremely hygroscopic. It must be very carefully handled in the moist coastal climate. There it is often re-dried in order to keep it from getting moldy, but then it often loses its quality. The so-called Muscovite rhubarb which comes over the Russian-Mongolian border and via Kiakhta travels through a drier climate and is therefore justifiably considered better, aside from the fact that it derives from North Tibet, that is, from the Rheum palmatum which contains 2.8 to 4 percent oxymethylanthrachinonen.

red all the way through bring a good price in Dankar. Twelve to

N.W. China AF13
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278 437 fourteen taels were paid in 1894 for 100 catties. At the beginning of this century the price in Dankar dropped to 8 to 9 taels. The rhubarb from Kue de brings 1 to 2 taels less because its rhizomes are blacker and are therefore considered less efficacious.

434 366 262 The Mongols and Tibetans use this rhubarb only for dyes, not for medicinal purposes. On the other hand, they use the stems of another kind which the Mohammedans call sche hoang, that is, stone-rhubarb, with leaves that are only slightly slit, as a vegetable.

On July 19 I left the Schang yurts. I had set Barun-Tsaidam as my next goal, in order to supplement my supply of flour, which I had not succeeded in doing in Schang. In Barun there is supposed to be more barley than in Schang.

We had some difficulty in getting started. The small animals had not got used to each other. The 37 head which I bought always tried to stray apart and head for any larger herd. It was a mystery to me how my men with unfailing accuracy always extricated my animals from a flock of many hundreds of sheep and goats. But the Chinese are good at things like that. It always amuses me to recall an example illustrative of this distinguishing trait. It happened at an inn in the lowlands. A guest and, of course, a gnaw widower had just returned home from market carrying his supper consisting of meat, eggs and flour, and the necessary fuel for it under his arm. He threw the bundle of twigs down in front of the door of his room. While he was in the room in order to fetch his cooking pot and pan, a policeman who was keeping the all-too troublesome gapers away from me, hoping to earn a good tip, got himself a stick from the bundle of faggots of my neighbor and paraded up and down with it at some distance in front of the gate of the inn. The grass widower returned. He took up his bundle and immediately discovered the damage. A mere glance, and he recognized his property in the hands of the policeman. Now, there was a second policeman with a similar stick in his hand, standing at the gate, but the injured man had immediately picked out the right one and also got back what belonged to him. The lies and excuses of the policeman were powerless against his plausible arguments. He was able to give a minute description of his firewood.

133 We traveled over low hills and a small saddle: at the end of our day's march we crossed over the Yogh'ore gol, the outlet of the Tossun Nor and the Alang Nor. The Yogh'ore Valley is wide and flat-bottomed, the river is /344/ divided into several branches and was now, at the time of the monsoon rains, rather deep. I had

825

825 ETHNOZOOLOGY--notions about animals (e.g., mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, insects); ideas about particular animals (e.g., snakes, fireflies); technological and other cultural uses of wild animals and their products; native terms for animals; associated behavior patterns (e.g., avoidance of snakes); etc. See also:

Collecting, hunting, and fishing 22
Animal husbandry 23
Public health and sanitation 744
Remedies for snakebite 782
Germ theory of disease 763
Vampires and werewolves 764
Animism 774
Native fauna 136
Proper names of animals 552
Animal divinities 776
Totemism 81, 779
Animal sacrifices 782
Development of scientific zoology 815

of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. 136
Strangely enough the Chinese peasants, often poor to the verge of starvation, seldom touch them, partly because of 262
the cost of powder and shot, and partly perhaps because of 136
the curious prejudice the Chinese cultivator has to eating 825
anything wild, for fear lest it should make him "wild in the heart." The ordinary Chinese appear much to prefer a skinny old chicken to a nice plump pheasant because the former is not wild. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon.

The T'ing, usually translated "sub-prefecture" and now 634
abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre 563
of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T'ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T'ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T'ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T'engyueh, nine out of ten of the T'ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.

Leaving Fop'ing the track climbs up the range im- 487
mediately to the north by zigzags to reach the pass about 133
a thousand feet above the valley, whence there is a fine view over a wilderness of mountains all around. To the N. and N.W. lies T'aipai Shan, a bare rocky ridge still carrying a good deal of snow in May. This pass (about 7000 feet) is

1 [pheasants - AWALYST]

826

826 ETHNOANATOMY--conception of ideal bodily proportions; ideas about the torso and its parts (e.g., belly, breasts, buttocks, navel, neck, spine), skin and pigmentation, hair (e.g., axial, body, facial, head, public), head and its parts (e.g., brain, ears, eyes, lips, mouth, nose, teeth, tongue), limbs (e.g., arms, legs, hands, feet, fingers, toes, nails), blood, veins and arteries, bones, fat and muscles, nerves and sinews, internal organs (e.g., heart, intestines, kidneys, liver, lungs, stomach); interpretations of physical abnormalities (e.g., albinism, clubfoot, cretinism, dwarfism, harelip, hermaphroditism, hunchback); associated behavior patterns; etc. See also:

Abdomen 36
Anthropometric measurements 141
Bathing and laving 515
Athletic sports 526
Race prejudice 563
Blood brotherhood 608
Blood vengeance 620
Taxing of trophies 727
Defecation 739
Surgery 753
Use of hair and nails in sorcery 764
Relation of body and soul 774
Development of scientific anatomy 819
Notions about the genitalia 835
Ideals of erotic beauty 838
Ideas concerning menstrual blood 841

/The Chinese/

N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
#563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
753 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
(172) body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
S 563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
765 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
(172) and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
#563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
172 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
S 563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
172 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
(278) principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the exis-
N 563 tence of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
753 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
172 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is dis-
S 563 turbed, disease follows.
753 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated popu-
172 lation, the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
(138) In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
N Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
(212) than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
114 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
163 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
165 Handbook.

C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

N The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
#563 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
164 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
364 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
S 563 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
164 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day
364

827

827 ETHNOPHYSIOLOGY--ideas about anal reactions (e.g., urination, defecation, farting); circulatory reactions (e.g., heartbeat, pulse); dermal reactions (e.g., flushing, fever and temperature, perspiring, shivering, itching and twitching, sloughing of skin and hair); facial reactions (e.g., laughing, smiling, grinning, sneezing, frowning); nasal and respiratory reactions (e.g., breathing, panting, sneezing, running of nose); ocular and auricular reactions (e.g., weeping, blinking, dilation of pupils, ringing of ears, secretion of wax); oral reactions (e.g., salivation, spitting, swallowing, vomiting, coughing, hiccoughing, yawning); ideas about digestion and respiration; notions about heredity; associated behavior patterns (e.g., scratching, congratulations upon sneezing); etc. See also:

Genetic and ontogenetic data 14
Drinking, smoking, and narcotics 27
Sleeping, elimination, and bathing 51
Sickness and therapy 78
Death and mortuary customs 78
Sex 83
Reproduction 84
Ideas about language 130
Gestures 201
Eating 264
Humor 523
Sorcery with excrement 764
Relation of breath to soul concepts 774
Taboos on looking, listening, and speaking 784
Development of scientific physiology 818
Ideas about sucking 853
Ideas about development and maturation 856
Cleanliness training 863

N
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
197 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
195 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeresdienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "Code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
S 563 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
195 romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads
(158) as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

N While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
563 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus),
538 Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated
subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

N The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
542 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
715 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
191 a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
(820) as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of Heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

N As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
563 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of
711 his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

829

829 ETHNOSOCIOLOGY--social philosophy; interpretations of the society's charter; native ideas about social relationships and social structure; concepts of society (e.g., social contract); notions about culture and cultural change; economics and political behavior (e.g., mercantilism), racial inequality; etc. See also:

Population policy 168
Sociocultural trends 178
National character 181
Social planning 188
Development of nationalism 619
Constitution 642
Principles of taxation 651
Policies of government regulation 656
Political movements 660
Jurisprudence 671
Criminology 676
Penology 681
Welfare policies 746
Theological systems 779
Missionary programs 797
Philosophical systems 812
Development of scientific anthropology, sociology, and economics 815
Educational policies 871

N
563 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history,
182 continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

N Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the
563 minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic
168 regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic
(641) group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities
N have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination,
(177) independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

Since the overwhelming majority of the population of
S 563 the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the
821 state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and
S 563 ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described
565 as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities
S 563 and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension
565 and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent outbrings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest
N has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.
823 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main
S and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation
563 among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such
571 a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China AF13
~~Sinkiang AI 1~~

we strolled between the flower-beds listening to singing 351
birds, which, alas! were in cages concealed among the branches of the trees. The arrangement of the garden was highly skilful and artificial. In one place a miniature mountain showed tiny paths connecting shrines and temples, all built to scale, while the whole was watered by the ramifications of a sparkling little stream, on the banks of which stood diminutive men, women and children—the whole happy-family scene conveying the impression of a life spent in Elysian fields, which no disturbing element could touch. A good 351
deal of the verdure in the flower-beds was supplied by 262
asparagus plants, known to the Chinese as 'Dragon's Beard,' which seems to be indigenous to Kansu, but [824] which, strange to say, the people do not care to eat. [137] Many are the bitter weeds, leaves and buds which the Chinese cleverly convert into palatable food, but the delights of asparagus have not yet been discovered by them, and it is distressing to a Westerner to see the shoots allowed to go to leaf without ever being cut.

The meal served to us was of the usual kind, com- 262
mencing with dessert and *hors d'œuvres*, and proceeding to chicken, fish, birds' nest soup, and sweet rice; then reverting to sharks' fins, seaweed, and apricot-kernel syrup; ending with plain boiled rice, rolls, and several basins of vegetable soups with meat balls, while on this occasion a seasonable dainty was provided in the shape of light fritters, made from the petals of the tree-peony. As we were by now on a footing of intimate friendship with these ladies, the social intercourse and delightful food thus prepared for us made a pleasant interlude coming between the exacting claims of the last days.

Late one evening a Suchow man of our acquaintance, 521
Mr. Li by name, called, bringing with him a gentleman 172

seeds of rhubarb in case I found any. 137

In the 13th century, already, Marco Polo reports that rhubarb was gathered in the Koko Nor region and from there sent to the rest of the world. In our time Prschewalski brought back bulbs and seeds as well as dried plants from the Koko Nor on his Tibetan journey in the years 1870-1873, and after that the Koko Nor rhubarb was classified as Rheum palmatum L. var. tanguticum Maximowicz. But in the course of the years the specimens grown from Prschewalski's seeds in the botanical gardens of St. Petersburg, Bern, etc., changed so much and became so similar to our ordinary Rheum palmatum hortorum, moreover, such a large number of new species have been said to be the original plant of the medicinal remedy we use, that the question of its origin still seems unsolved.

Thus, I was very pleased to be able to send Professor Tschirch an envelope containing rhubarb seeds which I had myself gathered in the woods between the rocks near Dulan gomba (37° northern latitude, 98°, 40′ longitude east of Greenwich), and that from these seeds, in defiance of all primitive methods of transportation, young plants came up in the Bern Botanical Garden, a year later and long before I left Tibet, which helped solve the problem conclusively. In the Schweizerische Wochenschrift für Chemie und Pharmazie, 1910, number 19, Professor Tschirch reports that from the seeds I sent him Rheum palmatum L. var. β-tanguticum Maxim. developed, in fact, that this species is so different from Rheum palmatum, that he feels inclined to classify it as a different species, as Rheum tanguticum.

Rheum palmatum is confined to Northeast Tibet, to 278
the highlands of the Nan Shan and Koko Nor, whereas the 324
very different Rheum officinale occurs in the more moist south and southeast of the Tibetan mountains. Hand in hand with the variety of species and climate goes the /342/ method of treatment of the bulbs once they are dug out. In Szechwan and South Tibet the root must often be artificially dried in ovens because the summers are too wet. In the north, at Koko Nor, the people who gather rhubarb take the greatest care to dry the bulbs in

S N 563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
N 771 and Turks.

N 181 While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as [829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

N [635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively [162] populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

N 181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were 166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu 167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

N 181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed [812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less N bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in [668] the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

THE FAMILY

S N 121 **I. Introduction**

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. 59 In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group 563 and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one 59 of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essen- 183 tial of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful 581 member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must S N enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does [589] not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group N and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, 59 furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. 182 The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he [554] is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is [589] likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, N there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably 59 best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and 779 Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you 183 sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships N within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or 593 wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. S A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward N society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, [829] he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of N the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put 592 in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his con- 593 trol completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect 592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of 593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly N religious person will not exceed four wives. 595 779 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the S loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a N man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected 779 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were 829 carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S **A. Family Organization**

121 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con- 592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of 592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some 563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic S 595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas- 563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom [562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make [152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov- 563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many [162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry [587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burhhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (10 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

/Mongols of the Northwest/

pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang. For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai, Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiritual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open, on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hilly or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent observations, which might add up to some general notions. In the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

The old superstitious belief that the Moslems are the sons of the Khan was not always lifted by the Moslems, but he and his family were treated with respect and considered as a kind of Moslem saint. Personal cards in their homes were signed with the Khan, the virtue of the Khan, the virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was some immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became more pronounced when a great deal of propaganda against officialdom was made.

At the same time, the whole area of Hsiao was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three Communist representative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Sung Dynasty. The Communist representatives were Chinese Moslems, and the old Hsiao's family was dispossessed. Chinese magistrates were appointed to have the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the taxes and convert the money into silver, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. The Communist representatives were to be the local tax-collectors and the men promoted to the people as improved measures of justice, but the Hsiaoists did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the feeling that some inappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to have had was given to the Chinese Moslems who had come with them. The Chinese were exempt were formerly imported from Moslem landowners. Finally, that dangerous thing as well known to the Oriental as a "bonanza of land" was formally given to people who had hitherto dwelt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on a rising.

Meanwhile, a local Chinese Moslem who was connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and was one of the Peoples Political Consultative Council, went to Hsiao to the Northwest in 1950 through Sinkiang. Hsiao, Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Sedentary Tibetans, Kazakhs, Mongols, Turki, Russians, Koreans, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of races, the people thought that the Communist Party was not good at dealing with the minority groups. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have any contacts with men. Fan says that the Chinese Moslems are not as a minority in a religion. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Children who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because they were considered immoral. Fan says that the Chinese Moslems have been conservative in the government and their resentment against the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials. Fan says that some connection with the government can command the service and materials of the small people. One who has a good relation with the local officials can be very powerful. The common people in these communities are too much and ignorant to act, and so forth. The social people in general are primarily concerned with bright and dark. Their attitude toward anything is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of the Communists was very favorable because they felt that it was a lessons to have been for the Communist and have great deal of possibility were of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that when they heard merely about the Communists was that the Communists were good people. They felt that the Communists were friends, and the old Hsiaoists were enemies. Chinese magistrates were appointed to have the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the taxes and convert the money into silver, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. The Communist representatives were to be the local tax-collectors and the men promoted to the people as improved measures of justice, but the Hsiaoists did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the feeling that some inappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to have had was given to the Chinese Moslems who had come with them. The Chinese were exempt were formerly imported from Moslem landowners. Finally, that dangerous thing as well known to the Oriental as a "bonanza of land" was formally given to people who had hitherto dwelt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on a rising.

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individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned property and government officials, the Inner Chinese government still clung to the shameful and parochial way of life without engaging in any activities. Because of the lack of a strong government, all kinds and conditions of evil people, such as opium smokers and arrestling women, from illegal prostitutes and professional gamblers connect their brothels and gambling houses into dens for robbers, thieves, and officials, and into hotbeds for recruiting crimes

/The Tibetans/

are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets and fruit are placed on it, and the bridegroom, in his turn, is led in to sit between her parents. The family retinue then introduces the friends and relatives by giving them tsatsas. Then the bride rides a horse or sedan to her new home, accompanied by relatives of both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the formality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratulations and tsatsas from the guests. The tsatsas given by elders are elegant inside the silk, those from peers of equal status are elegant inside the silk.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Tsatsas are presented to the guests, and a meal generally prepared. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the rein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctrine, is responsible for one-third of all human illnesses. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same reason, and to protect her against the wind, which is cold.

The child is fed twice a day, and nothing else is ever given. The name may be given by the parents, or by a lama or a shaman. With a few exceptions the sexes can be distinguished by the names for males and females. High lamas always give their names to children as a blessing. Lamas are also often the namers of a baby who is taken on the first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not customarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas. First, the corpse is taken from the yurt to the valleys to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant tsatsas to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant tsatsas to drive the spirit of death away from the house. Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bag, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend the rites.

244 CHILDBIRTH—(*See also* childbirth, attitude of the community, importance of first and subsequent births, preparations for delivery, place of birth; midwives, assistants, and excluded persons; role of midwives and obstetricians; onset and duration of labor; facilitation of delivery (e.g., pressure, massage); position of mother; use of drugs; use of instruments; cutting the umbilical cord; expulsion of placenta; disposal of placenta; separating mother and child; cleansing, bandaging, and medication of mother; care of infants; postnatal hemorrhage; treatment of baby (e.g., initiation of respiration, cleansing, swaddling); etc. See also:

Birth control	245	Hospitals	248
Sons and succession	246	Medical personnel	249
Birth registration	247	Special maternity clinic	250
Marriage	247	Obstetrics, Gynecology	251

/The Tibetans/

be half a million people. They live mainly on rice - in Sinkiang it is known as "Tibetan barley" - which, however, is fed to its sheep. Meat is the staple food of the Tibetans, and it is usually dried and ground into a powder, which is then mixed with butter and made into tsatsas. The tsatsas are elegant inside the silk. These forms perform of equal status are elegant inside the silk.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the third day. Tsatsas are presented to the guests, and a meal generally prepared. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the rein of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to Tibetan doctrine, is responsible for one-third of all human illnesses. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the same reason, and to protect her against the wind, which is cold.

The child is fed twice a day, and nothing else is ever given. The name may be given by the parents, or by a lama or a shaman. With a few exceptions the sexes can be distinguished by the names for males and females. High lamas always give their names to children as a blessing. Lamas are also often the namers of a baby who is taken on the first outing, to a temple to give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not customarily celebrated.

"Feeding the birds" is a common form of burial in nomadic areas. First, the corpse is taken from the yurt to the valleys to eat, the idea being that the deceased then rises to heaven in the stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant tsatsas to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the patient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant tsatsas to drive the spirit of death away from the house. Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bag, and as soon as he is dead he is placed in a corner of the tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed beside him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant prayers.

Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women are not permitted to attend the rites.

The position of women is probably most clearly expressed in the fact that for forty days after a woman has given birth she is considered unclean. She may not leave her hut for ten days and may not even sit out in her yard, for she is unworthy for the sun to shine upon. During the first ten days even the husband is considered impure and may not associate with anyone. If he is a shopkeeper, customers may come to him during this interval or, if he does not wish to do this, he hire a substitute for this period. (243) but he himself may not enter his shop or his place of business for this reason many Chinese husbands quickly set out on a journey when a birth in the family is imminent, in order to avoid the unpleasant consequences.

Only a few days after the return from the Gum burn monastery I walked in whose quarters the building; I had round the third and last courtyard with an adjoining small house, dried. His body was laid out for the next few days directly in front of my separate courtyard entrance, and then all the various funeral ceremonies took place so that I could view the entire proceeding at leisure. The lamas of Gum burn monastery and the practices of the sorcerers are here from Sherni, and so they were still considered strangers, they came from "down below," as the people of Sinning say. This, very well were not the lamas of the family and the family was not wealthy, so that everything was relatively simple and was done as quickly as possible. The ceremonies lasted only for one afternoon, after consecutive nuns were terminated.

The man had worked a rope old age and had then died very quickly. but his relatives had succeeded in observing the etiquette of putting on his should, a long, padded silk gown, while he was still alive and also had succeeded in carrying him from his bed beside the stove onto a small bench and laying him out in the center room of the main house, so that his soul might more easily find its way out into the open. Thus, at the very last minute his sons had proved themselves pious children. Immediately after the man died money was placed in his mouth, so that he should not be mute when he born, but he was neither washed nor were his eyelids closed. During the first few days he lay in the death chamber as though he had been forgotten, and the doors and windows of the room were wide open. All I heard during that day was the mass lamas lamas called and the words "father" and "grandfather," and on the first evening a long train of Taoist priests set out from the house, beating many lanterns, and gong, triangles and drums through the streets of the

846 FORMAL TAL CARE—care of postpartum mother during period of recuperation (e.g., diet, bathing, sexual intercourse, sex and food taboos), duration of lochia and 100-dayness; rites and presents; resumption of normal life (e.g., gradual, after 100-day-dayness, immediately after lochia); treatment of infant (e.g., rites between birth and slinging of umbilical cord, conceptualization etc, disposition of umbilical cord; treatment and disposition of mutilated infants; etc.) and behavior of father (e.g., couvade, etc. See also:

Abortion	847	Infant feeding	849
Adoption	848	Infant healing	850

V. The Tibetans of Chonghai

"A.) "The Family Organization

Among the Tibetans of Northwest China almost any form of marriage that will further the family interests is acceptable.

Property and the problems of serving it, avoiding the dissipation of family property, and the problems of marriage, birth, and death, are the motivations, and the nuclear structure of the family differs according to the ecological and economic conditions of the environment in this region is that of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried children. The family may also include several grandchildren born to unwed daughters. Considerable freedom is allowed to young people in choosing their mates, but marriage is accepted without ceremonies. Men will live with their wives and other marriage, and soon often bring their wives into the family compound to live with their parents. A polygamous man may bring his second wife into the family, but this occurs generally when the family has no sons.

The Mongu Dzoin Gerbert Gonpa, Gerbert Gonpa has no wife's family, and the family is omitted to the extent of having a family servant, a relative, or a friend. He calls the servant his brother, serves all of the work with his own family, and assumes all the duties and rights of a son.

Where polygamy occurs, the one wife will take one or more servants, or hired wives, who will each live in her own tent, if the husband is rich enough, and if they do not get pregnant. Polyandry is not uncommon, in this case, the nuclear family includes the husband and his brothers, and the wives are called "Gerbert Gonpa" (wives for wives) and the children who are all considered his offspring.

Tibetan families are not as large as either the Chinese or the Turkic. There are many attempts to explain this phenomenon, such as the prevalence of venereal diseases which have reduced the number of children born, the difficulty of the life, the difficulty of rearing children in such a difficult and hostile climate, some claim the desire to space until child "no longer needs milk" (ca. 4 yrs), others place the factor of polyandry and the celibacy of a large portion of the male population.

The focus of the family is on the sons, who provide for the continuity of the family . There is much greater degree of stability and permanency in the Tibetan family than there is in the Turkic family. Sons can fulfill obligations to the State, such as military service and tax collecting. They help to preserve estates and

848 ILLEGITIMACY—cultural definition of legitimacy and illegitimacy; frequency of illegitimate births; reasons for legitimacy; legitimacy and treatment of mother (e.g., outcast, concubine, wife, etc.); treatment of father; treatment of infant (e.g., rights of offspring, status of illegitimate children, etc. See also:

Illegit. marriage	186	Premarital sex relations	187

/Chinese Holiness (Dugsan)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise; noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight). Some people do not observe these. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Hulisks and Abuge adhere strictly, but most observe the rites. The rites are supposed to be performed in the mosque, but if one is too far from or too old to go to the mosque may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, the religious leader of the mosque, who prays pin is saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four people. Women are not allowed to pray in the mosque, but they may pray at home. Women are also forbidden to participate in the services of the mosque. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation. Women may be a number of women gathered together.

Muslims are not supposed to be present at any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before prayer is recommended. Prayers are supposed to be performed after have bathing places assured. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching a corpse, by sexual intercourse, by menstruation, by touching a dog, by touching an infidel, pig, dog, etc. Ablutions are required.

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period no food or drink is taken between the times set forth and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also prohibited. In mild climates, a meal is taken after the last prayer quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast. Pregnant women are not required to fast, but must make up the lost food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The day of the Hegira, the anniversary of the Prophet's death, commemorating or warning, persons doing heavy labor or whose times are in danger are exempt from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers improve and pass from "Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Muhammad said.

b. Dancing

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Muslim name. In Dungsang (Chinese) Moslems will be recognized as a people, and the proper sex fed. If the child is a male and he reaches puberty, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To serve at the name, there is also the child with in the toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/Chinese Holiness (Dugsan)/

the other. Then he recites the Shahadah (Creed of the Koran, and the Ahung is supposed to whisper into the ear of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the surrounding people. The ceremony is performed in the home of the bride's lamas, since the ceremony is performed. The Ahung officiates at the ceremony, and the Ahung officiates at the ceremony. Brides are taken the couple Muslim they agree to the union.

d. Roki Sir (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle (male) and carried to the bridegroom's house. Women always sit upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil and sits on a cushion. Her face is covered with a veil and gents, the bridegroom's relatives and friends. On the second day her relatives gentle, leaving to each one. Meanwhile the bridegroom's friends and relatives are assembled.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a girl who is engaged to marry another, or to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to a ceremony in which the bridegroom's lamas her from the influence of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese Moslems are supposed to be present.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed (ceremonially) and wrapped in a white cloth (shroud), she takes the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then placed in a coffin and carried to the cemetery (Gonpa) by relatives. Coverings are placed on the coffin, and the coffin is placed on people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of meat and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the hands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is placed on the ground, and the corpse is placed with head to the qibla (east). The coffin is then lowered into the grave.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on during the burial, and the grave is filled in the grave, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches. See

/The Tibetans/

*563 are arranged for guests. Barley is spread on the ground, sweets
585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to
sit between her parents. The family returns the courtesy of
friends and relatives by giving them katags. Then the bride rides
a horse or walks to her new home, accompanied by relatives of
both families. The newlyweds sit together to go through the for-
mality of a meal with wine and meat, then receive congratula-
tions and katags from the guests. The katags given by elders
are worn around the neck; those from persons of equal status
are slipped inside the robe.

When the ceremony is complete, the husband entertains with
a feast. Guests customarily take home meat or sweets after they
have eaten their fill. On the following day, members of both
families dress in their best and go for an outing. They visit the
monasteries, but do not enter. The celebration usually lasts for
three days, with feasting, drinking, singing and dancing.

*563 The birth of a child is celebrated with a small party on the
644 third day. Though girls are not ill-received, boys are generally
852 preferred. The moment a child is born, a very small quantity
(562) of barley flour mixed with butter is put into his mouth to make
(951) him strong and tough. A tiny piece of butter is placed on the vein
of his crown to protect him from the wind, which, according to
Tibetan doctors, is responsible for one-third of all human ail-
(853) ments. A thick solution of butter is given to the mother for the
same purpose. Tibetan women prefer to nurse their own babies.

*563 The child receives a name when it is one month old. The
552 name may be given by the parent, but preferably by a high lama.
852 With a few exceptions there seems to be no distinction between
(793) names for males and females. High lamas always give their
own names to children as a blessing. It is often on the name-
giving day that a baby is taken on its first outing, to a temple to
give offerings to Buddha. Birthdays are not ordinarily cele-
brated.

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764 areas of Tibet. The corpse is taken out for the vultures to eat,
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stomachs of the birds.

When a person falls ill, the lamas are summoned to chant
*563 sutras to drive away the evil spirits. If it appears that the pa-
(755) tient has no chance of recovery, the lamas are asked to chant
(793) sutras to assist him to be born again in the "land of purity."

*563 Before the patient draws his last breath, he is bound into a bun-
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764 tent by the entrance. Butter lamps and offerings are placed be-
side him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant
prayers.

*563 Funeral rites are held on the third day after death. Women
764 are not permitted to attend.
562

853 INFANT FEEDING--conception of lactation, milk, and colostrum; beliefs about sucking; initiation of suckling in newborn infants; stimulation of the flow of milk; routine of nursing (e.g., posture, intervals); feeding problems; treatment and behavior of the nursing mother (e.g., diet, sexual abstention); communal nursing; fosterage; adjustments to death of mother; supplementary feeding (e.g., age at beginning, appropriate foods and their preparation); method of feeding (e.g., bottle, cup, spoon); etc. See also:

Malnutrition . . . . . 146 Ideas about breast 896
Dairy products . . . . . 334 Weaning 862
Diet 352

/The Tibetans/

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585 and fruits on a low table. The bride, fully dressed, is led in to
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side him, and lamas keep vigil day and night, chanting incessant
prayers.

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562

854 INFANT CARE--care of routine bodily needs; cleaning; dealing with excreta; clothing and swaddling; provisions for sleep (e.g., cradles, cribs); playing with infants (e.g., fondling, dandling, rocking, crooning); emotional care (e.g., distracting techniques, methods of soothing, guarding against emotional upsets); watching and tending; "special dangers ascribed to period of infancy; protection from real and supernatural dangers; hygienic and therapeutic measures; methods of holding and carrying infants (e.g., on back, astride hip); distribution of care among members of the family; institutionalized care (e.g., nurseries); etc. See also:

Cradle songs and lullabies . . . . . 830 Disparagement 794
Primitive medicine . . . . . 751 Cleanliness training 863
Medical care 768

endless. In vain I looked for a bit of driftwood on the shore, which 000
even the Arctic Ocean casts up along the coast. The long, salt waves
surge and break on a dead shore and the fresh blue that contrasts so
sharply with the fallow autumnal green of the detritus slopes of the
mountains /82/ is a delight only on the first day. The magic of the
Koko Nor lies only in its remoteness from the world, in the difficulty
involved in reaching it, in the danger that today lurks on its shores!

On the afternoon of November 8 I reached the east shore. We T
finally found life again near the place where my present path crossed 101
the route we took at the time of our sudden attack in January. This is
the land of the Tibdia-Tibetans. We stayed overnight with them.
There was snow on the ground and the air was damp and cold.

Early on the morning of November 9 we crossed the Lala pass 000
(3,885); a narrow saddle in the rock mountains to the east of the lake.
The snow there was meters deep. From here the way led at once into
a steep valley overgrown with shrubs where around noon we already
found a few houses. By five in the afternoon I rode through the gate
of the western suburb of Dankar - the long, weary retreat had come to
an end. I felt as safe as though I were at home again.

Twelve kilometers from Dankar near a Tibetan town Lala, there
stands a lonely rock dating from the 51st year of the Emperor Kien
lung (1786), which marks the boundary between China and Tibet, but
the grass pastures on the slopes of the mountains reach almost up to the
walls of the city. Near the place where the border rock stands the air
grew noticeably dustier. A fine mist descended on the countryside
which lay glistening in the winter sun. In one corner of the valley we
came upon thick masses of loess and then a village of loess caves.
Finally we met Chinese, met a man dressed in indigo cotton clothes,
carrying a bird cage in which he was taking his beloved dicky bird
out for a walk.

The first question of my two companions was always: How was the
harvest? How expensive is wheat? How much are beans? The answer
was a happy one: We had a "ten-tenth" harvest. For a pound of wheat
we are paying only 15 cash (one and one-quarter Pfennig). It could
not be better. All at once I was in the midst of Chinese culture, sur-
rounded by purely Chinese traits and images. There was a peasant
with large round spectacles plowing by the wayside. Small, adorable 854.
Chinese children played in the thick dust of the road just outside the
gate. Their mothers let them play around half-naked, defying the
winter cold. The boys had a little iron chain with a padlock around
their necks, to show that they were chained to the family and could

C 854 not be carried off by evil spirits. There were other boys whose parents
had arranged their hair like that of girls in order to deceive the evil
spirits, for in China not even the devil bothers about a poor little
worthless mite of a girl. The important thing for humans and there-
fore also for the forces of evil is the son and heir who will offer
prayers and sacrifices on the future grave of his still-living father.

C 718 We passed little wooden boxes that reminded us of European mail
boxes. But nobody thought of mail at that time in Dankar. The
boxes bore the label: "Remember paper with writing on it!" and were
set up - as everywhere in the kingdom of 18 provinces - so that peo-
ple would not commit the sin of stepping on printed or written paper
C 203 which is sacred, as everyone knows. There was a huge proclamation
stuck to the first Chinese house we passed. It was signed by the ting
of Dankar and proclaimed to the people that the Dalai Lama of Urga
had moved to Gum bum. The people should willingly pay the re-
quired contributions /83/, and if the Fan tse accompanying the Lama
should be impudent, they should not immediately pay them back in
kind.

T 792 Life in the city of Dankar had changed very much. It was the
time when the nomads were in the habit of trading in their year's
supply of grain. Besides, at the news of the arrival of the Dalai
Lama, hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had arrived who were fol-
lowing him to Gum bum. Day by day the largest yak- and camel-
caravans arrived in the suburbs and again departed from the large
market place as fast as they could. Once 60 camels marched by on
the way to Lhasa, bearing gifts which the high priest had received
in Mongolia. Most of the gifts consisted of silver, guns and car-
tridges. On the backs of the animals gay yellow flags fluttered,
bearing the Chinese insignia of Hsi tien (western heaven), that is to
say: Central Tibet, and with that everything crossed the border
duty-free. The lofty lord seemed to have made good use of his time.

The Dalai Lama lived in the Gum bum monastery, but a large
part of his retinue stayed in the city of Dankar where the Lhasa
government in any case always had resident commissars. It is
difficult to say whether the latter represent largely commercial or
political interests.

T 766 Around this time a younger brother of the Dalai Lama died in
the city of Dankar. His body was cremated in a desolate mountain
gorge north of the city, and everything was carried out with the
greatest luxury, fit for a real prince. He was bound together in a

855

855 CHILD CARE--supervision, care, and support of children from earliest independence (e.g., walking, talking) to puberty; distribution of responsibility among parents and other relatives; institutionalized care (e.g., day nurseries); beliefs and standards concerning proper clothing, feeding, and housing of children; provisions for physical and mental health; protection from physical and social dangers (e.g., confinement, removal of dangerous objects); attitude of adults toward children (e.g., indulgent, indifferent, censorious); spoiling and coddling; mistreatment and neglect of children, etc. See also:

Discipline and training	86	Preventive medicine	761
Family relationships	150	Medical care	768
Care of orphans	736		

745 If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the
*563 workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of
197 how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

*855 Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests
*668 on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Communist society demands that women participate in industrial
197 and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were
(192) established which provide a place for the children during the day time. Government orphanages were established as well, sup-
739 plementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however,
*668 do not enjoy the benefit of attending the Communist society since
197 they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

87 EDUCATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the more formal and institutionalized aspects to the educational process, especially instruction conducted in schools, by specialized tutors, or through formal apprenticeship. For informal education see 86.

87

*563 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than
658 in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools
871 and students as of 1945 was as follows:
*175

Table 4

563 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945
*87
162

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uai-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu
*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

871 A. Education under the National Government
184 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage
871 of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was
*175 appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 141 primary

871

871 EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM--degree of development and elaboration of formal education; prevalent types of educational specialization (e.g., schools, tutors, apprenticeship); source of support of teachers and educational institutions (e.g., fees from students, ecclesiastical aid, private gifts and endowments); systematization of education (e.g., local school boards, state educational agencies, voluntary organizations of educational administrators); degree of standardization as to levels, policies, and curricula; primary objectives of formal education (e.g., piety, morality, citizenship, vocational skills, intellectual leadership); diffusion of education (e.g., educational statistics), etc. See also:

Literacy	212	Reformatories	738
School buildings	344	Philanthropic foundations	741
Public support of education	658	Sunday schools	756

N saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence,
*563 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
197 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)
186

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true everthough the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

B. History of Islam in Kansu

N There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
*563 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
195 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
174 (1260-1368). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as
197 early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte

N der Chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

N The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
*563 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
195 established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and
*175 Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
(148) (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but
the Tung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely.

N Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.
(148) When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
195 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
*391 madrasah (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
197 read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
(212) seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

S VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest
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S A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikoljs
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S 1. General characteristics

In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
(131) ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikoljs, who are farmers,
(131) merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
(131) intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
(131) related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a
second language and the merchants even speak Chinese.

*563 and a certain degree of reproach. On the other hand, prompt ob-
192 servance of the rites at least creates a feeling of fellowship. It
*167 is primarily a personal matter, but nevertheless, the entire community responds, just as in the case of the spring planting, and for the same reason. Each finds comradeship in working with the others in whatever concerns the welfare of the community.

There are farm villages in which live only Chinese Moslems.
*563 Physically, the community structure is similar to a Chinese vil-
192 lage. These Moslem villagers live in the same kind of houses and
195 do the same kind of farming. The streets of the villages also have
*175 a similar arrangement. But the Moslem people's religious-communal life is distinctively different from that of a Chinese village. In every Moslem village there is a small public building that is used as a mosque. In the morning the children of the village gather
(342) at regular periods to receive religious instruction. They learn the Arabic alphabet and phonetics so that they are able to read the sounds of necessary prayers and religious formulas, even if
(192) they cannot understand them. The Moslems are very faithful in their observance of the fast of Ramadan. During the fast, they
(196) eat nothing between sunrise and sunset. At night they eat a communal feast. The community fires blaze all night and people call and shout to each other. Before darkness falls, pious bearded men say their prayers in public places. One or two of the elders may preach the points of theology, quoting the Koran in oddly mutilated Arabic. On such an occasion the Moslems refer to themselves as "we" and to the Chinese in the nearby villages as "they" As in the case of the Chinese temple, the building and upkeep of
(194) the mosque is a communal matter. Assessments are made and cooperative effort is initiated; and, of course, as a project, it rivals and competes with the Chinese temple.

The Moslem villages are comparatively more organized, or show more community spirit, than the Chinese villages. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Moslem villages are administered by their village elders who always intervene in the meager relations between the villagers and the local or county government. The county government makes no distinction between Chinese and Chinese Moslem villages. The two types of villages have almost no
(578) relations with each other. There is always antagonism between Chinese and Moslem villages. The two peoples have been and
(195) still are mutually practicing segregation. Factors which are responsible for the antagonism or segregation are mostly religious habits and ideals. In addition, while the Chinese have a higher population gain, the Moslems are economically more successful. Both of these facts may be sources of jealousy.

However, in numerous economic activities, there is non-
*563 admitted cooperation or division of labor between the Chinese
192 and the Chinese Moslems. This has held true especially for
(192) Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill.

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

+175 +563 • 871 794 [558] During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

872 794 The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the [876] Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

873 794 The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-kāfiya (prosody).

[876] As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

873 875 794 [554] Those students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[879] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (hānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bāk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 • 871 794 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest China and their enormous monk population of course colored the whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus- * [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a [875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 794 • 871 [875] family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

792 794 872 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter 792 794 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there 873 are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the [558] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

792 794 873 879 The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes subdivided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajnāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones,' and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantrus and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[177] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

[806] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ñags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next [854] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery [177] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
• 871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
177 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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658 The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in
• 871 lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to estab-
177 lish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In
*563 Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüeh, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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563 According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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[162] Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

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Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

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During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

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Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
[874] al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

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college level:

Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia

A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

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The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:

Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

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The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

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B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area

The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

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rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'
"'This is the Red Flag.'
"'What is this?'
"'This is a poor man.'
"'What is the Red Flag?'
"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'
"'What is the Red Army?'
"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

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Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

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In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün Art College were their major institutions of higher learning. During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

S 175 668 871 [563] graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N *175 *668 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at N *[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by S 175 668 873 provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated [563] 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training S 175 668 874 classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational 873 cadres.

The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries N *175 for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai *668 over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in • 871 the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

S 175 668 871 162 563 Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
N *175 *668 • 871 162 *563 Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

N *175 *668 *563 162 S 175 668 563 162 This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

under the Ma family in Chinghai Province started with their father, Ma Lin, who devoted his efforts toward the promotion of education within the province. After Ma Lin died, his brother, Ma Ch'i, took over the administration. But when the war with Japan began in 1937, Ma Pu-fang was given the position of governor of Chinghai, and at the same time he shouldered the tasks of leading the Kuomintang and commanding the troops within that province.

Ma Pu-fang was a career army officer. He started as a commanding officer of a batallion, and gradually climbed up to the post of commander of an army. When his uncle, Ma Ch'i, was governor of Chinghai before the Sino-Japanese War, he became a member of the provincial government. When he finally took over the administrative job in Chinghai in 1937, he was one of the youngest governors in China.

For more than thirteen years, 1937-1950, he held the position of governorship. During his administration, particularly during the war years, he aimed at the following six main tasks: First, he organized the Pao-chia system not only among the Chinese and Moslems, but also among the Mongols and Tibetans in his province. Second, he trained the local militia for the purpose of maintaining local order. Third, he was very strict in carrying out the policy of elimination of opium. Fourth, he conducted the movement of compulsory education aiming at the total elimination of illiteracy within Chinghai. As a result of his policy, in a single year more than a hundred thousand people learned to read. In addition, there were 8 middle normal schools, 131 primary schools and 805 grade schools in that province. The fifth task was to construct highways, and during his administration, more than two thousand kilometers of highways were constructed. The sixth point was afforestation. Every person was compelled to plant five to ten trees a year, and as a result, more than seven million trees had been planted during those war years.

Being a Moslem himself and realizing the complexity of religions in Chinghai, Ma Pu-fang was cautious in his handling of different religious groups. On the whole he worked toward religious harmony, and his policy was one of equal treatment toward all tribes. He chose his personnel regardless of religion or race, on the basis of capacity and personality. Thus he was generally trusted by all religious groups in his province.

When the Communists began their campaign in 1949, they pushed their way to the Northwest. Ma Pu-fang was appointed director of the Administrative Headquarters of the Northwest, succeeding General Chang Chih-chung. Joining forces with Ma Hung-k'uei, he directed the defense of the Northwest. Unfortunately, all his attempts failed and by October, 1949, the

be any main roads leading anywhere from Lonan no difficulties were raised except over the prevalence of brigandage. Brigands are of course almost universal in China nowadays, but they are always supposed to be worst in districts marching with a provincial border line, such as those we were now traversing. But our party was too formidable a one to have anything to fear from local brigands such as these.

A long day's march brought us to Shang Chou. The track follows up the flat valley of one of the headwaters of the Lo Ho for 20 li, and then crossing a low rise, drops over the edge of the red plateau of Lonan into a narrow winding gorge hemmed in by bare mountains of red sandstone, which is followed until it debouches on to the valley of the Tan Chiang a little above Shang Chou.

Shang Chou is nowadays a decayed little place, though formerly quite an important centre, a *Chou* in charge of four surrounding *Hsien*. After the Revolution of 1911 the former *Fu*, *Chou*, *T'ing*, etc. (Prefectures, sub-Prefectures, and so on) were all reduced to the rank of *Hsien*, or district, of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, the class being determined largely, it seems, by the land-tax receipts, and, as many districts have been entirely renamed, most of the existing maps of China are in this respect out of date. Shang Chou, now called Shang Hsien, is a 1st class district. It lies in the valley of the Tan Chiang, an affluent of the Han River, on one of the most important trade routes in and out of Shensi, that from Hsian Fu to Lant'ien, across the Ch'inling Shan by two low passes, and down the valley of the Tan Chiang to the mart of Lungchuchai, whence boats ply *via* Chingtzu Kuan in Honan to the Han River, Laoho K'ou, and Hankow; though the importance of this route has somewhat declined since the railway from Honan Fu has reached to within three and a half days of T'ungkuan.

At Shang Chou we were in the basin of the Yangtzu, the insignificant rise on the edge of the plateau of Lonan being the Yangtzu Yellow River watershed.

We were here quartered in the local school, which, as we usually found to be the case, was easily the best and cleanest building in the place. The existence of a comparatively well-kept school house, with maps and educational

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING FICHE

S 871 563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

N *563 873 658 *175 • 871 N [669] Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

*563 873 658 *175 871 the first middle school in this area.

After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it became the center of secondary education in the area. The curriculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corresponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

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In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning.

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*563 and attached to these headquarters was a primary and a middle
• 871 school. The Moslem Promotion Association, discussed here,
*175 operated a total of eighty-three primary schools, twelve of them senior primary schools. They had a total of 5,300 students and 201 teachers.

*563 The main purpose of the government during wartime, in
658 bringing educational facilities to the Northwest, was to unify
871 and reconstruct the cultures of the ethnic minorities along Chinese principles with equal emphasis in primary education
*175 on citizenship training, language, vocation and hygiene. In secondary education, the Kuomintang government attempted to develop or initiate technical abilities.

During World War II the Kuomintang government showed some interest in the education of the nomadic Tibetans. Chiang Kai-shek induced some tribal leaders to carry a school tent with their tribes. These tents served as primary educational centers. This move was revolutionary, as it was the first type of education, or at least of organized education, to reach the nomadic Tibetans.

Up to 1945 the educational program sponsored by the provincial authorities was as follows:

1. In Chinghai: As of 1943, there were eleven nationality schools operated by the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association. These eleven schools supplemented the forty-four Mongolian-Tibetan Nationality Schools already in existence. Following the transfer of the Chinghai headquarters of the Mongolian-Tibetan Cultural Promotion Association to Yü-shu in 1943, six more nationality schools were established, of which two were directly under the administration of the association. In addition, the association established two training classes for teachers of Mongolian and Tibetan, one at Ta-t'ung and one at Yü-shu. Hsi-jao-chia-tso, with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education of the National Government, also established a training class for the teaching of Chinese language to the native teachers.

2. In Ninghsia: The educational program of the local authorities received a boost when the Yün-t'ing Educational-Cultural Fund of one million dollars was appropriated. The money, however, was in depreciated currency of the National Government and did not amount to much, but with it the provincial authorities were able to set up twelve Yun-t'ing Primary Schools which had a total of twenty-five hundred students. In Ninghsia the number of mosque schools was much fewer than in Sinkiang. Here there were, up to 1945, only twelve classes with a total of two hundred and forty students. There were two nationality schools, one at T'ao-yueh and one at T'eng-k'ou, one banner school and a teacher training class in the Alashan Banner.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*563 658 871 *175 3. Kansu: The educational program was more advanced than in the other provinces in the Northwest. The number of schools and students as of 1945 was as follows:

Table 4

563 87 162 No. of Schools and Students in Kansu, 1945

	Teachers	Students
1. Middle Schools		
a. Under Provincial Bureau of Education		
(1) Hsia-ho Normal School		112
b. Private		
(1) Northwest Middle School, Lan-chou	25	211
(2) Ch'ing-yun Middle School, Wu-wei	28	314
(3) Yun-t'ing Middle School, Lin-hsia	11	74
(4) K'uei-feng Middle School, Lin-hsia	9	68
2. Primary Schools		
a. Border Region Nationality Schools		
12 schools	85	2,124
b. County (Hsien) Nationality Schools		
129 schools	313	7,198

3. One mobile team of teachers for Mongols in northern Kansu

*(Ministry of Education, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

II. Chinese Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. Education under the National Government

871 184 During recent decades, the education in Northwest China has been backward compared to that in the coastal provinces. The educational standards within Northwest China also differed greatly. Generally speaking, the farther the people lived from the big cities, the less they were educated.

Even though the general Chinese school system was introduced also to the Northwest, in remote places the so-called schools were scarcely different from the old-fashioned tutor system.

658 871 *175 The provincial authorities were handicapped by the shortage of funds as they struggled to set up schools with what little was appropriated to them by the Central Government. In 1935, the Central Government appropriated half a million dollars for border education, and within two years the following schools were established:

In Kansu: A training class for village teachers and fifty-five primary schools.

In Chinghai: A normal school for the teaching of Mongolian and Tibetan at Hsining, two middle schools, 143 primary

[illegible]

873 874 *668 179 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 *668 179 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. [114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. [875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

[1] [See p. 323--Analyst]

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

792 the two monasteries there has been a total of five to seven thousand monks. These monks came not only from the immediate area, but were attracted by the prestige or teachings of the monasteries from Mongolia and other areas on the Chinese border.

792 Labrang prides itself on being one of the six major academic
• 871 monasteries in all Tibet. Ma Ho-t'ien even claims for it more complete systems of education and organization than are to be found at the central Tibetan centers of Ganden, Sera and Tashihlumpo. But this pride is modified by the fact that an academic degree of Geshe from Labrang is not actually recognized in Tibet proper. The Labrang incarnations, Chia-mu-yang, have generally gone to Depung in Lhasa to receive instructions.

792 Kumbum can rest on its laurels as a place of holy pilgrimage.
[778] Within its grounds is the rock associated with Tsong-kha-pa's birth; so too is there the famed tree that supposedly sprang from the shorn locks of the Great Reformer. Both monasteries
[423] own much land and represent great wealth. Some has come in the form of the accumulated gifts and donations of the pious.
[651] Still more is representative of taxes imposed over the years on their local subjects, for, like many of the smaller monasteries, these two are the seats of secular rule as well as religious reverence.

792 In return for the gifts and other revenue, however, the mon-
901 asteries perform many functions for their subjects and believers. In the turbulent conflicts between Moslems, Chinese and Tibetans, the monasteries have represented the effective military force of the area. Rijnhart, Ekvall, Ma and others who have been present in crises have all reported the efficacy of the fighting monks. Their strongholds serve as banks for the wealth of all in danger from looting; their armed force stands for the safety of Chinese, Tibetans and foreigners who seek refuge. Nor is there any perceptible hesitancy about the prospects of taking life when the lama war cry, "Sha-sa, sha-sa" (Eat meat, eat meat!), summons the monks to arms. Sometimes these armies
[669] were aroused by major crises, such as those of the Moslem rebellions in the late 1800's. They have also done battle against the Communists in the 1930's. And when no greater danger threatens, they are apt to do battle among themselves on an inter-sect or local rivalry basis.

792 But the hold of the monasteries cannot be measured solely
795 in terms of the social and political roles they fulfill. The religion of Lamaism is a very tenacious one. The complete conversion of Tibetans to another faith, be it Christianity or Islam, remains on a very small scale. Within the Lamaist structure, the hold of the older sects is the strongest, especially in areas that have remained outside the control of Lhasa. And underneath

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that
N area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely
[162] populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected,
N it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. More-
[871] over, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively
N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.
464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers
S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[166] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

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464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

S.Cable & French M-S (1926) 1927
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distinct classes—the lamas, and the laity. These latter are a wholly uneducated, spontaneous, and trustful people. Many of them would sit with us for hours, and would return again and again, bringing small offerings which they exchanged for coloured pictures. The layman is accustomed undeviatingly to shelve all responsibility in matters deemed spiritual on to the shoulders of the priest, who is paid and kept solely for this purpose, with the result that the lamas' whole existence being dependent upon the populace, it is to his advantage that ignorance and gross superstition should be maintained. Yet even among the lamas some seem to have aspirations after better things. There is one Living Buddha who stands out in contrast with all his fellows. He made a pretext to visit our tent, where he sat, spellbound, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son.

'The forgiveness of that young man by his father is a thing I can understand,' he said; 'but what of the burden of sin of previous lives, which binds us to the Wheel of Life?' 'The Lord Jesus Christ is the Door *out* from all the past, as well as being the Entrance *into* a new and an Eternal Life,' was our answer. He listened thoughtfully, and when he left accepted a copy of the New Testament in Tibetan, which he carefully hid in the folds of his red shawl.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE VILLAGES

On our return to Kanchow we found the wheat-harvest almost over, and the season now suitable for conducting classes in village centres. These were very

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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largely attended, as many as eighty men and women registering in one locality. The majority were illiterate. We therefore considered it best to insist on all students becoming first of all proficient in the Government Phonetic Script, by means of which system an illiterate can be taught to read in twenty days. During the three years we spent in Kansu, five hundred and twenty-three pupils learnt this Script in our classes.

The villages of Kansu are often exceedingly poor, and in one of the places we visited the people had sunk so low as to be threatened with extinction by famine. A few miles away from this village the wide Heh ho—Black River—rushes out of a mountain gorge, its waters being then turned into the large irrigation-canals which convey them to the various districts. Quarrels, resulting in lawsuits between the principal villages, had led to the loss of their rights on the river by this settlement. For three years no water had been allowed to come that way, and as rain is so scarce in North-West Kansu no farming can be done without irrigation. As deep poverty seized these unfortunate people, opium-smoking became their only possible luxury, and they were soon plunged in unspeakable degradation. Dr. Kao, with a band of young Christian men, hearing of their miserable condition, paid them a visit. He found their irrigation-canal having been dry for three years was now completely choked with all kinds of débris. Apathy had fallen on the village elders, and the whole situation appeared hopeless. A meeting was convened to which all the men came, and was opened and addressed by Dr. Kao. He told them of the love of God for each one of them, and of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ to free them from even the craving for opium. 'You must repent, pray, and work,' he said. 'We will now together acknowledge

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

pictures on the walls, in practically every district city throughout China (of which there are nearly 2000) evidences the excellence of the principles governing the administration of the country. In the middle schools English, the official "foreign" language, is taught. Unfortunately in too many cases the local school does little more than represent the principle of education. The Chinese have a well-known saying *Yu Ming Wu Shih*, which means "theory without practice"; this saying holds good of most things in China, especially those connected with the Government of the country.

The magistrate of Shang Chou at the time of our visit was rather a remarkable character, and a "Ta Ko" (lodge-master) in the notorious secret society called the Ko Lao Hui. It is improbable that any foreigner knows much about the secrets, the history, doings, and aims of the Ko Lao Hui, but during and since the Revolution it has been the great power in Western China, particularly in Shensi and Szechuan. Originally anti-dynastic, it worked very much in the dark in the days of the Manchus, and for a magistrate then to have been a member would have been an unheard-of scandal. With the overthrow of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui came out more into the open. The revolution in the West was largely their work, and the bands of the T'ung Chih Hui who rose in Szechuan against Chao Erh-feng in August 1911, and whose rising brought about the military revolt at Hankow which ultimately swept away the Manchu Dynasty, were Ko Lao Hui partisans under another name. On the coast the revolution was to a large extent a matter of hoisting republican flags, and whole provinces joined the republican cause with their Generals and Governors at their heads. In the West, thanks to the Ko Lao Hui, the revolution was a real rising of the people, led by some of their least desirable representatives, against their rulers, and was accompanied by much more bloodshed, including the terrible massacre of the Manchus at Hsian Fu.

After the fall of the Manchus the Ko Lao Hui reckoned Yuan Shih-k'ai as their chief enemy, and perhaps this was not the least of the latter's many admirable qualities. After his death their power and influence rose almost unchallenged, and at present they are in many parts an absolute curse to

487 Hui Hsien to the Chialing Chiang, and the other *via* Hsiho
133 Hsien, Chieh Chou, and P'ik'ou; these are all mule trails.

Ch'in Chou is the seat of a Taoyin, a General, and a magistrate, by whom we were most hospitably entertained, 871 being lodged in the local middle school. The latter provided quite luxurious accommodation, consisting of remarkably fine spacious buildings. There were plenty of students too, and the popularity of the government schools was here, as elsewhere in this remote province, very apparent. English, nowadays the official foreign language of China, is taught. I am not in a position to give any opinion as to the standard of the work done in these middle schools in Kansu but it is evident that they are more popular than the missionary schools, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. Immensely beneficial as the educational work of the missionaries is to the Chinese, it has the disadvantage, from the Chinese point of view, of being adulterated with evangelistic effort; so that the student, athirst for Western knowledge, has to swallow the Christian powder skilfully hidden between layers of scientific jam. Then there is always the underlying feeling against the alien institution, and also the fact that all the missionaries who engage in educational work in China are not always well qualified to lead their pupils very far. In Kansu missionary schools exist in only a very small way; but in some provinces, notably Szechuan, large institutions have been established, including a university. These remain, however, like the Christian Church in China, purely foreign institutions for the Chinese under foreign management, and for that reason are not always appreciated by the Chinese as they doubtless deserve to be; the latter would probably prefer that the foreign teachers should offer their services in the government schools.

487 From Lanchou Fu we had so far been following one of
133 the main trade routes of Kansu, but we now turned westwards *en route* for T'ao Chou on the Kokonor border, following a very rough mountain trail through the heart of the western extremity of the Ch'inling Shan. Our first objective was the little district city of Li Hsien, distant two days' march, lying on the headwaters of the Chialing Chiang and therefore in the basin of the Yangtzu.

Leaving Ch'in Chou the path runs up a bare valley

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
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609 The mother's parting threat to her son, when he left
596 the house, was expressed in these words: 'The day you join that Church you may order my coffin, for I will not live to endure such a disgrace.' His answer was: 'There is a way of life and a way of death. If you *must* choose the way of death, I shall mourn for you. But as for me, my path is that of Life.'

797 On our next visit to Fuyi we were the guests of the
212 Mandarin for seventeen days, during which time, at his request, we gave instruction in Phonetic Script to
871 both boys' and girls' schools. Although the town is small, the schools are important, and supply a number of students to the Provincial College at Lanchow. This visit afforded us the opportunity, under particularly happy conditions, to hold evangelistic services for children and for adults. The first Christian worship in Fuyi was led by Mr. Tu, whose name was in the mouth of every man of the neighbourhood. 'What *shall* we see next?' they said. 'Tu ru tao has joined the Christians!'

CHAPTER XV

NEARING SUCHOW

244 THAT same evening we left Fuyi for the city of Kaotai, which is the next important centre between Suchow and Kanchow. The fertility of this district can be judged by the daily market, where splendid vegetables of every description are for sale. This was the melon season, and half-a-dozen varieties of excellent quality were displayed in abundance. In view of the lean days to come, we stocked ourselves well with them, as also with carrots, celery, potatoes, egg-plant, and, for the

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The greatest object of interest in Hsingan fu is an ancient museum, the Be ling, the forest of inscription stones, a small cypress wood with pavilions and temple-like buildings in which for many years already hundreds of stone slabs bearing inscriptions and classical paintings were gathered together for official reasons into a gold-mine for Sinology. A few months before my arrival the famous Nestorian tablet had been hastily brought there from its former place in the western part of the city by 50 coolies because it was in danger of being taken along by an American collector. It tells of the great dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in China during the eighth century. Besides that, every stranger is supposed to look at the old governor's yamen in which Emperor Kuang sü and Empress Tse hi had lived during the Boxer Rebellion. After the court left, this yamen remained unoccupied because no one else was considered worthy of dwelling in the imperial rooms. The rooms were very simply furnished. On the walls hung kakemonos, flowers and luck-bearing Chinese pictograms, many of which the Empress Dowager was said to have designed and painted herself. In the courtyard of the one-time imperial palace I was shown a walled cistern that was many meters deep. In it - my cicerone said - the unfortunate emperor attempted to commit suicide in order to escape the torments of his aunt. Much more entertaining, were two festivals which were celebrated in the city while I was waiting there. One of them was a large parade of the Manchu garrison which at that time with 3,900 families (about 15,000 souls) occupied the entire northeastern part of the city; the second festival was a pupil and student celebration that took place on the old Chinese parade ground in the northwest corner of the city. On the one hand, the class which was at that time still in control and the banner people, the mainstays of the ruling dynasty; on the other hand, Chinese youth who were celebrating the end of their annual examinations, those new educational methods which were supposed to lead the kingdom of the middle, the Chinese common people, into new paths, to new bloom. In place of the old state competitions in which calligraphy and poetry and essays, interlarded as much as possible with quotations from the classics, were the dominating factors and determined the maturity and dignity of the candidate for the highest posts in the state, /329/ and for which one prepared privately, the Manchu had set up schools in which mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and political science were taught and examined. Now a general sport festival ended the school year of the elementary schools, of the preparatory schools, and of the

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•871 technical and cadet institutions, all of which together represented tremendous progress on the road toward modernization. Whereas, for reasons of state, an effort was being made to modernize Chinese youth and make it conform to Western ideas, whereas outside the 701 west gate of Hsingan fu two permanent camps of two Chinese infantry regiments drilled in uniforms resembling those of the Japanese army, in leather boots with side-arms and modern repeater guns, the troops of the ruling Manchu group stood before their chief commander carrying the oldest kind of muzzle loader, the cannonaders brought medieval muzzle loader canons to the parade, which looked like playthings, and in the cavalry division which was scantily mounted, every other man, at least, carried a flag that covered him up completely and a quiver with a dozen bows. Besides, scarcely 1,000 men appeared for the parade. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Manchu who pursue such a short-sighted policy and equip their own people so poorly, should have meanwhile been overthrown from their privileged position and succumbed almost without a struggle. When in 1912 the news reached Europe that the entire banner garrison of Hsingan fu was overcome and massacred by the Chinese in one night, one could, strictly speaking, only marvel at the fact that this had not happened before; it only showed that the Manchu as such were not so very much hated by the Chinese people and that they were impediments only for a few ambitious young Chinese and officials. In the 260 years of their rule the Manchu had become too completely Chinese in their entire thinking and feeling. The small Manchu group - in 1912 it did not even number one and one-half million souls including women and children and the banner men - had forgotten its own language almost completely and had cultivated Chinese literature more than any national dynasty before it.

205 204 The greatest change in China has been brought about by the introduction of the postal system and, in connection with that, the Chinese press which became possible only through the postal system. Whereas in Lanchow fu a Chinese seldom took a letter to the post and there were no newspapers either in Tibet or in all of Kansu and wherever I had stayed during my journey, in Hsingan fu whole cart-loads of magazines and pamphlets arrived from Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The people of the city pounced on new reading matter and all at once it had become a necessity for them. It was the post, the regular couriers introduced by the Europeans, who spread the new ideas and the changes throughout the country.

872

872 ELEMENTARY EDUCATION--tutorial education; primary schools (e.g., private, parochial, public); periods of instruction (e.g., terms, vacations, hours per day, days per week, weeks per year, years required for graduation); compulsory or voluntary attendance; objectives (e.g., universal literacy); curriculum (e.g., subjects and their progression); grading and advancement; educational aids (e.g., textbooks, stationery, blackboards); ceremonial (e.g., graduation); special institutions for very young children (e.g., nursery schools, kindergartens); etc. See also:

Books and writing materials	21	Ethical ideals	577
Religious beliefs	77	Civics	641
Traditional history	173	Arithmetic	803
Reading, writing, and spelling	212	Ethnogeography	823
School buildings	346	Informal transmission of social norms	867
Music	533	Teachers	875

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

*175 *563 871 794 [858] A. The Traditional Pattern

During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

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The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach 873 794 such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmāṭīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-qāfiya (prosody).

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792 794 • 872 The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter

792 794 873 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the [858] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

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The philosophical college does not procede according to the

658 schools.
871 In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan
*175 teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the
658 great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongol-
792 ian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan Peo-
871 ple's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the
166 coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from
871 Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war
[648] front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en-
[658] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 Under the school system of the National Government, chil-
• 872 dren started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better
658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from
873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation-
[874] al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

• [872] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which
[563] served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area
The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their
*668 own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as
177 follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	.2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

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3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

361 of which the eastern suburb has become the centre
563 of business with Turkestan merchants, who are all Moslems.

On approaching the city we passed a lovely temple retaining the old title of 'the Spring of Wine.' Its grounds still contain a reedy basin wherein sparkling waters continually bubble forth.

Through the great gate we entered this eastern suburb, a far more un-Chinese settlement than anything we had hitherto seen. At the inn doors stood groups of travellers clad in wadded coats of striped cotton, with loose trousers stuffed into high leather boots. They wore a species of turban, to which they owe the Chinese name of 'Chantow,' meaning 'Bound head.' Many had brown curly beards, but several were of a fair complexion with reddish hair and beard. They spoke a language utterly unknown to us, which we learned later was Turki, and has no resemblance to Chinese.

On the stalls cotton materials were on show, hand-woven in Turkestan, with patterns and colours totally unlike Chinese goods; rugs, too, and gorgeous saddle-bags, while many a Chantow sat by great mounds of dried sultanas, apricots, and plaited strips of dried melon.

346 The dome and crescent of a whitewashed mosque[1] now
522 appeared, and as we passed its doors a crowd of young Moslem schoolboys ran out. They had been studying Arabic and the Koran under the tuition of the 'Ahung.' All were strikingly goodlooking, but had an air of haughty arrogance never seen in Chinese scholars.

485 Every smithy was busy shoeing magnificent horses,
326 and all the inns were overflowing, the east suburb being the halting-ground where every traveller rests himself and his beasts, provisions himself for the exacting journey ahead, and repairs his carts and changes their

[1] [In Suchow-- Analyst]

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873 LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION--existence, number, and variety of institutions on the secondary and college levels devoted to instruction in the liberal arts; special objectives (e.g., inculcation of aristocratic ideals, preparation for democratic leadership, refinement of personal tastes, preparation for rational choice of careers); sources of financial support; administration; scholarships; curricula; courses and terms; educational aids (e.g., libraries); grading and advancement; degrees; ceremonial (e.g., commencement); student organizations; extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, politics, debating); special institutions (e.g., finishing schools; adult education); etc. See also:

Fine arts	53	Æsthetic ideals	517
Humanistic studies, philosophy, and science	81	Public lectures	544
Ideas about nature and man	92	Student uprisings	664
Cultural participation	184	Mathematics	903
Libraries	217		

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S N 635 186 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.

As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years, the extreme S 635 648 northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual conflict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N 49 361 178 The development of industrialization in present day China is concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N 647 816 The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955, that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureau and a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N 816 185 435 [648] Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for the economic development of the Northwest in the coming fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these

N [873] discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education, the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA: May 11, 1956).

N 161 B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.

The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55,749,000
Northeast China	41,732,000
East China	162,682,000
Central and South China	176,331,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

EDUCATION

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873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
875 may become ahungs, mudarris (teachers) or ustādh (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[779] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḥānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wanglyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmetulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wanglyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bīk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
871 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was cus-
* [563] tomary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[875] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
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The philosophical college does not procede according to the

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
* 873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[779] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations be-
[876] tween the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next
[554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[779] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery
[779] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
871 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
779 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
* 563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

S
871 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.
563 During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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563

1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
   a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
   b. Middle Grade Schools:
      (1) Middle Schools
         Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
      (2) Normal Schools
         Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
         Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
   c. Vocational Schools
      Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
      Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
   d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
   a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

N
*563 Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans
* 873 was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of
658 Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning.
*175 This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners
871 exclusively.
N
[669] A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

*563 the first middle school in this area.
• 873 After the revolution of 1911, the Chinghai Mongolian Academy
658 was renamed Ning-hai Mongolian and Native School, and was
*175 now open to other ethnic groups such as Tibetans, Chinese and
871 Moslems. In 1919 this school added a department for the training of elementary school teachers. Since the enrollment of Mongol and Tibetan children steadily decreased after 1919, the government ordered the Mongol nobles to send the children under their jurisdiction to this school. In 1926 the school was again enlarged, and renamed the Planning School of Frontier Development. After the addition of a middle school to this institution, it
*563 became the center of secondary education in the area. The cur-
873 riculum of this school comprised language training in Mongolian,
658 Tibetan and Chinese. Otherwise the school program corres-
*175 ponded to that of other middle schools in China proper. In 1929 the department of vocational education was separated from the school and became the First Provincial Vocational School. The Planning School itself was then renamed First Provincial Middle School. About this time other schools, such as First Provincial Normal School, First Provincial Girls' Middle School and First Provincial Agricultural School, were founded.

In 1930 the First Middle School provided a Mongolian and Tibetan normal division as a course of study; this division became in 1937 an independent Tibetan and Mongolian Normal School under the supervision of the Chinghai Bureau of Education. The authorities of the Chinghai Moslem Association, to eliminate the differences between the various minorities, established also their own middle school.

*563 There were three cultural organizations in Chinghai worthy
871 of note, namely the Tibetan Language Study Association, which
*175 translated the Three Principles of the People into Tibetan, and provided Tibetan school children with Tibetan reading and grammar books; the Tibetan Culture Promotion Association, which was founded in 1931 and which was supported by military and political leaders. Its objectives were to propagate the Three Principles of the People in a manner that would awaken the Mongols and Tibetans from their so-called backward cultural condition. A further goal of this association was to unify Tibetan and Mongol culture, and to maintain the physical existence of these minorities. Third, there existed a "Moslem Promotion Association which was primarily concerned with promotion of general education among the Moslems of Chinghai and their indoctrination with the Three Principles of the People. A further objective was to overcome certain racial resentments that existed among various minority groups in the area. Branch associations were set up in all counties (hsien) where Moslems live. The headquarters for all branches was located at Hsi-ning,

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schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

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Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

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During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest enjoyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

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Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocational schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

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658 or other professions to those who would enter a profession im-
873 mediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training
[874] for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 At the time the Communists took over, there were more in-
874 stitutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

[872] [563] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area
*668 The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as
177 follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

871 rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it
*668 with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-
177 school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

[212] Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

• 873 In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün
*668 Art College were their major institutions of higher learning.
177 During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

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September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

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Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

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1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationality School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education). The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

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The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking
into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area.
With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among
these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the
Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some
were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-
nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were sup-
ported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian,
a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such
as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even
anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian,
organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality.
In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed
on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government
rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this
authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect cen-
sorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their
rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at for-
bidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages,
with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page
and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and
articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscella-
neous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central
News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations,
little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous
pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which
carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation
of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials
and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao
published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
*668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
179 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

873 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology with-
*668 in the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its
177 main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

871 III. The Communist Period

*668 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest
177 1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.

877 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Commun-
577 ists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary"
*668 way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary
177 rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
177 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment,
facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a
teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
177 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was
sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

• 873 2. Higher education
*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
177 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
874 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
*[563] The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
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Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Before 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was renamed as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

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[874] In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

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873 The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
217 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
563 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
668 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
177 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

Table 6

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Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

C 641 668 771 829 in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. There are many followers of religions in China. It would be unwise, the spokesman argued, to offend them all. He repeatedly emphasized, however, that the world outlook of the Marxists is in every way contradictory to that of religious believers. The solution is, "the religious believers must abide by the Constitution and the law. The policy of freedom of worship must not be allowed to be used as a pretext for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... We must publicize among the masses of the Youth the materialistic world outlook.... The youths should thus be given an ideological foundation... to make them into... atheists and the heroic fighters of the Socialist construction undertaking." (Ibid., p. 28).

C 641 668 771 The Communists believe that by turning the young people against religion, all religion will eventually be eliminated when the present believers die. However, the Communists will tolerate or even participate in religious activities for reasons of expediency. In Northwest China where the influence of Islam and Lamaism is great, the Communists have gone all out to woo the Moslems and the lamas. For instance, when the Communist army N 641 * 668 771 795 marched into Ninghsia and Kansu, the commander of their First Field Army, Peng Te-huai, issued a special order to the whole field army to honor the Moslem religious habits. Not only were the Mosques not to be damaged, but the order even demanded that every soldier wash his hands before he drew water from a well. In numerous cases, the Communists spent much money to repair the mosques and the lama temples. In the Soviet China stage the Communists had disqualified every monk as a citizen. (see above).

N 641 642 * 668 C 641 642 668 Obviously, the general civil rights promise in the Communist Constitution are restricted. Mao Tes-tung's statements in his "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" leave no doubt about this point.

E. Practices

N * 668 423 578 • 873 Some instances of infractions of these rights may serve as examples. In 1951 some faculty members of the Provincial First Middle School at Sian, Shensi, grumbled in private talks about the "land reform." They said, "In the country, if you have two bowls of rice to eat, you will not have peace." Because of this, Vice-Commissioner Lu Ch'in-liang of the Bureau of Culture and Education of Shensi Province wrote a special article and published it in the local newspaper. He severely criticized the tolerance of the administrators and accused the school of being a hiding place for counter-revolutionary ideas and opinions. Special groups were organized by the Northwest People's Supervisory Committee and the Northwest Department of Education to investigate the school. A special criticism was published in the nation-wide Party magazine, Hsüeh-hsi. As usual, this would indicate that a serious purge took place.

S 175 668 871 [563] graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N *175 *668 • 873 Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher education in the Northwest. The most important was the Northwest Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950, it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals." (Ch'un-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at N *[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by S 175 668 873 [563] provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It graduated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Government and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist S 175 668 874 873 Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nationality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational cadres.

N *175 *668 871 The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in the people's governments.

*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

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*175 in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*668 January 8, 1952).
*563 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
162 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
631 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
S The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
175 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
668 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
563 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

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*175 A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*668 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
578 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-N nghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950),that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

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*668 detain, punish or evict them... ("The Provisional Regulations Governing Organization of Security Committees" proclaimed on August 10, 1952 by the Ministry of Public Safety of the CPG, NCNA, Peking, August 10, 1952.)

Besides these auxiliary police forces, there are People's Supervision Correspondents and People's Denunciation Reception Rooms. People's Supervision Correspondents are recruited from every branch of government organs, enterprises and people's popular bodies in towns and villages. The members are selected from among the activists. "The tasks of the People's Supervision Correspondents are to investigate all cases of violation of laws and discipline and damage to the state and people's interest such as graft, waste, bureaucracy and dereliction of duty by government organs, enterprises and their personnel, as well as to canvass the opinions of the masses on the implementation of government policies and laws, report them to supervisory organs of a superior level and to leading officials of their own departments and to assist them in the disposal of cases. The methods for studying and discovering problems are: (1) to observe and discover problems through their own activities; (2) to regularly go deep into the masses to discover problems and listen to the views of the masses; (3) to collect accusations and appeals from the masses through people's opinion boxes; (4) to maintain close contacts with the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms, and to cooperate with the latter in work." (NCNA, Peking, August 25, 1952.)

The same source adds "The principal task of the People's Denunciation Reception Rooms is to receive and dispose of accusations and appeals from the masses."

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625 These police forces are supported by the regular People's Liberation Army and the militias. The militias are local self-
*668 defense corps who, according to Peking, Jen-min jih-pao, August 10, 1952, p. 18, cannot be separated from production. They are those who must engage in productive work, such as farming or handicraft, to make a living. They provide a powerful auxiliary force for the army and regular police.

*668 Augmenting all these organizations is the persistent program
[674] of indoctrination. The Communists realize that every crime committed now is politically harmful to their regime, so they have instituted numerous programs in education and propaganda to fight against crime. Reading the "new" moral standards set up
• [873] for high school students by the Communist Ministry of Education (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: Jen-min chiao-yu, or People's Education, monthly, July issue of 1955, p. 46. "The moral standard of the middle school students" promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.) is like reading something from the past. Absolute loyalty to the government, strict obedience to authorities, extreme care not to

361 over the mountain slopes, and then a sudden bend of the valley reveals the gilt-roofed temples and huge barrack-like constructions of the great monastery. The buildings are, I should say, without parallel in the whole of China for magnificence, solidity, and size, and present a most startling appearance in that wild and sparsely populated region of mountains and grass-lands.

Labrang (Chinese Labalang Ssu) lies at an altitude of about 9000 feet in the valley of the Tahsia River just below the level of the grass-lands which commence immediately to the west. It is a regular town in itself containing over 3000 monks as well as a considerable floating population of visiting Tibetans, hundreds of whom were at the time of 792 our visit encamped in the neighbourhood. The monastery is the most important religious centre between Lassa and Urga, not excluding the better known establishment of [873] Kumbum (T'a-erh Ssu) near Hsining. It contains a university which attracts students from all parts of Tibet and Mongolia, and even Siberia. The monastic authorities exercise control over the neighbouring Tibetans and until recently over Chinese as well. Of late, however, the chief lama, a Reincarnation (referred to as a Hutukotu by the Chinese), has fallen much under the influence of the Mahomedans of Ho Chou, and the monks are no longer as unruly and hostile to foreigners as formerly; at the time of our visit they had even applied for the establishment of an agency of the Chinese Post Office at Labrang. All the same it is advisable for foreign visitors to be provided with an introduction from [443] some Tibetan or Mahomedan authority. A li or two from the monastery is the usual Chinese, or rather Mahomedan, 792 bazaar. These large monasteries on the Kokonor border are commercial as well as religious centres, and the Chinese 438 trading villages attached to them resemble in a way the foreign settlements attached to Chinese cities opened to foreign trade. This border trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Mahomedans, and even where the Chinese take a hand in it, it is through the agency of Mahomedan middlemen, called *Hsiehchia*, who travel amongst the Tibetans further west, and barter Chinese wares for their produce, especially wool. There are many queer tales about Labrang to be heard locally.

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874 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--institutionalized vocational apprenticeship (e.g., skills thus taught, terms and conditions of apprenticeship); number and variety of educational institutions specialized for vocational training; general types (e.g., trade schools, correspondence schools, professional schools); special types (e.g., barber schools, secretarial schools, radio schools, police schools, social work schools, business schools, journalism schools, agricultural schools, military schools, art schools, normal schools, engineering schools, divinity schools, law schools, medical schools, graduate schools); sources of support; administration; courses and curricula; degrees; facilities; etc.

See also:

Occupational specialization	463	Physicians	789
On-the-job training	466	Priesthood	793
Craft guilds	467	Applied science	816
Lawyers	693	Informal transmission of skills	868

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

658 871 *175 schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

563 658 792 871 Special attention was paid to the education of the lamas in the great monastery of Labrang, at Hsia-ho in Kansu. The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission organized a Tibetan People's Cultural Association which helped to set up a vocational school and a political training class for young lamas. In the field of political instruction, the Central Political Institute also established a Mongolian-Tibetan School at Sining, in Chinghai, with a branch at Suchou, in Kansu.

*175 166 871 During the war against Japan, with the migration of the coastal population inland, universities and middle schools from Peking and other places moved to the Northwest. When the war front was more or less stabilized after 1938, the Northwest en- [648] joyed a comparatively stable peace. These "immigrants" built [658] up cultural centers such as Ch'eng-ku, Ku-lu-pa in Shensi; and with the mass education movement promoted by the National Government, education in the northwest was greatly improved both in quantity and in quality.

658 872 Under the school system of the National Government, children started school when they were a full six years old. Before that age they might go to kindergarten if there were such facilities and if the parents could afford it. But at six the government required every child to attend the first grade. The free and compulsory education covered the first four grades, which were called junior primary school. The fifth and sixth grades were classified as senior primary school. A school with all six grades was called a complete or central primary school. In the Northwest, the National Government made a real effort during the war to push toward the goal of one junior primary school in every pao (approximately one hundred families) and one central primary school in every town or hsiang (administrative village). By the end of the war, all children with the exception of those in really remote areas had a chance to attend a junior primary school, even though some of these schools were of low caliber. As the central primary schools were limited in number, only the luckier ones who either lived close by or were financially better 658 off could enter the fifth and sixth grades. After graduation from 873 the sixth grade, there was quite a hurdle to clear before one could enter the secondary schools. Entrance examinations were difficult because the facilities were so limited that only selected children could be admitted. The secondary schools included three types: the middle schools; the vocational schools, and the normal schools. The middle schools were meant for a selected group, as preparation for more advanced studies. The vocation- [874] al schools offered training in agriculture, industry, commerce

658 or other professions to those who would enter a profession im-
873 mediately after graduation. The normal schools offered training
[874] for grade school teachers. Each of these three types of schools was divided into two periods of three years each, the junior and the senior. In the Northwest, the government pushed toward the goal of having at least one junior secondary school in each county, and a senior secondary school at every center of each of the provinces. Not only were the normal schools free of tuition, but the government supplied board, room, books and even pocket money against the obligation to teach for a certain number of years.

873 Of institutions of higher education before the war, there was a National Northwest Junior Agricultural College in Wu-kung, Shensi, with modern buildings, equipment and vast experimental farms. In Sian, Shensi, there was the National Northeast University which had moved from Mukden to Sian after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In Lanchou, Kansu, there was a college with very low standards. In Urumchi, Sinkiang, there was the Sinkiang College.

After the war broke out in 1937, the Northeast University moved from Sian into Szechwan. But three other important institutions moved into Shensi, the National Peking University (Peiping), the National Peiping Normal University and the National Peiyang University of Tientsin. These three were combined to form the Northwest United University (later called Northwest University) and stayed in Ch'eng-ku, Shensi. Later the engineering school was separated to form the Northwest Engineering College, with its campus at Ku-lu-pa, Shensi.

873 At the time the Communists took over, there were more in-
874 stitutions of higher education in the Northwest than ever before. The following list shows the increase of these schools during the war and post-war years:

1. Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
2. Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
3. Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu
4. Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
5. Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
6. Sinkiang Provincial College, Urumchi, Sinkiang
7. Northwest Agricultural Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu
8. Shensi Provincial Junior Commercial College, Sian, Shensi
9. Shensi Provincial Junior Normal College, Sian, Shensi
10. Shensi Provincial Junior Medical College, Sian, Shensi
11. Private Northwest Pharmaceutic Junior College, Sian, Shensi

(Ministry of Education: Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

In addition, in 1946, were the following institutions not of

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schools.

In Ninghsia: Two training classes for Mongolian and Tibetan teachers and fourteen primary schools.

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[874]
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873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

[872 563] The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area
*668 The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as
177 follows:

"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
177 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
*668 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected
177 from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

873 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
*668 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
177 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
• 874 The second includes political training institutes. The third in-
*[563] cludes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

N 873 874 *668 177

Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

S 874 668 177

In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

S [743]

N 873 874 *668 177

The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

873 874 *668 177

September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 *668 177

Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

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[1] [See p. 323--Analyst]

Table 6

Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

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*175 in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*668 January 8, 1952).
*563 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
162 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
631 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
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• [874] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
175 Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
668 The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
562 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
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N B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres
*175 A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*668 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
598 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950), that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

875

875 TEACHERS--number of general and specialized teachers; degree of training and proficiency; social status of teachers (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); mode of selection; fees and salaries; tenure and advancement; degree of academic freedom; organization (e.g., associations, unions); extracurricular activities (e.g., research, community activities); etc. See also:
Government pensions . . . . . 657 Normal schools 874

Those
873 students who go through six to ten years of continuous studies
• 875 may become ahuñgs, mudarris (teachers) or ustāḏ (honorary
794 title of recognized teachers). Generally, the erudition of these
[554] teachers does not seem to be very high. Hence idioms like "ahmaq min mu-allim kittāb" (more stupid than a school teacher).

[879] Islamic laws regulate strictly the position and conduct of a teacher. He has to be married; he is permitted to teach only in public places (ḫānūt) with big windows, so the community can watch his activities; he is not allowed to use children as servants or engage them otherwise except in school work without the consent of their parents. Occasionally, however, parents have their children serve the teacher instead of paying the regular fees.

Kashgar has a fairly well-known school, the Wangłyq Medrese, whose fame was not confined to Sinkiang alone when Bohā'eddīn Makhdūm taught there, but spread as far as Istanbul and Cairo. Another famous Moslem scholar, Rāmctulla Akhun, the leading jurist ('ilmi fiqh) of his time, taught at Wangłyq. The Kichiq Orda (Little Castle) Medrese in Yarkand was also a well-known seat of higher learning. Also called Yeshil (Green) Medrese, it was founded by Baisi Bēk, the hākim (judge or physician) in 1820. While the quality of the medreses of Kashgar and Yarkand have steadily declined during the last decades, the medrese of Aqsu has maintained its reputation to the present because the core of its faculty are scholars from Afghanistan who received their training at the Al-Khazar University in Cairo.

2. Monastic academies of Lamaism

792 The high number of Buddhist monasteries all over Northwest
801 China and their enormous monk population of course colored the
794 whole educational system of the Northwest. These monasteries were not only institutions of higher learning, but they also served as libraries and printing houses.

Kumbum (Tib.: sKu-'bum-Byams-pa-gling; Chinese: T'a-erh-ssu) was the chief monastery in the Northwest. It was customary in Chinghai for every Tibetan family to send its second
*563 son to this monastery. At the age of eight the boy was admitted after a strange ceremony, which included questions like the following: Are you a debtor or a slave? Are you a hermaphrodite? Are you a demon or an all-knowing spirit? Did you ever treat your parents badly? Did you ever rob or steal? Did you ever belong to a heretic sect? After having answered these questions satisfactorily he received five objects, which henceforth were his only property: an alms-bowl, underwear, a
[879] tunic, a mattress and a water sieve. Then one of the ordained lamas was presented to him as his future tutor, whom his

792 family were to pay, and the boy's welfare depended largely upon
794 the amount his parents were able to pay. Sons of poor families
871 who could pay perhaps only one yak a year had to do menial
• [875] work as water carriers, cow-dung collectors, straw and grass carriers, housekeepers and so forth, to pay for their lessons.

The years between eight and eighteen, the usual length of the
792 novitiate, were given to attending an elementary school where
794 the pupil learned to read, write and recite prayers. He was to
872 learn forty chapters of the Kanjur from memory. During this time he was called a bande, or novice. Then he might enter
792 the "Lamaistic college" to become a getsul, a stage between a
794 novice and a fully ordained bLama. Or he might return to his
873 home village or camp to become a house lama, of whom there are thousands, who are supported by a single family. If he chose to become a getsul he might continue to study and become a gelong, a fully ordained lama, entitled to wear the precious yellow tunic with a black collar.

Kumbum has four colleges: a philosophical college, a college of church service and occult sciences, a college of canonical literature and a school of medicine. One must go through the philosophical college before he may enroll in the college of church service and occult sciences, and must go through these two successfully before he may enter the college of canonical literature. The usual characteristics of those who enter the
[58] school of medicine are a pathological personality, epilepsy or other abnormality.

The philosophical college (Tib.: tsan-nyid) offers the study
792 of the Kanjur. [The Kanjur consists of one hundred volumes sub-
873 divided into one thousand eighty-three chapters. Volumes one to
879 thirteen contain the chapters about conversion and reclaiming (Tib.: dul-wa), the discipline and moral duties of the monks. The volumes from fourteen to thirty-four constitute the Prajñāpāramitā, which deals with the "road to virtue" leading to the "other shore," to Buddhahood and to that subtile and "transcendental wisdom" which is "without any characteristics," through which "all differences, contrasts, antagonisms, contraries, antithesis and contradistinctions" disappear, where all categories of thinking are empty, where heart and mind become silent like "the surface of a tranquil and placid sea." Volumes thirty-five to thirty-eight are called the Club of the Buddhas, volumes thirty-nine to forty-four are called Construction of the Precious Stones, and the volumes forty-five to seventy-six contain narrations on how to gain the nirvana. The volumes seventy-seven to ninety-eight contain the tantras and dharanis, sentence of anathemas and magic formulas, and the last two volumes are the exegetics and exposition of the tantras and dharanis.]

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[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
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171 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
• [875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

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171 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
[562] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was
*563 sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to
[526] 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

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*668 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
170 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
874 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
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The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

873 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students trans-
874 ferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agri-
*668 cultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular
177 college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among
*668 the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have in-
177 creased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7.[1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand.
[114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. *One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the* mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct.
[875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

1. [See p. 323--Analyst]

876

876 EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND METHODS--dominant and alternative theories of education; favored methods of instruction (e.g., collective recitation, rote memorizing, systematic classification, case analysis); system of rewards (e.g., praise, prizes); prevalent and eschewed methods of punishment (e.g., ridicule, corporal punishment, deprivation of privileges); special techniques for handicapped and backward pupils; educational psychology; examining and testing methods; use of visual and auditory aids, degree of individuation in instruction (e.g., cultivation of uniformity, encouragement of independence and initiative); educational experiments and innovations (e.g., progressive education); etc. See also:

Informal techniques of instruction 86
Evidence on habit formation 153
Educational motion pictures 546
Social control 626
Ethnopsychology 828

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious rituals. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 • 88 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [675] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

EDUCATION

I. Nationality Education in Pre-Communist Times

A. The Traditional Pattern

*175 *563 871 794 [658] During the Manchu period, education in the Northwest was characterized by permissive and non-interfering policies of the government. This meant that the minorities were able to maintain and develop their own educational systems. During this period schools connected with the mosques, in the case of the Moslems, and the monasteries, in the case of the Buddhists, were the primary educational institutions. The minorities were allowed to formulate their own educational principles. It may be noteworthy that in the Manchu period, eighteen medrese, mosque schools, existed in Kashgar alone. Reading and writing were taught in these schools, and up to two thousand students were enrolled in the schools in any given year. The total number of medrese in the Northwest during the Manchu rule is unknown, but it is safe to say that each Moslem community had at least one educational institution.

1. Moslem schools

872 794 The Mohammedans have two kinds of school. The mekteb, elementary school for children, is administered by the local mosque. These schools provide education for all male children older than six. Since 1923 the Mohammedans have initiated the same educational provisions for girls.

The program of a mekteb comprises, first, the memorizing of a surprisingly high number of suras (chapters of the Koran), then the study of the Arabic alphabet, which is used by the Uighur. By memorizing various suras the pupils acquire some • [876] hundred Arabic words by the end of the first year, though their meanings do not become clear until the fifth year when the teaching of Arabian grammar is begun. Between the fifth and tenth years the curriculum covers advanced Koran exegesis, the history of Islam, geography and basic arithmetic.

873 794 The medrese, the institutions of higher learning, also teach such familiar subjects as al-mantik (logic), al-arithmātīkī (arithmetic), al-handasa (geometry), al-hai'a (astronomy), al-ṭibb (medicine), al-falāḥa (agriculture); also some subjects which are specifically Islamic in nature, such as al-kalām (theology), al-taṣawwuf (ceremonies or practical theology), 'ilm al-ilāhīyāt (metaphysics), al-'arūḍ (metrics) and al-ḳāfiya (prosody).

[876] As in elementary schools, the method of education consists primarily of learning by rote (talkīn) and dictation. Those

792 arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with
794 the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.:
873 C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each
[179] student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

• [876] An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan nags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next [554] college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

[179] To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery [179] showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural byproducts. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

658 The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that
891 the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational sys-
179 tem as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Educa-
*563 tion became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

877 and the people.
579 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.
179 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

• 876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
179 a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

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*668 796 656 Furthermore, in places where restrictions are exercised over the slaughter of cattle and sheep, these restrictions may be relaxed.

*668 484 648 *563 B. Guided Tours

Representatives of national minorities from northwest China are invited to visit Peking and other urban centers of north and east China. They are guided to see the factories, schools and palaces of historical interest. After being deeply impressed they are sent back to their homes. They often become good native propagandists for the Party.

*668 208 • 876 C. School Programs

In local schools, the pupils are not spared from propaganda. For instance, in the Mongol schools in the province of Chinghai:

"In mathematics, the number of American and bandit Rhee's troops annihilated by the Chinese and Korean people's armies in Korea and the construction figures in Chinghai were made into questions for the students and the masses to solve. By this way, they not only learned mathematics but they also retained in their minds the victorious results of our war and the great achievements in construction following the liberation." (Sian, Ch'un-chung jih-pao, March 30, 1952.)

*668 208 D. Other Methods

The whole propaganda system generally functions as follows. When the Party central committee decides to promote certain propaganda, it orders the reporter at every level of the Party organization to report the party line to the people inside as well as outside the Party. Then the propagandists and activists all go out to do the work. This can be done in various ways, according to the situation. In factories, it may be a kind of question and answer. The workers might be asked to check each other with these questions until all got the right answers. In streets, it might be in the form of door-to-door visits and "casual chats." While these were going on, the people would be bombarded daily with the same theme in newspapers, blackboard newspapers, wall newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, pictures, cartoons, radio broadcasts, concerts, lantern slides, movies, plays, operas, story-tellers, picture-story books, street meetings, signature drives, production competitions, challenges, counter-challenges.. and a lot of other devices to drive the point home.

V. The Campaigns and Contents of Propaganda.

A. Campaigns

1. Destruction of organized resistance

The contents of propaganda follow the shifts in the Party line.

877

877 STUDENTS--composition of the student body; number of general and specialized students in an academic institution; organizations and associations (e.g., student unions); leadership; social status of students; sources of financial support (e.g., private funds, scholarships, fellowships, etc.); degree of academic freedom; extracurricular activities; living and dining accommodations (e.g., dormitories, off-campus housing, sororities and fraternities, etc.); student-community relations; student-faculty relationships; group values and behavior characteristics (e.g., political and social activism, etc.); etc.
See also;

Adolescence and adulthood	80	Ethical norms	577
Adornment	30	Individual behavior characteristics	15
Athletic sports	526	Informal ingroup justice	627
Brawls and riots	579	Sex	83
Community structure	621	Socialization processes	86
Delinquency	739	Social relationships and groups	571
Dress	291	Social status and roles	554
Drinking	273	Sodalities	575
Drug use	276		
Education	87		

873 *668 177 strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology within the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

III. The Communist Period

871 *668 177 A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.

• 877 577 *668 177 The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Communists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary" way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

877 and the people.
577 2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and
*668 the people's leader.
177 3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

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7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

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12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

876 Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the
*668 promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi,
177 a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

876 lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students
*668 thus treated have been reported.
177 Another factor which influenced education was the austerity
[762] movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi
871 some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms
*668 with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by
177 fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office.
[875] This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

• 877 Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the
*668 students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shen-
177 si, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, with-
[562] out contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minor-
*[563] ity groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

[526] Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

873 Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the
*668 Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first
177 group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense.
874 The second includes political training institutes. The third in-
*[563] cludes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

886

886 SENESCENCE--cultural criteria of senescence and the onset of old age; menopause (e.g., cultural interpretation, adaptive changes in behavior); attitude toward growing old (e.g., resignation, simulation of youth); prescriptions for longevity and rejuvenation; preparations for old age(e.g., insurance); retirement from active life (e.g., gradual, at a prescribed retirement age); etc. See also:

Physical senescence	145	Attitude toward death	761
Insurance	458	Menstruation	841

and the black rectangular tents of nomad Tibetans, the usual 233
hinterland of *Ts'ao Ti* (Grass Lands), which everywhere in the north and west lie behind the border ranges of China. Apart from the nomads and their ponies, yak, and cattle, the only sign of life were the huge vultures, which were [136] extraordinarily abundant. The final ascent to the pass is by 487
easy gradients, and a similar descent of about 10 li brings 133
one to Êpo, a dot of a place lying in a sea of grass.

Êpo (this is the regular romanisation of the Chinese characters, pronounced Ôbaw) is a small walled village and 361
former fort situated in a shallow valley sloping from east to west, surrounded by grassy downs and backed by rocky snow capped mountains. The elevation is probably between 241
11,000 and 12,000 feet, and there is no cultivation, the necessary grain being brought up from below. The entire community, composed of a few Mahomedan Chinese, 233
seemed to be engaged in the collection of wool, with occasional purchases of musk and deer horns. The latter 381
(wapiti antlers) when old are quite cheap and are collected and sent down to China for the manufacture of glue; when 886
n velvet they are extremely valuable and are ground up to form the well-known Chinese medicine for revivifying the old. This medicine is said to be very powerful, and I was informed by a member of our party, who here purchased a pair for a friend, that care must be exercised in taking a dose to see that the powder comes equally from both antlers, otherwise there is a grave danger that the patient may be revivified on one side only! Musk may also be 303
profitably purchased at Êpo, and for some days afterwards our caravan was redolent with it. Wherever one may pack a pod of musk it is guaranteed to make its presence widely known. The advantage of buying musk at a place like Êpo, apart from its cheapness, is that one is pretty certain to get the genuine article, adulteration being widely practised in the trade in China.

Êpo appears to lie actually on the Kansu-Kokonor border 487
(though boundaries are vague in those parts), and its position is of some strategic importance as commanding one of the few routes from Kansu and Mongolia up to the Kokonor, north of Hsining. We were met here by some Mahomedan braves sent up from the Hsining and Tatung

887

887 ACTIVITIES OF THE AGED--regimen of the aged (e.g., diet, exercise, rest); economic tasks performed by the aged; leisure time activities of the aged; sexuality in old age; professional activities of the aged; other functions and activities of the aged (e.g., ceremonial, political); etc. See also:

Domestic authority of the aged	89	Educational and disciplinary functions of grandparents	603
Authentic cases of extreme longevity	165		

3:Cable & French M-S (1926) 1927
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783 with material or cooking utensils. The suspicious
485 atmosphere created was always most irksome to us,
563 feeling as we did that our cleanliness much exceeded the demands made by these self-righteous Pharisees.

The *kang* on which we slept was of a different con-
354 struction from those we had met with elsewhere, this
485 being due to the fact that the only fuel obtainable on this journey is animal droppings. These *kangs* were
372 covered with movable boards, under which a hollow space is left for piling up the dry horse-dung, which, once set alight, will smoulder for hours. The fumes are laden with a nauseating smell, which so permeates the traveller's bedding and clothing as to be noticeable for weeks. These same fumes produce an extraordinary effect on the woodwork of the room, which rapidly gains a surface equal in colour and polish to the best
291 old oak. The clothes of the people had now changed
286 from indigo-dyed cotton to undyed sheep's wool. In every hamlet the older men sat in the sun spinning yarn,
[887] or knitting socks for themselves on two needles; this is accomplished by means of a diagonal down the centre
291 of the foot and a seam at the back. The better-dressed
287 boys wore garments of white felt. No seam was necessary in the whole coat, as it was shaped in the making to the size and form of the wearer. The felt is home-made, and many times we saw men treading out the macerated wool which is moulded to the shape required and dried in the sun. Shoes, coats and hats are made in this way, and whole villages are given up to the industry.

361 Lanchow, the capital of Kansu, is reached through a maze of narrow gullies. It is beautifully situated on the swift-flowing Yellow River, and is backed by the Blue Lotus Hills. Its streets are wide and crowded,
491 and its population cosmopolitan. A splendid iron

888

888 STATUS AND TREATMENT OF THE AGED--cultural definition and explanations of old age; idealized and derogatory evaluations of old age; conception of the ideal old man and old woman; symbols and synonyms for age and longevity; prerogatives and disabilities of the aged; special exemptions (e.g., from legal sanctions, from taboos); etiquette toward the aged; treatment of the aged (e.g., exploitation, neglect, obedience, respect); support of the aged (e.g., investments, fees for services, annuities, pensions, assistance from relatives); care of the aged; customs of abandoning and killing the aged; etc. See also:

Investment	454	Polygamy	596
Insurance and annuities	486	Legal liability	672
Age stratification	561	Incidence and relief of old age dependency	737
Etiquette	876	Social insurance	746
Status of widows	889	Last favors before death	783
Family relationships	893		

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Kalmyk

the Piedmont gravel and the salt swamps north of this. 000

From the Dsun yurts where we first met people again, we took an 361
easterly course and after two more travel-days we came to Barun kurä. In the belt of meadowland which we followed there stood yurts in groups of three and four of first Dsun- and then Barun- Mongols. Like the old Jew who sold ribbons in the market of my home town, I extolled my wares in the tents. I exchanged butter, barley and sheep for my hardware and my silver. The people were always friendly to 609
us. We slept and ate in their dwellings. At first they seemed sullen, but they warmed up after closer contact and they laughed and sang with Han and Tsch'eng. Most of the men spoke Tibetan as well as [191]
Mongolian. I became acquainted with their happy-go-lucky way of living. Their liquor plays a great part in their lives, and they make 273
it from mare's milk. The men travel from one tent to another, drink and sing, while the women have the duty of taking care of the work and of the herd animals. But although the women are obliged to 562
shoulder the burden of the household, and increase the fortunes of the family, they are by no means the slaves of the men. One old man who wanted to sell me a few sheep on my visit from yurt to yurt was given such a severe lecture by his wife who did not agree to the sale, the lecture even being punctuated by a raised stick, that my companions were forever cured of their initial great enthusiasm for Mongol women. The Mongol woman, it is true, enjoys great freedom compared to the Chinese woman. The women of the Dam Mongols have an astonishing amount of authority for Asiatic women!

The Tsaidam Mongols (Chinese: Dam men gu) do not have high 428
moral standards. As in many other parts of Tibet, the son, when he has reached his majority, gets the family property even though the father is still living and the parents get a certain share set aside for them. This is a very old custom. It was said to have arisen during the times when people still set out on wars of conquest. The men capable of bearing arms, who set out to war and who were able actively to protect their families, were also /349/ the owners of the family property. Now, however, the young Dam Mongols try to shirk their 888
responsibilities as much as possible. Today they are little more than warriors and, besides, they give their old parents barely enough to live on. I often saw two old people behind a protective wall that was full of holes and squatting on a dung heap like beggars while their son lived beside them in a fine yurt.

Marriages of the Dam Mongols seem to be entered upon as casual- 596
ly as they are dissolved. After a couple has lived together for a while